

THE FORMATION *OF THE* CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

ISHIKAWA YOSHIHIRO

translated by JOSHUA A. FOGEL



THE FORMATION OF
THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY



THE
FORMATION
OF THE
CHINESE
COMMUNIST
PARTY

Ishikawa Yoshihiro

Translated by Joshua A. Fogel



Columbia University Press
New York

Columbia University Press
Publishers Since 1893
New York Chichester, West Sussex
cup.columbia.edu
Chūgoku kyōsantō seiritsu shi (original Japanese edition) © Yoshihiro Ishikawa 2001
Copyright © 2013 Columbia University Press
All rights reserved

COVER DESIGN: Martin N. Hinze

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ishikawa, Yoshihiro, 1963–
[Chūgoku kyōsantō seiritsu shi. English]
The formation of the Chinese Communist Party / Ishikawa Yoshihiro ;
translated by Joshua A. Fogel.

p. cm.

Originally published in Japanese as: Chūgoku kyōsantō seiritsu shi, 2001.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-231-15808-4 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-0-231-50416-4 (electronic)

1. Zhongguo gongchandang—History. 2. Communism—China—History.

I. Fogel, Joshua A., 1950– II. Title.

JQ1519.A5I8213 2013

324.251'075—dc23

2012002614



Columbia University Press books are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

This book was printed on paper with recycled content.

Printed in the United States of America

c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

References to Internet Web sites (URLs) were accurate at the time of writing. Neither the author nor Columbia University Press is responsible for URLs that may have expired or changed since the manuscript was prepared.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables vii

Introduction to the English Edition ix

Introduction (2001) 1

Akutagawa Ryūnosuke Meets a Chinese Communist in Shanghai 1

Catalysts to the Formation of a Chinese Communist Party 5

1

The Reception of Marxism in China 16

New Thought Trends in China at the Time of the May Fourth Movement 16

The Propagation of Marxism in Beijing 22

The Propagation of Marxism in Shanghai 40

The Propagation of Bolshevik Texts

and the Emergence of New Ideas from Without 59

2

Soviet Russia, the Comintern,
and the Chinese Communist Movement 82

Unknown “Secret Emissaries” 82

Voitinsky’s Activities 95

The “Bogus” Chinese Communist Party 123

3

Toward the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party 151

*Movement Leading Toward the Formation of
the Communist Party in Shanghai* 151

Communist Groups in Other Chinese Cities 172

*The Formation of the Chinese Communist Party: “Chinese Communist Party
Manifesto” and “Report to the Comintern”* 194

4

The First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party 227

Preparations for Convening a National Party Congress 227

The Opening of the Party’s National Congress 238

Young Party Members: Shi Cuntong as a Student in Japan 264

Afterword 294

APPENDIX 1

Chinese Translations from Japanese of Works
on Socialism, 1919–1922 305

APPENDIX 2

Explanation of Chinese Books Concerning Socialism, 1919–1923 321

APPENDIX 3

Shi Cuntong’s Deposition 349

Abbreviations 353

Notes 355

Bibliography 427

Index 487

Figures and Tables

FIGURE 0.1	Li Hanjun	2
FIGURE 0.2	Site of the meeting of the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party	2
FIGURE 1.1	<i>Soviet Russia</i> (April 10, 1920 issue)	61
FIGURE 1.2	<i>Xin qingnian</i> (issue 8.1)	65
FIGURE 1.3	The logo of the Socialist Party of America	66
FIGURE 1.4	<i>Xin qingnian</i> and the logo of the Socialist Party of America (juxtaposition of figures 1.2 and 1.3)	67
FIGURE 1.5	<i>Gongchandang</i> (The Communist, November 7, 1920 issue)	69
FIGURE 1.6	<i>The Communist</i> (English edition)	69
TABLE 1.1	“Studies of Russia” column in <i>Xin qingnian</i> and translations from <i>Soviet Russia</i>	63
TABLE 1.2	Comparative table: articles in <i>Gongchandang</i> and translations from <i>Soviet Russia</i>	70
FIGURE 2.1	Grigorii Naumovich Voitinsky	95
FIGURE 2.2	Russian-language newspaper, <i>Shankhaikaia zhizn'</i> (Shanghai Life), February 12, 1920	107
FIGURE 3.1	Bulletin of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern	196

Introduction to the English Edition

In 2011, the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) celebrated its ninetieth birthday. I am deeply honored that, through the laborious efforts of my close friend Joshua Fogel, this book is being published. The original Japanese edition appeared in 2001. Over the course of the years since, China's political and economic presence has become immense throughout the world, and research on China's recent history and the history of the Chinese Communist Party has undergone great changes. There have also been a number of developments in China concerning the founding of the CCP. Among them was a controversy occasioned several years ago by the publication of the Chinese translation of this book.¹

After this volume first appeared in Japanese, I published an essay introducing its main points in a Chinese journal,² and in the summer of 2002, Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe (Chinese Social Sciences Press) proposed publication of a Chinese translation. Through the devoted work of Mr. Yuan Guangquan, the Chinese translation was completed in March 2003, but because of delays in the process of publication approvals on the Chinese side, it would be three more years before the book appeared in print. Although the requisite approval for publication took an unexpectedly long period of time and despite the fact that the book includes many points that differ from the official account of the CCP's history, ultimately the Chinese edition was indeed happily published as a faithful translation without any revisions or deletions.

The Chinese edition, however, contained a number of major problems. First, after the long process of publication approval, it was published almost immediately, and neither the author (myself) nor the translator (Mr. Yuan) had the opportunity to proofread the text. Second, it was published without an “introduction to the Chinese edition,” which had been promised to us.³ Third, despite having sent the publisher a subject index, the work was published without any index at all. I was informed of its publication in China by the publisher shortly after its appearance, and I traveled to Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe in Beijing in February 2006 and saw the Chinese edition fresh off the press. I was astonished to see that there were not only numerous garbled and miswritten characters but no index either. At that point, though, it was already too late. Thus, as a work of scholarship, the Chinese edition is a highly unsightly affair.

Despite such deficiencies, the Chinese edition caused quite a response. As far as I have been able to tell, over twenty review essays have appeared in Chinese newspapers and scholarly journals thus far, and a number of research reports concerned primarily with commenting on my book have been carried out by conferences or workshops regarding CCP history. Many of these have in general offered positive assessments of the detailed investigations and new insights the book seeks to present, although the somewhat aggressive reviews that attacked me personally were unexpected. One such representative case was a featured book review covering an entire page of *Guangming ribao* (August 28, 2006), a daily newspaper aimed at intellectuals. This review was actually comprised of three essays that all essentially made the same point.⁴ In the book, I stated that the man responsible for introducing Marxism in China was Chen Puxian, who wrote under the pen name “Yuanquan.” Each reviewer felt that I was taking the credit for identifying this individual, who had been named several years before in China. They accused me of plagiarizing their research, which reflected badly on my character and conscience as a scholar. Later essays that they published repeated the accusation.

Readers will note that nowhere in this book do I claim to be the first person to discover that “Yuanquan” was Chen Puxian. In fact, in the Afterword, I discuss the sequence of events that piqued my interest in the history of the spread of Marxism in China. I mention that uncovering the identity of “Yuanquan” while I was a graduate student (1988–1989) was an important turning point, but this merely goes back to the starting point of my own research. Apparently, it was my statement in

chapter 1, “On the basis of my research, ‘Yuanquan’ was a pen name used by Chen Puxian,” that gave them the impression that I ignored all prior research by Chinese scholars and publicly trumpeted myself as the first person to have uncovered the true identity of “Yuanquan.” They thus offered a decidedly negative evaluation of the book.⁵ In addition, in a review published before these accusatory comments were made, the clarification of the historical role played by Chen Puxian was seen as the principal contribution of my book and commended. What was actually said was: “Until now, I did not know who Yuanquan was, but Mr. Ishikawa has ascertained that Yuanquan was Chen Puxian. This is a major research finding.”⁶ The three reviews carried in *Guangming ribao* transposed the language of this other reviewer to make it seem as though I was claiming all the credit.

Fortunately, it would seem, the voice of rebuttal quickly emerged among Chinese scholars, who stated that this kind of personal slander based on distortion exceeded the boundaries of commentary on a work of scholarship.⁷ A debate has evolved over such points as to what extent the impact of foreigners (Japan, the Comintern) should be recognized in the reception of Marxism and the formation of the Chinese Communist Party and thus how much the Chinese scholarly world should pay attention to foreign research. This debate is still ongoing. On the Internet as well, blogs have raised this discussion, and the debate seems to have gone beyond the scope of my work. Then I discovered comments such as, “What Ishikawa wants to tell his readers . . . is that it was he and not Chinese scholars who through scholarly investigation first identified [Yuanquan]; that is, it was a Japanese scholar, Ishikawa.”⁸ Such comments express the emotional resistance to having a Japanese author rewrite such sacred history—as it is in China in a certain sense—of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. As far as I am concerned, I would only hope that the new views and interpretations offered in my book—not just the issue of Yuanquan—would be discussed in a more equitable manner.

For the majority of readers of the English edition of the book, many of the individual historical facts analyzed herein may not as yet be known. Thus, this book may seem in content to be no more than a trivial string of textual analyses from which the significance is difficult to assess. However, the gist of this study—an effort to grasp the origins of the Communist movement in China in the midst of the contemporaneous international environment—should, I believe, be understood best by English-language readers—those who have the best opportunity to do an unbiased reading of the history of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the ten years since the original Japanese edition of this book was released in 2001, several new documents on the founding of the CCP have been made public, but I have only been able to supplement the English text with these new materials minimally. The content and views expressed in the book have not, due to newly discovered documents, been compelled to undergo a wide-ranging revision. I have corrected a number of writing errors, misprints, and factual misunderstandings that cropped up in the Japanese text, but that has not entailed a re-evaluation of my views or my understanding overall. In other words, despite the passage of ten years and the debates that followed the publication of the Chinese edition, I am confident that the views expressed in this book remain valid and do not require any fundamental change. On one point, however, I would like to offer a correction on the basis of a Comintern document made public shortly after the first edition of this book was published. This is a new document recounting the participation of Chinese delegates to the third congress of the Comintern, as described in chapter 3 (“Minutes of the Meeting of the Presidium of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern with the Chinese Section Comrade Yang Haode, July 20, 1921, Irkutsk”).⁹

Until now, the dominant theory has been that the Chinese delegates to the third Comintern congress were Zhang Tailei and “Yan-Khau-De” (Yang Haode). While this “Yan” (or “Yang”) has been thought to have been Yang Mingzhai, I argue that, on the basis of documents of the Comintern congress, the two participating delegates were Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong; that is, if this “Yang” was a delegate, it was not Yang Mingzhai but Yu Xiusong. I still believe that Zhang and Yu were the Chinese delegates, but the problem of “Yang” remains. In the new document, “Yan-Hao-De” not only appears as a member of the chair’s meeting of the Far Eastern Secretariat, but “Yang” is named as a delegate sent by the CCP to the third congress of the Comintern. Although “Yang” got as far as Irkutsk, the document notes that he was not able to take part in the congress in Moscow. I point out that during the time that the Comintern congress was in session, Yang Mingzhai was in Irkutsk, and he was originally dispatched by the CCP to attend the congress. Thus, the name “Yang” as it appears on materials mentioning Chinese representatives at the congress and CCP reports addressed to the congress was not a pseudonym used by Yu Xiusong, but by Yang Mingzhai. Although he was ultimately unable to attend, it is clear that it was he who was originally sent from China as a delegate.

At the same time, I made the following assumptions in the book about the entrance into Russia and participation at the congress by the other Chinese delegate, Zhang Tailei. Namely, he went to Russia as a representative of the Tianjin socialist youth group and, at the time, gained the trust of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (Irkutsk), which had been looking for a capable Chinese revolutionary; thereafter, he attended the Comintern congress not at the request of the CCP but of the Far Eastern Secretariat. This was a somewhat audacious assumption, for it was a composition of Zhang Tailei who entered Russia representing his own organization completely at his own initiative and the Comintern trusting him, in a sense saying that Zhang was a self-proclaimed delegate. All that said, the minutes of the aforementioned meeting include the following:

The selection of delegates [for the third Comintern congress] was often handled in a random fashion. . . . After Comrade Grigorii [Voitinsky] left [China], they [i.e., the Shanghai Communist Party central] had received no reports at all from . . . the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern. Inasmuch as they did not even know of the existence of the Far Eastern Secretariat, they were overjoyed to learn in a telegram from the Far Eastern Secretariat of the sending of a delegate to the third [Comintern] congress and that the ratification of credentials [issued by the Far Eastern Secretariat to attend the congress] for Comrade Zhang [Tailei] were being sought. Although Comrade Zhang had never been active working with them, they nonetheless ratified his credentials.

Thus, the participation of a Chinese delegate to the third Comintern congress, unbeknownst to the organization within China, was principally handled by the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern in Irkutsk, and Zhang Tailei, who had no direct or indirect contact with the organization back home, was nominated and the CCP left to ratify the nomination, which wonderfully supports the supposition advanced in my book. Now, addressing this together with the issue of “Yang,” while Zhang Tailei, who initially had no direct ties to the CCP, attended the Comintern congress as a CCP delegate, it was none other than Yang Mingzhai who had just reached Irkutsk, having been sent by the CCP, and who would not be able to attend the congress. The facts here are stranger than fiction.¹⁰

From this example alone, I hope readers can appreciate how the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party is an accumulation of complicated events. In addition, the examination of such issues as Voitinsky's activities, the early organizations of the CCP, and the influence exerted on China by Western socialist writings are all included in this book. I truly hope that not only scholars of modern and contemporary Chinese history but also those with an interest in the history of Sino-Japanese relations and the history of Western socialism will read this book. Finally, let me offer my deepest words of thanks to Professor Fogel, who suggested that an English edition of this book would be a valuable addition to scholarship and then devoted the hard work necessary to producing a translation. The translation of this volume, which uses not only Chinese and Japanese but also Russian-language materials, could probably only have been done by him, a leading scholar whose own work focuses on the entirety of East Asia and whose own scholarship and linguistic strengths are unmatched. Professor Fogel queried me on all manner of issues large and small that he confronted in translating this work, but for me, these question-and-answer sessions were an extension of an intellectual exchange and discovery that is hard to come by.

ISHIKAWA YOSHIHIRO
AUGUST 2011, KYOTO

THE FORMATION OF
THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY



Introduction

AKUTAGAWA RYŪNOSUKE MEETS A CHINESE COMMUNIST IN SHANGHAI

In April 1921, the famed writer Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927) traveled to Shanghai. Although most of the places he visited have completely changed in the intervening ninety years, one place has been restored and preserved just as it was in 1921. This was a building whose present address is 76 Xingye Road, Luwan District; at the time, it was 106 Rue Wantz in the French Concession of the city.¹ This location, though, has not been restored and preserved to commemorate Akutagawa's visit there. Visitors today will see a plate hanging there that reads, "Location of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party." Shortly after Akutagawa's trip, the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as indicated, convened at this very site.²

Of course, Akutagawa did not make this journey with the foreknowledge that such a gathering would be taking place. The reason he came was to meet a man by the name of Li Renjie, "a representative of 'young China.'" Born Li Shushi, Li Renjie was best known by the name Li Hanjun (1892–1927). The most sophisticated theoretician of socialism in China at the time, he was one of the members of the CCP at the time of its founding. He would leave the party in 1927 and was later apprehended and executed by a warlord. Three months after Akutagawa's visit, the first CCP congress convened at Li's residence, where Akutagawa had met one of the CCP's leaders.



FIGURE 0.1 Li Hanjun



FIGURE 0.2 Site of the meeting of the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party

While we can estimate that the meeting between Akutagawa and Li Hanjun took place on or about April 25, we know its contours in detail from the chapter entitled “Ri Jinketsu shi” (Mr. Li Renjie) in Akutagawa’s “Shanghai yūki” (Travelogue of Shanghai).

Murata [Shirō, a reporter for the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*] and I went to visit Mr. Li Renjie. He is not yet twenty-eight years of age, a socialist by conviction, and a representative of “young China” (*wakaki Shina*) in Shanghai. . . . We were taken directly inside to the drawing room. There was one rectangular table, two or three Western-style chairs, and a dish on the table. It was full of ceramic fruit. . . . Aside from this poor copy of nature, there was not a single decoration to divert one’s eye. However, I saw no dust in the room. Happily, the room was filled with the atmosphere of cleanliness. After a few minutes, Mr. Li Renjie came in. [The above are Akutagawa’s notes from the meeting.]

Mr. Li spent time at a university in Tokyo, and thus spoke Japanese with great facility. Actually, to make himself understood clearly, when it came to intricate theoretical issues, he spoke better Japanese than I do. . . . The parlor in which we conversed had a two-storey ladder in the corner of the room which led directly to the ground below. Thus, as one climbed down the ladder, one would first see the feet of one’s guest. The first thing I saw then was not Mr. Li’s face but Chinese shoes.³

“Young China” was a term that journalists, both inside and outside China, enjoyed using at the time when referring in general to a group of activists full of a spirit of reform. They were not necessarily only socialists or Communists. Although Li Hanjun was a leader of the CCP, Akutagawa did not go to meet him with this knowledge, and there was no reason to expect that at this initial meeting Li would speak frankly with Akutagawa about the impending first congress of the party.

The image of Li’s residence depicted by Akutagawa was just as one finds the “Location of the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” today. The table and Western-style chairs have been lined up in the congress’s restored meeting room, and laddered stairs come down from a second storey. The simple arrangement of things—no particular diversion to the eye—has not changed either. Perhaps the first CCP national congress was held in this room just as it was on the day that Akutagawa met with Li Hanjun.

Akutagawa went on to convey his impressions of Li and of their conversation:

Mr. [Li] is a narrowly built young man with rather long hair. His face is slender, his complexion not at all good. His eyes look wise, his hands are small, his attitude extraordinarily sincere. At the same time, this sincerity makes one aware of an acute sensitivity. My impression at that moment in time was not bad. It was like touching the hard metal springs of a fine watch. . . . Mr. Li said, "How should we change contemporary China? The solution is neither a republic nor a restoration. That political revolution has been powerless to reform China is evidenced by our recent past and our present situation as well. The only path toward which we strive is social revolution." . . . Mr. Li said further, "If we attempt to effect a social revolution, we will need to rely on propaganda. Thus, we are writing [books and articles]. . . . The seed lies in our hands. Yet, there are thousands of miles of wilderness ahead, and I fear our strength is not up to the task. Can our physical bodies endure the struggle? I am most certainly troubled by this." He finished speaking and then closed his eyes.⁴

About two months after this meeting, Li Hanjun, a leader of the Communist organization in Shanghai, received instructions from the Communist International (Comintern) to convene the first national congress of the CCP. He began by inviting members from various cities, but at the time he had been actively working in propaganda on behalf of socialist theory primarily via the progressive newspapers and magazines of Shanghai. The acuity of his style, his subtle theoretical development, and his keen intuition were precisely the features that Akutagawa described. This view is supported by an early Communist who noted, "Among our theoreticians . . . he is one of the most theoretically disciplined."⁵ He appealed to Akutagawa for the need for a socialist revolution in China. By saying that "political revolution has been powerless to reform China," he indicated that the Republic and "popular government" that should have emerged as a result of the 1911 Revolution were almost immediately dead upon arrival and had spawned a chaotic scene of warlord rivalries in their wake. In other words, it was not the avoidance of an issue or a power struggle at the central government, but a need for revolution or fundamental change in Chinese society itself. His propaganda was thus a call across "thousands of miles of wilderness."

His was a determination mixed with pathos, which can be seen when he noted, “I fear our strength is not up to the task” and “Can our physical bodies endure the struggle?”

At the end of their meeting, Akutagawa asked Li, “Aside from the methods of propaganda, do you have room to be concerned about art?” “Virtually not at all,” replied Li. Li had read some of Akutagawa’s works, but to these last words, Akutagawa, who was well known for his views on art, did not record any of his thoughts. Nonetheless, it seems clear that Akutagawa was quite taken with Li as a person. In a letter from Shanghai to Sawamura Yukio (a reporter for the *Ōsaka mainichi shin-bun*), dated April 30, Akutagawa made special mention of all the people he had met in Shanghai, but only of Li did he note, “A fellow by the name of Li Renjie is truly a man of considerable talent.”⁶ At the time, of course, neither Li nor Akutagawa, both born in 1892, had any way of knowing that they would both depart this life prematurely in 1927.

CATALYSTS TO THE FORMATION OF A CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The semitragic decision on the need for a social revolution that Li Hanjun expressed in his meeting with Akutagawa was not his conviction alone but was shared by all of the intellectuals who participated in the formation of the CCP. The awakening and capacity of the Chinese people as indicated by the May Fourth Movement of 1919 had been unprecedented, but there remained many obstacles that would have to be overcome in forging ahead with the fundamental reform of Chinese society—social revolution—according to some sort of clear guidelines (such as socialism). One such obstacle was the situation in Chinese society that Li Hanjun had described to Akutagawa as “thousands of miles of wilderness” and the insufficiency of books and magazines to satiate the intellectual thirst of Chinese intellectuals. Also, despite the frequent eruption of labor disputes, a labor movement forming the basis of a social revolution was still restricted by older conceptions—such as a consciousness centered on localism and guilds. Was there in the first instance the social basis to carry out a socialist or Communist movement? This was the difficult question directly confronting Li Hanjun and his colleagues who met to form the Communist Party.

Despite this, however, the CCP managed to overcome this difficulty, and it was born in the early 1920s. It is now, of course, well known that,

through various twists and turns, the CCP played the central role in the formation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, which continues to this day to rule China as the largest Communist Party in the world. How was the CCP born? This book attempts to answer that question.

Many studies of the formation of the CCP in China itself have been conducted. Numerous specialists deal solely with the formation of the party, and hundreds of articles and books have been written on the topic. Add to this the studies of the reception of Marxism in China, and the number easily reaches between one and two thousand.⁷ As the Chinese expression goes, such a quantity of books would make the oxen bearing them perspire and fill a room to the rafters—a superabundance. As a result, studies of the movements and even the everyday activities of specific individuals are seeing more detailed and specialized research on the history of the formation of the CCP than ever before. As for the rate of investment of labor, when one examines the studies of the history of the CCP, the quantity of research invested in even tiny historical events has reached almost abnormal proportions.

With all that said, though, why should one add yet another volume to such an immense mountain of existing scholarship on this subject? The reason is that, despite this accumulation of scholarly work, a great many topics dealing with the formation of the CCP remain unexplored. This very body of scholarship, large as it is, invites easy cross-referencing and leads to a tendency to compound conjecture on top of conjecture. In concrete terms, numerous theories still exist side by side, speculating—based on memoirs—just what sort of organizations, which are believed to have existed from the party's very beginning, these were. When did the “Marxist Study Group,” “Socialist Alliance,” “Socialist-Communist Party,” “Revolutionary Bureau,” and the like come into existence, and what influence have they had on one another? Because we have such a depth of research in past scholarship, depicting the history of the formation of the CCP necessitates going into detailed, even minute, facts.

The official view of the CCP claims that the founding of the party was “a product of the joining together of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese labor movement.”⁸ Perhaps this explanation fits macroscopically. At the time of the founding of the CCP, there existed to some degree Marxist-Leninist propaganda, and in 1919, China had about 2 million industrial laborers (roughly 500,000 of whom were in Shanghai). Yet, when we follow the concrete process of the formation of the

CCP, particularly when compared to the formation of the Communist parties in Japan and Korea, we immediately run into a problem: For some reason, the sequence of the formation of Communist parties in East Asia was in the order Korea, China, and Japan. The Japan Communist Party (JCP) convened its first national congress in 1922, a year after the CCP's. The case of the Korean Communist Party (KCP) is a bit more complicated; it had two wings that formed separately—in Irkutsk and Shanghai—both in May 1921, or two months before the opening of the CCP's first national congress. If the formation of a Communist party was simply a product of the merging of Marxism-Leninism and the labor movement, then the order in East Asia should have been Japan, China, and Korea. Why, then, did it transpire in reverse?

Perhaps, this temporal misalignment can be ignored as an allowable “aberration,” since all three Communist parties did in fact form at roughly the same time. If this is then the case, though, we would need to search for a reason to explain how it was that the three Communist parties of China, Japan, and Korea took shape at the same time. Needless to say, there was the impact of the October Revolution in Russia and the subsequent activities of the Comintern that developed in East Asia. Thus, we would simply need to pay attention to the primary cause that it was the mediation of the Russian (Bolshevik) Revolution and the Comintern that gave rise to a reverse time change in the formation of the three East Asian Communist parties. Because the Communist movements and the creation of the Communist parties in the three countries were intimately bound up with one another through the node of the Comintern, we cannot discuss them out of this context. In other words, we have to examine the formation of the CCP from the perspective of the history of the Communist movement in East Asia, transcending the narrow framework of its being “a product of the joining together of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese labor movement.”

We can say this because of the diffusion of Marxism, which was essential to the formation of the CCP. In any country, the reception of Marxism would be one of the most important elements in the birth of a Communist party. In China's case, when, how, and from where did it spread? Mao Zedong (1893–1976) wrote in 1949, “It was through the Russians that the Chinese found Marxism. Before the October Revolution, the Chinese were not only ignorant of Lenin and Stalin, they did not even know of Marx and Engels. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism.”⁹ As one who was encouraged by the Russian Revolution and participated in the founding of the CCP,

these words of Mao's deserve our close attention, for while he is saying, of course, that the October Revolution succeeded, it is not necessarily the case that Marxism entered China from Soviet Russia. Although Mao probably knew about it at the time, before the founding of the CCP, the spread of Marxism in China came in large part via Japan. Li Hanjun was emblematic of one who came in touch with Marxism through socialist writings in Japanese, accepted them, and energetically translated them. That is to say, the diffusion of Marxism in China cannot be spoken of without the simultaneous rise of Marxism in Japan, then surmounting its "winter of socialism," a dark period in which socialism was being suppressed by the authorities in Japan. This indicates clearly that the Chinese Communist movement must be addressed within the context of socialist intellectual trends in East Asia. Furthermore, it is possible that the link between Japanese and Chinese socialist thinking was a phenomenon that should be understood within the context of the general history of the reception of modern Western thought in East Asia transmitted from Japan to China, and thus within the flow of ideas on an international scale.¹⁰ In this sense, the history of the reception of Marxism in China plays out as an "intellectual linkage" in this book between China and Japan, and the world.

The reception of Marxism, a necessary element for the formation of a Communist party, was a step in the acquisition of "foreign knowledge" in Japan just as in China. Within Western ideas ("foreign knowledge"), Marxism was known to be difficult to understand, and even with Japanese language materials as aides, one can easily imagine the numerous difficulties that presented themselves even to sympathetic readers. Like Li Hanjun, Li Dazhao (1889–1927)—known as the "father of Marxism in China"—came into contact with Marxism through Japanese-language writings. In order to introduce Marxism in 1919, Li introduced the words of a certain German, "If you say that a man under the age of fifty can understand Marxist theory, that would certainly be untrue."¹¹ One needs bear in mind, when considering the reception of Marxism in China, the estrangement between this knowledge itself and Chinese society at the time. In the end, though, the Communist Party had to be based upon the theories of Marxism.

That said, the actual level of Marxist comprehension necessary for the formation of a Communist party was not fixed, and thus the level of comprehension at the times of the founding of the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Communist Parties varied considerably. The immaturity of understanding of Marxism in China, Japan, and Korea was most

prominent in the Korean Communist Party, which many young men joined less to effect a socialist revolution than in the liberation struggle against Japanese occupation, but to a certain degree, similar circumstances pertained in the CCP, which had many members who sought “independence” or “wealth and strength” for the fatherland along with “world revolution.” For this reason, we find the phenomenon of “many comrades working for Marxism-Leninism only after they became Communist Party members.”¹²

What, then, was the final inducement to the establishment of the Communist Party? Once we accept the fact that the level of acceptance of Marxism was not a sufficient condition and that neither the number of proletarians nor the scope of the labor movement directly determined the timing for the formation of the Communist Party, we are forced to take a sharper look at the activities of Soviet Russia and the Comintern in the Russian Far East.

As is well known, at its first general meeting in 1919, the Comintern, which had scarcely touched on the issue of the anti-imperialist movement in colonial and semicolonial settings, focused its attention on Asia as the fortunes of the revolutionary movement in Europe were ebbing. At its second general meeting in July–August 1920, the “National and Colonial Questions” were raised as a central issue. Looking back at the history of the Comintern, it was at this meeting that a debate ensued over the “National and Colonial Questions” introduced by Lenin and M. N. (Manabendra Nath) Roy (1887–1954). Roy’s view that revolution in Asia would play a decisive role for the future of the international Communist movement was not incorporated as a Comintern thesis in this form, but by compelling the Comintern to recognize the importance of Asia, it became a significant force. Furthermore, with the gradual withdrawal of forces involved in the Siberian Expedition and the decline of anti-Bolshevik influence in the Russian Far East, for the Bolshevik regime trying to restore order to the Russian Far East, the March First Movement that erupted in Korea the previous year (1919) and the May Fourth Movement in China (also 1919) provided the substantial impact necessary to shift attention to the East. At the Congress of the Toilers of the East, held in Baku in September 1920 under the leadership of the Comintern, the famous language of the *Communist Manifesto* was augmented, “Proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world unite!”¹³ Pressure on the Far East by the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Comintern geared up with the dispatching of agents with specific tasks from 1920. Alongside this development,

influence was exerted on Chinese and Koreans living on Russian territory. The Korean Communist Party, founded in Irkutsk, was a typical case. In other words, if we look only at the speed of the process by which Communist organizations were formed, then undeniably this was determined more by the difficulty of contacts with the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern than the existence of a labor movement or the level of acceptance of socialist theory. In this sense, we need bear in mind—although it is fairly obvious—that contacts with China, with which it shared a border, were surely easier than for Japan; in the case of Japan, we have to take into account the severe vigilance of the authorities.

Relations between the CCP on the one hand and the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern on the other are, of course, central to research on the history of the formation of the CCP. Without the Comintern, the CCP would not have been founded, for the very formation of a “Communist Party” in various countries was primarily recognized in its relationship to the Comintern as the various national branches of the Comintern. Although much research to date has focused on this issue, documentation remains relatively sparse, and the materials we have concerning relations with the Comintern have for many years not been made available. Thus, we have many unresolved questions. In addition, important documents in a variety of languages are scattered in countries outside China, and many of them exist in two or three contradictory forms, making the process of assessing each case individually extremely difficult. In recent years, the archives in Moscow have been opened up to a considerable extent, and a large quantity of primary materials have been made available that until recently were the exclusive domain of a group of Soviet researchers.¹⁴ In addition, large collections of documents concerning the Comintern and the Chinese revolution have been published, although the number of documents on the era of the formation of the CCP remains extremely limited.¹⁵ For example, the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, founded in Irkutsk between January 1921 and early the following year, was the most important source for Comintern activities with respect to China, but those activities to this day remain shrouded in mystery. At the same time, officials of Soviet Russia and the Comintern who came to China during the period of the CCP’s founding include a goodly number of Russians, Dutch, British, and Koreans, among others, and while we have rather complete studies of Grigorii Voitinsky and Henk Sneevliet (alias Maring, by which name he is best known),¹⁶ we know

scarcely anything of the backgrounds of other “secret emissaries” who emerge in the memoir literature.

The “Archive of Chinese Communist Delegates to the Comintern,” which was returned by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to the CCP over the years 1956–1957,¹⁷ is presently stored in the Central Committee Archives in Beijing, and it includes over 20,000 documents sent back and forth between the Comintern and the CCP. Only a tiny number of these materials concerned with the formative years of the CCP have been made public, and to this day, the doors to this archive remain closed not only to foreign scholars but to Chinese scholars as well.¹⁸ Given these circumstances, one would surely expect great difficulties in examining the relations between the CCP on the one hand and Soviet Russia and the Comintern on the other, but it has been my intention in this book to make extensive use of as many documents as are now available and retrace the human movement to and from Soviet Russia and the Comintern, and the CCP.

One also has to be especially careful with the memoir literature. Because the CCP in its early days was a secret organization comprised of a small number of men and women, the relative importance of memoirs within the available documents—given the limited number of documents that directly concern this period—makes them all the more important. For example, over half of the comprehensive collection of materials known as “*Yida” qianhou* (“The first Congress [of the CCP],” before and after; three volumes) on the formative era of the CCP published in China is made up of memoirs.¹⁹ Not unexpectedly, though, memory is full of errors and misperceptions because of biased opinions. Thus, relying on such writings to evaluate those times and events and to get a feel for the atmosphere of that era can create problems. Also, certain memoirs copy other memoirs, as if they were written as dramatizations, and more often than not, greater detail does not translate into a greater degree of accuracy. In treating materials concerned with the early years of the CCP, Mori Tokihiko some years ago pointed out the dangers inherent in attaching too much importance to memoirs and wrote that we should, for the time being, put all of this material to the side and attempt to reconstruct the history of the CCP from primary materials alone.²⁰ Despite considerable advances in the publication of primary documents concerned with party history, this view has lost none of its relevance. To a certain extent, I have had to rely on memoirs in this book, but in those instances, I will cite the individual memoirs and support them with primary materials.

Turning to the domestic situation in China at the time of the CCP's formation, it was young Chinese intellectuals, primarily those who emerged at the political forefront due to the May Fourth Movement of 1919, who became the human foundation for the CCP. For all the considerable spread of Marxist thought and encouragement from Soviet Russia and the Comintern, there would have been no CCP without the essential Chinese coming forward to forge a Communist organization. In this sense, radical Chinese intellectuals such as Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), a leader of the New Culture Movement, became the protagonists in the history of the formation of the CCP. In its earliest years, the CCP had regional branches in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Jinan, Changsha, Japan, and Europe, but the process by which the constituent members of these branch organizations cohered into a Communist organization were many and varied. Some, while introducing socialism as journalists, felt the need to form a party; others came over from being activists in the student movement; and still others were anarchists. Party members in these early years traveled different paths thereafter. For example, of the thirteen Chinese who attended the first meeting of the CCP, only six were still alive in 1949, and only two of them—Mao Zedong and Dong Biwu (1885–1975)—saw with their own eyes the founding ceremonies of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, atop the Gate of Heavenly Peace (Tian'anmen). Of the other eleven men, three died for the Communist cause, one died of illness, and the remaining seven later left the CCP—more than half the original number of those present at the first meeting.²¹ As a result of efforts after 1949 to collect materials on the history of the formative era of the party, with the CCP's diligently interviewing those involved in early Party activities, an immense body of materials was amassed in journals and memoir collections on the regional organizations in the founding era. Given this background, research was conducted in China in a quantitatively asymmetrical manner on organizations that may have had as many as fifty members. In China, research on the early CCP years primarily means studies of the history of the formation of these early local organizations (called in Chinese *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* or small Communist groupings) and of leaders in the early years.

Descriptions in this book of the local Communist organizations in the early years of the CCP rely to a certain extent on such Chinese research, but we need to note from the outset that because the history of these organizations as constructed from a perspective following the establishment of the PRC sees them solely in their ties to the

subsequent CCP, there is a certain amount of spillage. If we consider organizations directly linked to the CCP today as the “legitimate” (or “orthodox”) CCP, then one case in point would be the “heterodox” or “bogus” Communist Party. If the term “Communist” is understood from a perspective that deems the CCP as orthodox—at a time when it was still extremely vague in content, while nonetheless captivating a group of intellectuals, and when the term “Communist Party” was not as yet a monopoly of the CCP—it is scarcely known that a “fake” or “bogus” “Communist Party” was similarly squirming about in China. This “bogus” Communist Party was organized around a group of leaders of the national student association, and it was soon defeated in struggles with the orthodox one and vanished like the mist, but it is nonetheless a fact that for a period of time there were people in Soviet Russia and Japan as well who thought of this group as *the* “Communist Party” of China. To get at the background of the birth of this “bogus” Communist Party, because, until a certain point in time, Soviet activities toward China were as yet not unified, we need to investigate matters from the viewpoint of Communist organizations in various places as well as that of the Comintern and East Asian Communist movements. Even if there was a national student association in which a group of leaders coalesced into a “bogus” Communist Party, if we take into consideration that the national center of the student movement that formed in June 1919 was one result of the May Fourth student movement—seen as elemental to the formation of the “orthodox” CCP—the relationship between the formation of a Communist Party and the May Fourth Movement that supplied so many talented men and women to the early CCP should not necessarily be considered a straight line.

The conversion to Bolshevism of young men and women followers of anarchism that reached its apogee in the May Fourth period, as well as the sense of mission embraced by radical intellectuals such as the aforementioned Li Hanjun, and its opposite, a sense of pathos and isolation, involved the internal complexities and dispositions of Communists in the early years, and this too cannot be seen as a straight line. I especially examine one individual, Shi Cuntong (1899–1970), who was a party member in the early years, having come of age in the May Fourth Movement and who switched as a young man from anarchism to Bolshevism, and I attempt to sketch out his ideas and activities. He was studying in Japan at the time of the first party congress, one reason for the official Japanese documents that remain extant on him. He was arrested for Communist activities by the Japanese police

in late 1921 and left the earliest testimony as a Party member present on early CCP activities. Tracing his movements thus not only is important for our understanding of the intellectual progress of May Fourth youth who came together in the Communist Party, but it provides invaluable information for investigating the concrete details leading to the formation of the CCP itself.

Influenced by the spread of Marxism at the time of the May Fourth Movement in China in 1919, the initial steps toward the formation of a CCP came with the cohesion of a small number of intellectuals in 1920, a process that came to a conclusion with the first party congress in late July 1921. Documents of that first meeting indicate that there were only fifty-three members at the time.²² In this sense, this study temporarily covers only about two years, and fewer than one hundred people are involved. In both qualitative and quantitative terms, the subsequent CCP underwent a transformation into a thoroughly different entity from the CCP in the early years. Despite this, however, I study such a relatively small event in history for three reasons: First, no matter how small it may be, intellectual curiosity fuels a desire to know everything we can about a given historical episode. Second, the CCP did not subsequently split over a minor name change, since the early Communist parties have a single source to their pedigree. The Chinese have an expression: “A single spark can start a prairie fire” (*xingxing zhi hou, keyi liaoyuan*). It is used metaphorically to mean that something small that is newly born may ultimately grow into a great force. The formation of the CCP was “a single spark.” Although tiny initially, this was the starting point for an immense political party that now boasts 60 million members.

The third reason is the importance to modern history of the formation of a Communist party in any country and the rise of a Communist movement. Because of international communications and media, similar phenomena at many places throughout the world are connected and emerge repeatedly in the same time frame. Inasmuch as each and every one of them cannot be contained within the framework of a single nation, all possess an influence that transcends national borders. In the realm of politics, a force with life-and-death powers over a populace can be enormous. It can give rise to sacrifices for a principle and the killing of others in the name of a principle. This was the beginning of the era of ideology, and the socialist movement and the rise of fascism are representative examples. In the case of the Chinese Communist Party, it should be possible to examine the issues from the long time span of the history of China by both raising the continuities and

discontinuities with traditional Chinese society and thought, and contrasting these with the subsequent transformation of the CCP. As Soviet studies of CCP history frequently point out, given the level of societal development, the CCP may have been a premature infant. Also, as some Western scholars have noted, perhaps the creation of the CCP was a case of forced importation of revolution from Soviet Russia—given the poor match between Chinese social thought at the time and the formation of a CCP—that they contrast with the later CCP of Mao Zedong. In this book, however, I shall not be making any diachronic comparisons. Whether or not the CCP was premature, the fact of its birth is undeniable. As noted above, I want to focus attention on the fact that the formation of the CCP marks the emergence in China of the modern historical phenomenon of the appearance of Communist parties in many countries at a distinctive moment early in the 1920s. Once freed from the yoke of evaluating the history of the formation of the CCP from subsequent eras, we can redirect our focus on the events of the time in question, and that is the aim of this study.

The general structure of this book is formed by three elements—heaven, earth, and mankind—for understanding the formation of the CCP: namely, the contemporary socialist movement in Japan that formed the basis for the reception of Marxism in China and its influx into China (favorable climate: heaven); the active promotion from Soviet Russia, possible because of a shared border (favorable geography: earth); and the concentration of Chinese intellectuals oriented toward a Communist movement after the May Fourth Movement (favorable human conditions: mankind). This use of “heaven, earth, and mankind” may sound rather trite, but the three elements work well with one another and thus form the chapters in this book.



The Reception of Marxism in China

NEW THOUGHT TRENDS IN CHINA AT THE TIME OF THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

Knowledge and Revolution

The May Fourth Movement erupted in 1919, as is well known, but that is the year that genuine study of Marxism began in China as well. Western socialism, Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Marxism had been introduced to China in the late-Qing period, and while all of them exerted a certain influence on a group of Chinese revolutionary refugees overseas at that earlier point in time, they did not begin to spread throughout China until 1919.¹ The precipitous flow of socialist documents into China from 1919 forward is simply astonishing, as the main newspapers and magazines throughout the country devoted large amounts of space to introducing socialist ideas. Spreading Marxism at that time, Zhou Fohai (1897–1948) wrote about the rise of the “socialist” tide: “This year a huge number of magazines have been discussing socialism. Some have been short-lived, but there is a strong sense that if they do not discuss socialism at all, they cannot be considered publications of the New Culture Movement.”²

The Marxism that spread through the major cities of China gained the strong support of Soviet Russia and the Comintern, culminating in the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. For Chinese intellectuals

who were learning about and accepting Marxism, however, it was something they acquired first from reading books, as was the case with many other new ideas of Western origin at that time, a topic that requires thorough study of its own. For example, in research on Mao Zedong's thought, when and what sort of socialist documents he read that led ultimately to his conversion to Marxism are topics of concern,³ for they suggest, in the context of the Communist movement, an inseparable relationship between the acquisition of knowledge and the revolutionary movement.

In this sense, it was not simply the case that the reception of Marxism in China resulted in a revolutionary movement linked by the Communist movement to the birth of a Communist Party; Marxism indeed brought to twentieth-century China a wave that might be dubbed the "knowledge revolution" in two senses.

First, in the confused intellectual realm of China in the May Fourth era, Marxism appeared as an all-inclusive ideology. To the various issues arising from the New Culture Movement—such as traditional Chinese thought as represented by "cannibalistic Confucianism" (in the words of Lu Xun), women's liberation, a scientific view of the world, literary revolution, comparison of Eastern and Western civilizations, industrial promotion, and all manner of other complex questions—the prognostications of the materialistic view of history, the theory of class struggle, and the emergence of Communist society after the completion of the revolution gave rise to a "knowledge revolution" offering assurance of an age to come in the aftermath of a radical settlement. Like the gushing waters after a dam is broken, all manner of modern Western systems of thought came flooding into China all at once in the May Fourth era. Amid them, the distinctive comprehensive system of Marxism demonstrated extraordinary influence. In its way, Marxism promised a "fundamental guide" to those who understood it and to those who believed in it. While everything of past value had been laid open to criticism, until then no new yardstick to replace the old had appeared. This intellectual scene in the May Fourth era of extreme confusion somehow or other acquired a coordinate axis with the entrance of Marxism on the scene, and then all became crystal clear. For example, we see that, after his acceptance of Marxism in the 1919–1920 period, the writings of Li Dazhao (1888–1927), often called the father of Chinese Marxism, escaped from the conceptual speculative thinking that is often now difficult to comprehend and gained clarity in one fell swoop. His writing changed from a literary to a vernacular style, and

his thinking developed into a Marxist mode of thought, as he began to use and speak in a Marxist vocabulary.

Another reason for calling the acceptance of Marxism a “knowledge revolution” is that its acceptance brought about in China a revolutionary movement of a new form guided by the system of “knowledge” known as Marxism. In other words, it marked the emergence of a revolution that complied with theory. Some time ago, E. H. Carr (1892–1982) dubbed the characteristic of the Communist movement and socialist revolution following the Russian Revolution “self-consciousness” and pointed out the important differences between these and the earlier bourgeois revolution.⁴ As Carr’s words indicate, “the Russian Revolution was the first great revolution in history to be deliberately planned and made”; the “socialist revolutionary movement” from the latter half of the nineteenth century was initially studied before being carried out, and on the basis of that research, a program was decided upon, and on this basis, plans were implemented. This marks a major difference from earlier revolutionary movements. Having some knowledge about these ideologies and principles before carrying out a revolution meant that it would be impossible to understand the revolutionary movement after the Russian Revolution if one ignored the weight of this “knowledge.” And China was certainly no exception. The Communist movement in China was actively begun by “intellectuals who not only repeated the past but planned the future, who sought not only to make a revolution but to analyze and prepare the conditions in which it could be made.”⁵

Marxist study in China did not blossom as a result of a sufficient accumulation of socialist research, nor was it attained as a consequence of the development of economic theories, and it was not realized by virtue of the labor movement. It was, in a word, a Marxism that was “learned.” The history of its acceptance in China was not only the stimulation of interest in accepting a foreign culture that emerged in the process of “study”; insofar as one can aver that having “studied” Marxism gave rise to a distinctive attribute of the Communist Party, “knowledge and guidance,” the subsequent Communist movement under Comintern influence also deserves full consideration.⁶ (Remember that leaders of the Communist movement in many countries had their theoretical systems of revolution published in the form of collected writings or collected works.) In this sense, in Japan as well from the 1920s, after the rapid influx of Marxism, “socialists who emerged from an ideology rooted in knowledge”⁷ took shape as new, left-wing intellectuals centered on the young, something highly suggestive for China at the same time.

Print Media and “New Ideas” During the May Fourth Movement

The extensive diffusion of Marxism cannot be explained without the temporal background of the flood-like influx of new currents of thought in the May Fourth era. In considering the spread and acceptance of Marxism as a foreign system of thought, we must first examine the situation surrounding the culture at the time that made this possible and, in particular, the operations going on in print media, the primary avenue for the spread of ideas. No matter how concerned Chinese intellectuals involved in the May Fourth Movement were with foreign trends of thought and, as a result of the May Fourth Movement, no matter how keen their desire for reforming society so new currents of thought (including Marxism at this time) could be broadly introduced into China, the existence to a certain degree of print media outlets to materially convey these intellectual currents was assumed. In other words, Marxism and the influx of foreign intellectual currents en masse in the May Fourth era moved in tandem with the growth of print media in the May Fourth period.

Reading through the history of publishing in modern and contemporary China, one can say that the May Fourth era exhibited unprecedented activity in the publication of journals. Shimizu Yasuzō (1891–1988), who was sent to Beijing at the time by the Japan Congregational Church, noted that journals and demonstrations had dramatically increased since the start of the May Fourth Movement.⁸ Similarly, Luo Jialun (1897–1969), who was an early student activist in 1919, remarked in a comment about journals in China that “there have been too many journals in recent years for me to be able to look them all over.”⁹ One aspect of the dramatic rise, like floodwaters rising, in the number of journals can be seen even today by perusing *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao* (Introduction to Periodicals in the May Fourth Period).¹⁰

Needless to say, the efflorescence in publication of all these journals was a product of the preceding “New Culture Movement.” The influence of the New Culture Movement, which attacked the difficult to understand literary language and advocated a new literature based on the vernacular language, led to a spread of the vernacular during the May Fourth era, and newly issued journals more often than not used the vernacular. Despite the stark fact that the great majority of Chinese living in the countryside were illiterate,¹¹ the propagation of the vernacular style led to an expansion in the stratum of subscribers to books, and this must be seen as paving the way for the influx of journals.

While the publication of magazines and books in the May Fourth era spread rapidly, the growth of commercial publishing clearly lay behind this. To be sure, such representative publishing houses of the period, such as the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan) and Zhonghua shuju, had been producing works since before the May Fourth era, but the kinds of books they handled were largely limited to textbooks, the Chinese classics, and dictionaries—basic reference or research works. Through the New Culture Movement, the introduction of literary works from overseas, as well as the publication of works of literary theory, social science writings, and magazines aimed at young people and women, began. The number of published books alone rose dramatically. Even such publishers as Yadong tushuguan (The East Asian Library) and Taidong tushuguan (The Great Eastern Library), which had already been publishing works related to socialism, especially Marxism, in the May Fourth period, advanced the modernization of publishing, as can be seen in their establishment of an editorial structure in journalism during the May Fourth period.¹² On the whole, one may say that the world of commercial publishing became established in China during the period surrounding the May Fourth Movement.

In the expanding flow of books and magazines, the distributors and agents set up by the organs of higher education in many places played a prominent part in linking publishers with readers. During the May Fourth era, when the structure of the flow of books nationwide had not yet been reorganized, many students purchased books from distributors that operated out of schools. Using book distributors this way made it possible to order and buy newspapers, magazines, and individual volumes that were published in Beijing or Shanghai from any regional city. These agencies not only distributed books, but those who worked for them (often activist students) gained a grasp on the intellectual scene among students from the books ordered and purchased, and they also offered a site at which like-minded students could meet. One reform-minded teacher at the Zhejiang Number One Normal School in Hangzhou at the time left the following memory of a book distributing agency:

After “May Fourth,” the propaganda movement continued through newspapers and magazines. The influence of newspapers and magazines was enormous, and they functioned to enlighten and educate young people. We wrote essays and organized book distributors at many sites, as we continued steadily to buy progressive

periodicals. By selling books and magazines, we struck up conversations with buyers, and then advanced our organizational work. The way these book distributors worked was extremely popular at schools, and the buyers were all rather progressive young men and women. . . . If you were to say, when introducing someone to a friend, that this person supports the New Culture [Movement], that would be enough to gain his trust.¹³

As this citation indicates, students in the May Fourth era connected with one another through the activities of book distributors. And, needless to say, book distributors further expanded their operations after the May Fourth Movement. Even at Beijing University, the highest educational institution in the country (which would later turn out many Communists), the agency for the university press itself placed advertisements in books and magazines in *Beijing daxue rikan* (Beijing University Daily).

The spatial expansion of print media is especially significant not just for the magazines these book distributors used, but they worked with newspapers in other cities as well. For example, with the objective of spreading the new culture, in July 1920, Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and his colleagues opened the book agency Wenhua shushe (Culture Books) in Changsha, the capital of his native Hunan Province, and distributed numerous books and magazines. Noteworthy here are the large number of sales of *Xin qingnian* (New Youth, roughly 320 subscriptions for September–October 1920 and a total of 2,000 through March 1921); in addition, for October 1920, there were sixty-five daily subscriptions to the Shanghai newspaper *Shishi xinbao* (News of the Times) and forty-two for the Beijing newspaper *Chenbao* (Morning News).¹⁴ At the time, no national newspapers existed in the journalistic world, since *Shishi xinbao* and *Chenbao* were local papers in Shanghai and Beijing, respectively. With the intermediacy of distributors, however, it became possible to subscribe to Shanghai and Beijing newspapers even in Changsha. With the increasing popularity of magazines and newspapers at the time, their influence extended to several times the number of issues actually in circulation. In a short period of time, Marxism spread not only to the large cities of Beijing and Shanghai but to local cities as well.

Shishi xinbao and *Chenbao* were popular with young people in Changsha for many reasons. They each had supplements—*Xuedeng* (Lamp of Learning) and *Chenbao fukan* (Chenbao Supplement), respectively—

that accepted submissions from readers, and these actively introduced a wide variety of theories of socialism. Supplements began to appear in profusion from the May Fourth era as popularizing inserts or additions to the newspapers in China; they corresponded, as it were, to “cultural features.” It was these supplements, together with the magazines, that strove to introduce the new thought currents of the time.¹⁵ Supplements became more common after the New Culture Movement, when concern for new international trends of thought were not as yet fully felt in Chinese society. This was evidence of something that the newspapers had to respond to. By the same token, Chinese newspapers and journalism were actively reclaiming readers’ interests from earlier newspapers with their heavy factional and political arguments. This was a reflection of the changeover toward commercial newspapers.¹⁶ The “four great supplements,” as they were popularly known in China, were *Chenbao fukan* for *Chenbao*; *Xiao jingbao* (Little Capital News) for *Jingbao* (Capital News); *Juewu* (Awareness) for *Minguo ribao* (Republican Daily); and *Xuedeng* for *Shishi xinbao*. Aside from *Xiao jingbao*, these supplements were all important leaders in introducing socialist theories in the May Fourth era. With the rise of these supplements, in addition to fiction and poetry, translations of all manner of foreign ideas, reportage, and travelogues found their way into print. The market in knowledge underwent a groundbreaking expansion in the May Fourth era, and Marxism, along with numerous other currents of thought, shared its blessings.

THE PROPAGATION OF MARXISM IN BEIJING

The Chenbao Supplement and the Introduction of Marxism by Chen Puxian

Although new ideas gained an expanded readership with the growth of print media, the difficulties facing the people introducing Marxism in terms of reading comprehension and acquisition were extraordinary because the adoption of Marxist theories was incomparably more demanding than it would be today, both in terms of language and in obtaining the written materials. How did Communists in the early years in China, people who were among the founders of the CCP and were concerned with the propagation of Marxism in the May Fourth period, study Marxism? What did they actually read in their efforts

to learn about Marxism? And how did they get their hands on such written material? Unfortunately, little information about the reception of Marxism in China in the May Fourth era is available. For example, everyone recognizes that a large number of books related to socialism were published at this time, but—aside from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin—we still have no full explanation for when, by whom, and what sort of works were translated and published.¹⁷ As for writings concerned with socialist ideas at the time, far more numerous than translations from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other classical authors were translations of works by Karl Kautsky (1854–1938) and manuals by Japanese socialists, as well as others outside the “orthodox” Marxist fold.

The pioneer Marxist in China was Li Dazhao, a librarian at Beijing University, who became a central figure in the formation of the CCP. While away from Beijing in Changli (Hebei Province) during the summer of 1919, Li wrote his monumental essay “My Marxist Views” (“Wo de Makesizhuyi guan”).¹⁸ In it he offered a summary of Marxism, while simultaneously clarifying various views of Marxism, including those critical of it. It has become customary in analyzing the spread of Marxism in China of the May Fourth period to cite Li’s article, although given the advanced state of research, we now know that other articles preceded it in “Page Seven” of the Beijing daily *Chenbao* (namely, its supplement, *Chenbao fukan*) and in *Xuedeng*, the supplement to the Shanghai daily *Shishi xinbao*.¹⁹

Among them, the “Marxist Study” column in *Chenbao fukan* was the first voice to introduce Marxism around the time of the May Fourth Movement. Almost instantaneously, Li’s article was reprinted in one progressive newspaper or magazine after another, including *Minguo ribao*, *Shishi xinbao*, and *Xin qingnian*. This article thus occupies an important position in the history of the propagation of Marxism for its role in launching the spread of Marxism at the time. In addition, as we discuss later, studies of Marxism in *Chenbao fukan* were deeply concerned with Li Dazhao’s reception of Marxism.²⁰

Chenbao was a daily newspaper in Beijing, and in the 1919–1920 period, it had a circulation of some 5,000–8,000, making it one of the major newspapers in the capital.²¹ Because there were as yet no national newspapers in China, the circulation of *Chenbao* was primarily limited to the Beijing region. After the inauguration of the supplement, however, it gained subscribers through the distributing agents in the sales departments of publishers set up in many large cities throughout

the country. Articles in *Chenbao fukan* were also reprinted in newspapers and magazines in many major areas throughout China, making their influence exceed the scope of a single region.

Chenbao fukan completely changed its appearance—from its initial incarnation as a supplement known as “Page Seven” corresponding to a “cultural features”—with the addition of two columns from February 1919: “Open Forum” (“Ziyou luntan”) and “Translations” (“Yicong”). Thus began the introduction of a wide variety of foreign ideas. From April 1, they carried a serialized translation by “Yuanquan” entitled “Jinshi shehuizhuyi bizu Makesi zhi fendou shengya” (“The Struggling Career of Marx, Founder of Modern Socialism”), comprised of excerpts from Kawakami Hajime’s (1879–1946) “Marukusu no *Shihonron*” (“Marx’s *Das Kapital*”) in his *Shakai mondai kanken* (Views on Social Issues). This work introduced both Marx the man and his career. On May 5, commemorating Marx’s birthday, Yuanquan’s “Makesi de weiwu shiguan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”); a translation of Kawakami’s “Marukusu no shakaishugi no rironteki taikai” (“The Theoretical System of Marx’s Socialism”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 2–3 (February–March 1919); and Kawakami’s “Marukusu no yuibutsu shikan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Shakai oyobi kokutai kenkyūroku* 1.1 (March 1919) appeared. On May 9, “Laodong yu ziben” (“Labor and Capital”), a retranslation by Shi Li of Kawakami’s “Rōdō to shihon” (“Labor and Capital”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 4 (April 1919)—itself a translation of Marx’s *Wage Labor and Capital*—was printed. In June, the first installment of a translation by Yuanquan entitled “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi” (“An Explanation of Marx’s *Das Kapital*”), based on Karl Kautsky’s *Karl Marx’s ökonomische Lehren*, which was actually a retranslation of Takabatake Motoyuki’s (1886–1928) translation of Kautsky, *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (An Explication of Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital*, published by Baibunsha in May 1919) appeared. The installments went on through November, with a few interruptions. In addition, in April 1919, an anonymous translation entitled “Mashi weiwu shiguan gaiyao” (“Outlines of Marx’s Historical Materialism”), the original for which was Sakai Toshihiko’s (1871–1933) “Yuibutsu shikan gaiyō” (“Outlines of Historical Materialism”), appeared in *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1. Judging by the specialized terminology used in this translation, it was probably also the work of Yuanquan.²² Another anonymous translation appeared that July as well: in July 1919, “Mashi weiwu shiguan de piping” (“A Critique of Marx’s Historical Materialism”), the original of which was Kagawa Toyohiko’s (1888–1960) “Yuishinteki keizai

shikan no igi” (“The Significance of the Idealist View of Economic History”), appeared in *Kaizō*. From May 1919, *Chenbao fukan* had almost daily articles in translation introducing Marxism. The curtain on the introduction of Marxism into China in the May Fourth era had been lifted.

The translations by Yuanquan carried in *Chenbao fukan* were not only the earliest, but they also added explanatory notes to sociological terms making their initial appearance in China at this time, such as *shengchan shouduan* (means of production), *shehui yishi xingtai* (social ideology), *shangbu jiangzuo*, *xiabu jiangzuo* (superstructure, substructure), and the idea that “a given society determines human consciousness.” In this he set a conspicuously high level. These pieces were reprinted in by far the most influential journal of the day, *Xin qingnian*, as well as in *Guomin ribao*, *Shishi xinbao*, and the serial published in distant Sichuan, *Guomin gongbao*.²³ In particular, Kautsky’s “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi,” carried serially over the course of a half-year from June 1919, was considered in its German and Japanese translations the clearest and most authentic work to acquire an understanding of Marx’s economic theories in Western Europe and Japan, respectively. For example, Takabatake Motoyuki’s *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu*, the Japanese translation on which “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi” was based, was praised highly: “Although this [work] is someone’s translation, it may be easier to read, though still quite difficult. Those who find even the translation difficult to understand—even if they read the original German text—may not be able to avoid the same sensation.”²⁴ Unfortunately, the Chinese translation, “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi,” and the volume entitled *Makesi jingji xueshuo* (Marx’s Economic Theories), which was comprised of the collected installments of the former,²⁵ did not elicit as explosive a response as the Japanese translation, but choosing this book as a start for introducing Marxist economic theory and then publishing it serially over the course of six months reveals something of the insight of the editors of *Chenbao fukan*.

As can be seen in the comprehensive reference work on magazines in the May Fourth era, *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao*, and in works such as Li Dazhao’s chronological biography, Li is said to have taken part in editing *Chenbao fukan* during this period.²⁶ Some believe that Li Dazhao himself led the introduction of Marxism in China. To be sure, in 1916, Li worked as a senior editor with *Chenzhong bao* (News of the Morning Clock), the predecessor to *Chenbao*. About three weeks after he assumed this position, however, Li quarreled with the Research Clique,

who were the backers of the newspaper, and left *Chenzhong bao* in September of that year.²⁷ After *Chenzhong bao* later became *Chenbao*, Li would occasionally contribute pieces to it, but no original materials have as yet surfaced demonstrating that Li Dazhao directly took part in editing *Chenbao fukan* during the May Fourth period.²⁸ That said, it was not Li Dazhao actively leading in the introduction of Marxism in the pages of *Chenbao fukan* but “Yuanquan” who translated and introduced the aforementioned Japanese socialist materials.

Who, then, was this “Yuanquan” who translated and published these socialist materials in *Chenbao fukan*? It has been suggested that “Yuanquan” was a pseudonym Li Dazhao used, but this is incorrect. The author has determined that “Yuanquan” was a pen name used by Chen Puxian (1891–1957), a reporter for *Chenbao* at the time.²⁹

Chen Puxian (Bosheng) was from Minhou, Fujian Province. He went to study in Japan at age thirteen, and after graduating from the Department of Politics and Economics at Waseda University, he traveled to Europe and the United States to continue his education. He returned home around 1916 and joined the staff of *Chenzhong bao*, predecessor to *Chenbao*, eventually becoming editor-in-chief of *Chenbao*. At the end of 1918, he returned to Japan as a special correspondent for *Chenbao*, energetically covering the Dawn Society (Reimeikai), an early Christian socialist party, and the contemporary state of Japanese socialist thought. He was back in China before the May Fourth Movement, and from April 1919, he actively developed his introductions to socialist currents in Japan and Marxism under the pen name “Yuanquan.” In May 1919, he took over as editor-in-chief of *Chenbao* and enthusiastically supported the May Fourth student movement. In late 1920, he traveled to England as the first special correspondent sent to Europe from the world of Chinese journalism. He later served as lead editor of *Minyan bao* (People’s Word) and as an advisor in the office of the commander of the northeast defense forces, among other posts. In 1930, he was the chair of the *Chenbao* Company in Beijing and later worked in the Nanjing Central News Service (affiliated with the Guomindang or Nationalist Party), becoming special correspondent to Tokyo in 1936. From 1938 to 1948, he was a member of the People’s Political Council (*Guomin canzhenghui*) and editor-in-chief of the Central News Service from 1940 to 1950. From 1948, he served as a member of the Legislative Yuan, and he passed away in Taiwan in August 1957.³⁰

While Chen Puxian must be recognized as a forerunner in the introduction of Marxism to China in the May Fourth era, in many ways the

role he played in the first half of his life was far more important than that of Li Dazhao. Both Chen and Li studied at Waseda University in the 1915–1916 period, and while in Japan, both were thoroughly opposed to the imperial restoration movement of Yuan Shikai (1859–1916) and actively involved with the Chinese student association in Japan and its organ, *Minyi* (Fixed Path Protecting Mankind). In the inaugural issue of *Minyi* (May 1916), an article announcing the formation of the cultural affairs committee of the student association appeared, and both Chen Puxian and Li Dazhao were on the list of members. After returning home, they seem to have maintained a close relationship from 1916, with both contributing to editing *Chenzhong bao*. Little information is available about the relationship between Chen and Li, and their memoirs offer only brief mention of their contacts.³¹ In fact, Li's reception of Marxism in the May Fourth era cannot be discussed in the absence of Chen Puxian. Materials that are now available make it possible for us to summarize Chen's activities at the time.

As we have seen, Chen Puxian was sent to Tokyo as a correspondent for *Chenbao* for several months from late 1918. His primary concern initially was to assess the attitudes of Japanese inside and outside government as they looked ahead to the coming Paris Peace Conference. Under the pen name “Yuanquan,” he described this issue in several articles, such as “Ribei de jianghe taidu” (“Japanese Attitudes Toward Peace,” January 11, 1919) and “Yuan neige zhi diyi Zhong-Ri jiekuan” (“The First Sino-Japanese Loans of the Hara Cabinet,” January 21, 1919). Of course, the primary topic of Chinese public concern was the return of Shandong, taken by Japan from the Germans during the course of the World War I, and this issue would have been firmly lodged in his consciousness. However, the activities of Yoshino Sakuzō's (1878–1933) Dawn Society at that time, setting off waves in the press in Japan, captured his attention. In two pieces—“Ribei zhi Liming yundong” (“The Dawn [Society's] Movement in Japan,” January 28, 1919) and “Liming yundong zhi diyi sheng” (“The First Call of the Dawn [Society's] Movement,” February 14, 1919)—he wrote supportively and full of sincere anticipation. No sooner had his concern for new thought currents shifted from the general elections to the labor movement than he turned his attention to the socialist movement in Japan, which had just gone through its “winter period” and was returning to life.

After returning to China, he wrote a long series of articles entitled “Dongyou suigan lu” (“Record of Impressions from a Trip to Japan”). In part seventeen of this series, which dealt with the press in Japan, he

included a section on “Journals for the Study of Socialism,” in which he introduced *Shakai mondai kenkyū* (Studies in Social Problems, circulation exceeding 20,000, Chen claimed) by Kawakami Hajime, as well as *Shin shakai* (New Society) and *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (Studies in Socialism, circulation 7,000–8,000) by Sakai Toshihiko and Yamakawa Hitoshi.³² He dedicated part twenty-six of his series to “The Japanese Socialist Movement” in which he looked back at the history of this movement beginning with the *Tōyō shakaitō* (Eastern Socialist Party, founded in 1882). He then categorized the contemporary socialists into the “Pure Marxism” of Sakai Toshihiko and his group, the “National Socialism” of Takabatake Motoyuki and his group, and the “anarchists” of Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923) and his group. He hoped that the Japanese socialist movement, through which he rushed from the Great War forward, would “encounter no obstacles as it reached its objectives smoothly.”³³ Amid these socialist currents of thought, Chen was most attentive to directions in Marxism, as can be seen clearly from two of his articles, “Ribei zhi xin chaoliu” (“New Currents in Japan,” March 20, 1919) and “Ribei zhi Makesi yanjiu re” (“The Marx Study Fever in Japan,” April 24, 1919).³⁴ In these articles he wondered at the “truly grand perspective in the scholarly world” in Japan with its feverish study of Marx, and after returning to China, he took the opportunity, while introducing these currents of thought on a large scale, to touch on the socialist movement and labor issues in Japan.

The gradual shift in the objects of his analyses in Japan from the military, political parties, and the Diet—that is, ruling structures—toward the labor movement and social movements developed as if from personal necessity. His major concern in 1919 lay in Sino-Japanese relations surrounding Shandong interests, and on the basis of an overview of the China policies of Japan’s military, major political parties, and business realm, a “true friendship” between China and Japan, he asserted, could not be realized without the Japanese laboring classes seizing the initiative in politics:

As I see it, if China and Japan both wish to promote friendship and advance the spirit of cooperation, it is hopeless in the warlord era, and there is no prospect even in the capitalist era. When the Japanese laboring classes are able to rise and become the main players, only then will relations between China and Japan reach a situation which we believe to be ideal. Thus, we invest eternal hope in the Japanese laboring classes.³⁵

It goes without saying that his concern for the Japanese labor movement and socialist currents derived from his own inclinations and interest in theories themselves, but also so that they might contribute to fundamentally transforming Sino-Japanese relations and ultimately to “reforming” China. By regarding the advancement of the socialist movement in Japan as a major premise toward resolution of the Sino-Japanese issue, getting closer to socialist currents of thought in Japan was a fascinating point of view he shared with Dai Jitao (1891–1949), whom we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter.

Chen Puxian’s affinity for socialism naturally extended to both the Russian Revolution and the Chinese labor movement. Concerning the post-Revolutionary Bolshevik regime, for example, on April 13, he wrote an editorial under the pen name “Yuanquan” entitled “Geguo yao chengren Liening zhengfu le” (“Many Countries About to Recognize the Lenin Government”). In it he raised doubts about the Beijing government, which was acting in servile fashion before the Western powers and refusing to recognize the Bolshevik regime; he called for energetic study of Bolshevism and recognition of the revolutionary regime. The May 1, 1919, issue of *Chenbao fukan* was devoted to “Commemoration of Labor Day” and published “Renlei sanda jiben quanli” (“The Three Great Basic Human Rights”), calling for mankind as laborers to have “the right to life, the right to labor, and the right to the whole produce of labor.” While the Beijing government regarded anarchism and socialism as dangerous ideologies and sought to bring them under control, he argued in response, “The ideas that the capitalist class see as dangerous are rights to be justly defended by the working class.”³⁶ And he boldly continued introducing “dangerous ideas” in Beijing, which was under a severe repression of the right to free speech.

Chen Puxian and the Radical Movement in Japan

During the May Fourth era, Chen Puxian’s activities involved not only introducing Marxism in print but extended as well to efforts to foster intellectual exchanges between Chinese and Japanese, to which he contributed greatly in these years. It is well known that in the period just before the May Fourth Movement, there were exchanges between Yoshino Sakuzō and Li Dazhao in Beijing, between the *Reimeikai kōenshū* (Collection of Dawn Society Speeches) by Yoshino Sakuzō among others and the *Meizhou pinglun* (Weekly Critic) edited by Chen Duxiu

(1879–1942) and Li Dazhao.³⁷ Li was extremely interested in the views of Yoshino and other leaders of the Dawn Society, and he fashioned his own Dawn Society (C. Liminghui) in imitation of Yoshino; his objective was to forge a common front against obstinacy in thought.³⁸ A look at Li Dazhao's essay on the Dawn Society³⁹ reveals that most of his information about it was, in fact, based on articles by Chen Puxian. The exchanges in the May Fourth period between Li and Yoshino bore fruit in the form of a group of Beijing University students' visit to Japan in May 1920,⁴⁰ but in fact, it was Chen Puxian who had striven to build a bridge between the two sides.

In the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* of May 1, 1920, Yoshino recounted how he discussed the planned visit of the Chinese students to Japan, saying, "I think on the Beijing University side, in addition to Professors Li Dazhao and Chen Qixiu (1883/1886–1960), Chen Puxian, the influential reporter for *Chenbao*, provided a great deal of mediating assistance" to these plans.⁴¹ While Chen Puxian had been in Tokyo as *Chenbao* correspondent, he had not only observed in great detail the new thought currents in Japan, starting with the Dawn Society, but he also had become close to Yoshino personally.⁴² By the same token, Chen was old friends with Li Dazhao in Beijing, making him the most appropriate person to mediate the two sides in this venture. This is supported by a letter of introduction addressed to Miyazaki Ryūsuke (1892–1971), which bore the signatures of both Li Dazhao and Chen Puxian, that the Beijing University student group hand delivered in May 1920.⁴³

Because the articles on the study of Marxism that appeared in the pages of *Chenbao fukan*, now being managed solely by Chen, contained translations from Japanese magazines and books, Chinese Marxism in the May Fourth period simply cannot be discussed without reference to directions in Japanese Marxist research of the same time period. The case of Chen Puxian and *Chenbao fukan* was not unique, since many articles concerned with Marxism that were published thereafter in Chinese magazines were rooted in the findings of the Marxist study in Japan. (This is fully borne out in appendix 1, "Chinese Translations from Japanese of Works on Socialism," to this book.) Furthermore, the influx of Marxism to China in the May Fourth era, as we shall see when we discuss Shanghai, can even be called an "inundation" of Japanese currents of socialist thought. This inundation was actually the second one in the modern history of Sino-Japanese cultural interactions. The first inundation was the propagation of socialism in the late-Qing revolutionary movement more than a decade before the May Fourth period.

The period in which “socialism” was first widely discussed in China (the first decade of the twentieth century) corresponded to the era of socialist thought in Japan before the Great Treason case of 1910 and was one in which the influence of Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911) was paramount in introducing socialism in the late Qing.⁴⁴ Similarly, the propagation of socialism and Marxism in China of the May Fourth era arose in the overlapping years of the revival of the Japanese socialist movement during the Taishō Democracy era and the May Fourth period in China. Early on, Feng Ziyou (1882–1958) wrote of this relationship in 1920:

After Kōtoku Shūsui was executed [in Japan], no one has been willing to advocate such dangerous ideas. Books concerned with the new learning in China were in large measure translated from Japanese. Inasmuch as there had been few of such works in print in Japan, why were such works published in Chinese translation? . . . [Nowadays] with the help of numerous Japanese translated works, advocates of socialism in China have been devoting their energies to publishing books and newspapers, to spread the word about this school of thought.⁴⁵

The rise of anti-imperialist movements in Korea of the March First Movement and China of the May Fourth Movement were unmistakably trials or touchstone cases for Japanese liberals and socialists to sweep away the “imperial” (or emperor-centered) consciousness that was embedding itself within them. By the same token, though, the development of socialist research in Japan was certainly promoting the rise of a socialist movement in China and Korea. Despite a sometimes contradictory path, the socialist movement in Japan and the anti-imperialist and socialist movements in China and Korea influenced one another and may be seen as a dynamic wave that developed and deepened with one another. For those intellectuals who actively accepted Marxism in the May Fourth era, the great transformation of militarist Japan by a social revolution (in the Meiji Restoration) led to a recognition that the destruction of warlord control in China would be easy to accomplish. As such, the unfolding of the socialist movement in Japan was subject to concerted attention as this had significance far beyond social change in Japan alone.

At the same time, from the perspective of the history of cultural reception, we find it frequently the case that the introduction of modern

Western thought in late-Qing China was the result of selective retranslations into Chinese of translations and introductory works in Japan. In introducing translations of the terminology of civilization with origins in the West and in introducing republican thought, these ideas and their vocabulary were predominantly introduced via Japan. Aside from a small number of men associated with the Guomindang, the prehistory of Marxist study in China lacked a historical background, and “Marxism” was a nearly unknown entity for most Chinese intellectuals. Many had no contact with terminology of the social sciences that frequently refer to Marxist writings, and thus the acceptance of Marxism in the May Fourth era came through Japanese writings, and the language of the social sciences incidental to it was adopted and fixed in the form of direct importation of Japanese words as a perfectly natural phenomenon.

It is important to examine other features of the socialist movement of this period in Japan. The year 1919 deserves special mention in the history of Marxism in Japan. Following the Great Treason case of 1910, the Japanese socialist movement entered its so-called “winter period.” Socialists in Japan such as Sakai Toshihiko barely protected their isolated fortresses as “hack writers” (*baibun*), but with the eruption of the Russian Revolution and the deepening of social issues in Japan, socialism began to draw the attention of many people once again. It was around this time that the journal *Shin shakai* by Sakai, Takabatake Motoyuki, and others began to test the reactions of the authorities and carry introductory pieces concerned with Marxism. In 1919, Marxism increasingly attracted the heightened notice of young people. The aforementioned work by Karl Kautsky, *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (translated by Takabatake), which was considered an accurate introduction to the first volume of Marx’s *Das Kapital*, was published in May 1919, and the 20,000 copies of the first printing flew off bookstore shelves; before long, over ten printings had been issued. That January, the inaugural issue of Kawakami Hajime’s personally run journal *Shakai mondai kenkyū* attained stunning sales of 120,000 copies, and the second issue sold 80,000. *Shin shakai* ultimately sold over 15,000 copies in 1919, and the inaugural issue that same year of *Shakaishugi kenkyū* by Yamakawa Hitoshi also showed healthy sales.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the radical general-interest magazines *Kaizō* (Construction) and *Kaihō* (Liberation) both started publishing that year, and particularly *Kaizō* from the latter half of the year took up social issues, labor issues, and socialist thought and rapidly increased the numbers published.⁴⁷ There thus emerged

in Japan an intellectual scene assessed as “a truly frightful situation, a jumble of good and bad, so long as it’s in Marx.”⁴⁸ While working as a correspondent in Tokyo, into early 1919 and again in July–August of that year, Chen Puxian early on captured the sense of revival of Marxist thought in Japan and immediately began translating in the pages of *Chenbao fukan* from it soon after the works in the field of socialism appeared in Japanese.

As head editor of *Chenbao* and as a pioneer in the spread of Marxism in the May Fourth era, Chen Puxian was also a promoter and supporter of the work-study movement in which young radical Chinese participated in the latter half of 1919.⁴⁹ Toward the end of 1920, Chen traveled to England as the first resident European correspondent in Chinese journalistic history.⁵⁰ There he began observing the Communist movement and contributing articles to *Chenbao* with such titles as “Yingguo gongchandang dahui ji” (“Report on the Convention of the British Communist Party”) and “Daisan guoji gongchandang de zuzhi” (“The Organization of the Third International Communist Party [the Comintern]”), indicating a continuing concern with the international Communist movement. Aside from the work-study movement, from the May Fourth Movement through the era of the National Revolution, there is no trace whatsoever of Chen participating in the social movement, indicating that he most likely was not caught up in the activities of the CCP. Insofar as we can trace his career, after the death of Li Dazhao in 1927, we see that Chen continued to strengthen his ties to the Guomindang. Yet, the fact that he was a pioneer in the introduction of Marxism to China in the May Fourth era (especially in introducing theories that added commentary to undigested terms in Chinese) has to be accorded the respect it deserves, together with his interactions with Li Dazhao. The Marxism he conveyed to China was a theory requiring explanation, and it became transformed into a theory of revolution.

Li Dazhao’s Acceptance of Marxism and Chen Puxian

While Chen Puxian functioned as a middleman, bringing Yoshino Sakuzō and other Japanese intellectuals together with Li Dazhao, this role can be seen in the process of Li’s acceptance of Marxism. As is well known, from summer to fall 1919, Li published “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan,” which is considered a monumental essay. The essay, however, as has

already been noted, is based largely on Kawakami Hajime's "Marukusu no shakaishugi no rironteki taikai" and Fukuda Tokuzō's (1874–1930) *Zoku keizaigaku kenkyū* (Studies in Economics, Continued).⁵¹ The essay by Kawakami was translated and introduced earlier in *Chenbao fukan* by Chen Puxian under the pseudonym "Yuanquan." Given Li Dazhao's close ties with *Chenbao* and with Chen Puxian, there is really no way he could have been ignorant of articles that appeared in *Chenbao fukan*. Thus, in assessing Li's reception of Marxism, one has to take into account Chen's help with materials and with explanations of Marxism.

While interest in socialism continued to rise in China, getting one's hands on Marxist materials in foreign languages, to say nothing of Chinese-language materials on socialism, was extremely difficult. In light of this, the very fact that Li Dazhao was able to introduce Marxist theory at such an early date in the middle of 1919 requires, in addition to the intrinsic reason of his own interest in Marxism, another explanation: the support of Chen Puxian who provided him with the latest documents concerning socialism in Japan.⁵² The dramatic rise of socialist currents of thought and advances in research on Marxism in Japan, preconditions for the spread of Marxism in China, appeared and disappeared ceaselessly in Chen Puxian's active writing and translation work in the May Fourth era and behind the views expressed by Li Dazhao.

Without repeating all that has been said thus far, the process of the introduction and acceptance of Marxism in Beijing during the May Fourth era was never solely the work of Li Dazhao, nor could it have been. The Marxist theory that Li accepted in 1919 was an interpretation by Kawakami Hajime and Fukuda Tokuzō, and it was replete with a number of problems. It was something effectively made available to Li by Chen Puxian. As for Li's critique of Marxist theory in "My Marxist Views," it was more or less all based on the views of Kawakami and others.⁵³

This was almost inescapable at a time when the Chinese were trying to understand Marxism. It is, of course, easy for us now to deem Li Dazhao's progress as immature and imitative, but this affords it no positive significance. What we need to focus on in the process of Li's acceptance of Marxism is rather the structure of the acceptance of a foreign system of thought—that is, how coming to terms with Marxism in 1919 China was necessarily enveloped in the intellectual circumstances surrounding studies of Marxism in Japan. In other words, Li was able to introduce Marxist study to China—putting aside for a moment any "intrinsic opportunity"—because of both his friendship with Chen Puxian and being familiar with the Japanese "knowledge"

of the time. The influence of Japanese writings on Li Dazhao was not rooted in Marxist theory per se, for even before that eventuality he was strongly influenced by Kayahara Kazan (Rentarō, 1870–1952), a journalist in the Meiji and Taishō eras.⁵⁴ When it came to the acceptance of Marxism, though, the importance of having a distance from this foreign “knowledge” and the impact of this foreign knowledge on Li Dazhao were far greater.

In his essays “My Marxist Views” (latter half of 1919) and “You jingjishang jieshi Zhongguo jindai sixiang biandong de yuanyin” (“Analyzing the Reasons for the Changes in Modern Chinese Thought from the Field of Economics,” January 1920), Li expressed some doubts about the Marxist materialist conception of history and “economic determinism.” Over the course of 1920, however, he swept away lingering misgivings about historical materialism, and by the end of the year, he had accepted class struggle, the materialist conception of history, the theory of surplus value, and other doctrines from a basically Marxist standpoint. In this period, Li came into the possession of journals and books by not only Kawakami Hajime but Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980), and others as well.⁵⁵ Combining the progress and pace of the acceptance of Marxism, the link between Li Dazhao and the socialist movement in Japan grew even stronger. By way of example, let us now take a look at Li’s joining the Japan Socialist League (Nihon shakaishugi dōmei) and the ties he forged with Japanese living in Beijing.

Li Dazhao and the Japanese Socialist Movement

In December 1920, Sakai Toshihiko, Ōsugi Sakae, and others came together to form the Japan Socialist League aimed at an umbrella organization of socialists, and interestingly, Li Dazhao became a member.⁵⁶ Thus, Li actively joined his comrades in the Japanese socialist movement.⁵⁷ On the basis of the extant register of names in the Socialist League (formerly held by the late Mukisaka Itsurō [1897–1985] and now held in the Ohara Institute for Social Research at Hōsei University), there are a number of Chinese (or Koreans) listed who joined it, but aside from Li, none of them are especially well known.⁵⁸ How did Li Dazhao ever learn about the Japan Socialist League? How did he have his name entered in its rolls? These questions can be clearly answered by investigating the career of Maruyama Kōichirō (1895–1924),

whose name, along with Li Dazhao's, is listed in the League's register. Maruyama Kōichirō, who went by the pen name Maruyama Konmei, was a reporter for the Japanese newspaper *Nikkan shin Shina* (New China Daily) in Beijing, the weekly magazine *Shūkan shin Shina* (New China Weekly), and the weekly *Pekin shūhō* (Beijing Weekly).⁵⁹ Shimizu Yasuzō, who was in Beijing at the time, left the following remembrance years later concerning Maruyama and Li Dazhao:

The first person to approach the thinkers and scholars of Beijing was, in fact, Maruyama Konmei, and the man who guided most thinkers and scholars visiting from Japan to the homes of Zhou Zuoren and Mr. Li Dazhao was Maruyama Konmei. Truth be told, I myself visited Zhou Zuoren and Li Dazhao in the company of this man.⁶⁰

[Li Dazhao] left Waseda University and returned to Beijing in 1916. Together with Bao Jianwu, he brought out and edited a little newspaper entitled *Chenzhong bao*. Later, through the office of Chen Duxiu, dean of the Faculty of Letters at Beijing University, he became head librarian. At the time, I frequently visited him together with Maruyama Konmei and Suzuki Chōjirō. It was one of the happiest homes I had occasion to visit in Beijing. Suzuki left for Tokyo soon thereafter, but he made a contribution to pushing Li's thinking in a leftward direction.⁶¹

Although it remains unclear just what sort of man this Suzuki Chōjirō who "pushed" Li Dazhao's thinking "leftward" was, we do know that around the time of the May Fourth Movement, Li had contacts with progressive Japanese in Beijing, Maruyama among them.

Pekin shūhō, which Maruyama helped edit, often devoted space to discussions with and articles by Li Dazhao. The more important of them would include "Shina rōdō undō no kisū" ("Trends in the Chinese Labor Movement," March 1922); "Shūkyō wa shinpō samatagu" ("Religion Obstructs Progress," April 1922); "Shina tōitsu hōsaku to Son-Go ryōshi no iken" ("Plans for the Unification of China and the Views of Sun [Yat-sen] and Wu [Peifu]," September 1922); and "Jissaiteki kaikaku no chūshin seiryoku" ("The Main Force of Genuine Reform," May 1923), among others. In a piece introducing Li entitled "Ri Taishō shi" ("Mr. Li Dazhao," September 1922), Maruyama referred to Li as a "Marxist" who "truly understands the labor movement. . . . A new thinker and

leader of the new movement, he has, I believe, in his words and deeds exerted a major impetus and influence on the future of the new China. We are watching intently and with great interest to see what ideas he will generate and what sort of movement he will give rise to in the future.” From these articles it was clearly Maruyama who was covering Li’s discussions and publishing Li’s essays and who, while in Beijing, supported him and understood his importance.

According to the Japanese Interior Ministry’s list of names of important people under surveillance, Maruyama Konmei (Kōichirō) was born in Nagano Prefecture in 1895. In late 1916, he went to Tokyo and attended the night school sessions in the English Department of Chūō University, while “keeping company with such ideologists” as Ōsugi Sakae and Sakai Toshihiko and being designated “No. 2” on the list of people under surveillance.⁶² Although it is not known precisely when Maruyama arrived in China, we know from a communication he submitted to *Shakaishugi* (Socialism, December 1920), organ of the aforementioned Japan Socialist League, entitled “Shina shakaishugi ni tsuite” (“On Socialism in China”), that after he did so, he kept in contact with the Japanese socialist movement. (In other words, even while in China, he was contributing and subscribing to *Shakaishugi*.) It would seem clear that Maruyama was the one who led Li Dazhao to join the Japan Socialist League. In addition, Li Dazhao’s December 1919 article “Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong” (“Material Change and Moral Change”) was written on the basis of three translations and essays by Sakai Toshihiko, collected in the latter’s *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara* (From a Stance of Historical Materialism, August 1919),⁶³ and it is far from unreasonable to hypothesize that Maruyama served as the intermediary between Sakai and Li.

Although we cannot ascertain if Li Dazhao had any stronger ties to the actual socialist movement in Japan, we can see that he had more than just an intellectual interest in that movement. As is evident from his joining the Japan Socialist League, when it came to studying socialism, Li did not make a sharp distinction between Japan and China. This may well reflect the internationalist atmosphere of the time. As he said in April 1920, “The whole world has a glorious future! All mankind has a glorious future! We, all the youth of Asia, will strive together!”⁶⁴ But it is even more natural to assume that Marxist study in China was unimaginable at the time without Japanese Marxist study.

From 1919 on, Li’s concern for socialist currents and Marxist theory expanded to issues going on around him—to inclusion of a class

perspective on the question of women's liberation and to observations of the labor movement. Here as well the influence of Japan is evident. For example, Li's essay "Zhanhou zhi furen wenti" ("The Women's Question After the War"), which represents a development of his thought in his locating the basic resolution of the women's issue in socialist revolution, comes from a translation of Yamakawa Kikue's piece "Sen kyūhyaku jūhachi nen to sekai no fujin" ("1918 and Women of the World").⁶⁵ Li's essay "'Wuyi' May Day yundong shi" ("History of the May Day Movement") also was written after consulting Yamakawa Kikue's "Gogatsusai to hachijikan rōdō no hanashi" ("The Story of May Day and the Eight-Hour Workday")⁶⁶ and two articles that appeared in the August 1919 issue of *Kaizō*: Niitsuma Itoko's (1890–1963) "Fumajime naru rōdōron no isshu" ("One Sort of Insincere View of Labor") and Yamakawa Kikue's "Niitsuma shi no shoron ni kotaete" ("A Response to the Opinions of Ms. Niitsuma"). We thus see that the role of Japanese "knowledge" was growing larger.

In addition, he did not lack for document collections or discussions related to the study of socialism. The activities of a Marxist study group under Li's leadership, which he inaugurated in March 1920, are one example. This group at first set as its goal the collection of works concerned with socialism,⁶⁷ then presented the collected books and journals for reading in a library room—dubbed the "Kangmuyi zhai" (Communism Room)—the place at which they met and discussed the materials. The books on the study group's list in 1922 show just how thirsty for socialist materials they were and how enthusiastically the members of the group collected materials.⁶⁸ This would seem to indicate that although restrictions on Marxist study were in place, Li's knowledge of Marxism, acquired in the absence of documents, was nonetheless fairly advanced.

From the latter half of 1920, Li, as the central person in the Beijing Communist group now that their activities were becoming regularized, established contact with Chen Duxiu in Shanghai. He also quietly continued his Marxist study group, published the popular magazine *Laodong yin* (Voices of Labor) aimed at workers, and launched a supplementary school for workers. With his reputation in Beijing growing, Li gathered the esteem of the students around him by lecturing at the Marxist study group and assuming the role of expert in Marxist theory. The authority Li commanded in Beijing Marxist studies and the Communist movement was not only a question of personal popularity, but based on his knowledge of Marxism, as he would articulate it on occasion, it was now

much more solid. One aspect of this scene is conveyed by Zhu Wushan (1896–1971), a member of the Communist group in Beijing, in his memoir. At a forum on socialism, Li Dazhao was serving as a judge:

I remember even now that the judge [Li Dazhao] explained this point [i.e., the necessity of socialism] using a metaphor that Kawakami Hajime often employed. Namely, before a baby chick is hatched, it sits inside the shell of the egg. Once the hatchling reaches the point of maturity, though, the chick must break the eggshell and emerge. This is the principle of necessity. As Comrade Li Dazhao would conclude, if those who agree [with socialism] answer problems on the basis of the materialist view of history, then they will have the power of persuasion. . . . Comrade Li Dazhao's speaking voice grew louder and calmer, but he spoke with an unwavering self-confidence. He was superb at attracting the audience's attention and gaining their admiration.⁶⁹

The leader in the Communist movement had to be a theoretician, but as we have already seen, Li's knowledge of Marxism relied heavily on Japanese Marxist writings. Even in his talk at the forum mentioned by Zhu Wushan, he was voluntarily quoting from a work by Kawakami Hajime to gain a greater degree of persuasive power. This well describes the intellectual scene surrounding the reception of Marxism in the May Fourth era.

In the process by which Li Dazhao came into contact with Marxism, the men who introduced Marxism in 1919 were Jiang Kanghu (1883–1954), who advocated the “three negations” (of home, family, and religion) and who had formed a Chinese Socialist Party, and Li Dazhao, Chen Puxian, and Shao Piaoping (1886–1926),⁷⁰ none of whom was an economist teaching economics at any institution of higher learning. For this reason, the prehistory of the study of scientific socialism, broadly speaking, in China, which effectively lacked a basis for social science research, was always new foreign intellectual trends, such as the social movement on a world scale beginning with the Russian Revolution and the popularity of socialist thought in Japan, that garnered attention. Without people with the linguistic capacity to translate these foreign works into Chinese and access to print media, getting their hands on Marxist materials, to say nothing of deciphering them, would have been extremely difficult. In this sense, the simultaneous popularity of Marxism in China and Japan in 1919 arose in a highly fortuitous manner.

THE PROPAGATION OF MARXISM IN SHANGHAI

The Study of Marxism Among Men Aligned with the Guomindang

During the period 1919–1921, in addition to Beijing, the other major city in which Marxism was broadly introduced was Shanghai. Chen Duxiu, a leader of radicals among Chinese intellectuals, fled Beijing and moved to Shanghai in the early 1920s. After Chen Puxian left China as the European correspondent for *Chenbao* in late 1920,⁷¹ Shanghai became the center of new interest in Marxism and the early Communist movement. It is important as well to note that suppression of free speech in socialist publications was much more lax in Shanghai than in the capital of the central government in Beijing.⁷² In this section, we examine how the introduction and reception of Marxism in Shanghai, as in Beijing, was closely linked to Japanese socialism. In addition, we examine the route by which reports on Soviet Russia, which laid the theoretical groundwork for the formation of the CCP, and the Bolshevik writings by Lenin, Trotsky, and other leaders of the Russian Revolution made their way into China.

In the latter half of 1919, the people most active in Shanghai in introducing socialist theory were intellectuals associated with the Guomindang (GMD).⁷³ For newspapers and magazines, GMD publications included *Minguo ribao*, *Xingqi pinglun* (Weekly Critique), and *Jianshe* (Construction).⁷⁴ Representative figures in this literature would include Dai Jitao (1891–1949), Shen Xuanlu (1883–1929), Hu Hanmin (1879–1936), Shao Lizi (1882–1967), Zhu Zhixin (1885–1920), and Liao Zhongkai (1877–1925).⁷⁵ The Three Principles of the People of their leader Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) was sympathetic to a strain of socialism, and to reinforce this scientifically, they felt a need to demonstrate a willingness to come to grips with Marxist study. Furthermore, in the earlier revolutionary movement of the late-Qing period, a debate developed with the Protect the Emperor Clique of Liang Qichao (1873–1929) and others over revolution versus reform. In the process, theorists affiliated with the GMD had gained experience with Western socialist thought, including Marxism, and they drew attention to socialism later when the unprecedented mass movement of May Fourth was on the rise.

Perhaps stimulated by the introduction of Marxism in *Chenbao fukan* in Beijing, GMD-affiliated periodicals such as *Jianshe*, *Xingqi pinglun*, and *Juewu* (the supplement to *Minguo ribao*), all published

in Shanghai, began from roughly the summer of 1919 to actively introduce various socialist theories. Fascinating in the context of socialist trends of thought in Shanghai was the fact that Hu Hanmin, Liao Zhongkai, and other figures associated with the Guomindang, who had earlier studied the land question and worked to explicate the principle of people's livelihood of Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, all strove to locate the original ideals of socialism in the Chinese tradition. They thus sought the history of ownership based on materialism in the Chinese classics. An understanding that projected the ideals of socialism onto ancient Chinese thinkers, such as Mozi's notion of "universal love," can be found already in the late Qing in Liang Qichao's "Zi Mozi xueshuo" ("The Theories of Mozi," 1904). This understanding remained potent even in the May Fourth era, as can be seen in writings by Cai Hesen (1895–1931), who found a similarity between Lenin and Mozi in that both "only considered the overall benefit and not the advantage to individuals."⁷⁶ Similarly, Hu Hanmin and Liao Zhongkai both asserted the existence of the "well-field system," an ancient land distribution system described in Mencius, which many believe was an ideal rather than a reality of high antiquity, and they tried to find in an ancient Chinese institution a form of shared ownership that predated private property.⁷⁷ The simple schema seen in the period of the late Qing and 1911 Revolution of the well-field system = socialist ideal = Chinese tradition was now largely overcome,⁷⁸ and efforts were made to explain ancient Chinese history based on the materialist conception of history, but the structuring of their former knowledge was still reflected in their understanding of socialism.

The acceptance of a foreign culture—made simpler to comprehend by seeing to it that the reception of socialist theory in China be captured within a traditional framework and, by contrast, by projecting the image and ideal of socialism onto the ancient Chinese tradition at a stage prior to "socialism" having become a fixed concept—was difficult for overseas students and intellectuals associated with the GMD who had acquired a relatively deep level of learning in foreign trends of thought. The direct adoption of a concept of Western origin such as "socialism" was indeed difficult. The fixation on Mozi's "universal love" or Mencius's "well-field system" successively diminished this difficulty as each rich batch of information about socialism came into China. However, when even the intellectuals in Sun Yat-sen's milieu who worked initially to introduce socialism in China tried to explain their understanding of the concept of socialism to someone else, with the help

of an intermediary, they ran into problems. As expected, the fruit of socialist study in Japan at the same time came flooding into Shanghai as well, like a torrent along every possible avenue, major and minor.

The give and take in the “communications” column in the January 1920 issue of *Jianshe*, a journal associated with the GMD, demonstrated how intellectuals affiliated with the GMD were focused on journalistic directions in Japan, in particular being as conversant as Japanese readers were with trends in socialist thought. Thus, for example, the Commercial Press serial *Dongfang zazhi* (Eastern Miscellany) carried a translation of an essay entitled “Shakaishugi no tantō” (“Examination of Socialism”) by Kita Reikichi (1885–1961, younger brother of Kita Ikki, 1883–1937), then a professor at Waseda University. One reader by the name of Liu Fengming wrote in to ask if was really necessary to introduce to China such a mistake-laden, antisocialist essay as Kita’s. In response, a *Jianshe* writer using the pen name “Minyi” (“Will of the People”) wrote in great detail of the reactions in the Japanese serial press to Kita’s essay. In a word, searing criticism was leveled at the essay by Kita, which was carried in the August 1918 issue of *Chūgai* (Home and Abroad), by the likes of Kawakami Hajime, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Kayahara Kazan, and Takabatake Motoyuki in such journals as *Chūgai* and *Shin shakai*. Because of this ferocious response, Kita published an apology entitled “Zange, daihitsu jiken no kokuhaku” (“Confession, Acknowledgement of a Ghost-Writing Incident”) in the journal *Chūō kōron* (Central Public Opinion), and Minyi stated publicly that Kita’s essay was completely worthless in Japan. With the debate over the propriety of socialism in Japan now settled, Minyi was self-confident enough to effectively say there was absolutely no need to repeat the debate in China either. The pseudonym “Minyi” appears to have been one that Zhu Zhixin used in this period.⁷⁹ In any event, it was easy to see that the editorial staff of *Jianshe* were following in minute detail the writings in the Japanese press, especially those of Kawakami, Yamakawa, and Takabatake.

Dai Jitao’s Research on Marxism

Of all the people associated with the GMD who worked on these journals, Dai Jitao was most central to the introduction of socialist theory in Shanghai during the May Fourth period, even more so than Hu

Hanmin or Zhu Zhixin, who had been enthusiastically involved in bringing socialist theory to China during the late-Qing revolutionary movement. For Dai Jitao the motivation to study socialist theory came with his witnessing the power of the three strike conflicts of June 1919—namely, those that transpired in Shanghai at the time of the high tide of the May Fourth Movement: the student strike, the labor strike, and the merchant strike. It encouraged him to earnestly explore a policy that would resolve the social and labor problems in China. As the most theoretical person in the GMD, he appealed for the necessity of research into socialist theory in the pages of *Xingqi pinglun* and *Jianshe*, personally collected foreign socialist materials widely, and introduced them to readers.⁸⁰ Representative of this work were two serialized translations he produced from November 1919 in *Jianshe* and *Juewu*, respectively, entitled “Makesi Zibenlun jieshuo” (“Explanation of Marx’s *Das Kapital*”) and “Shangpin shengchan de xingzhi” (“The Nature of Commodity Production”)—both from work by Karl Kaustky and retranslated from the Japanese translation of Takabatake Motoyuki’s *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (An Explication of Marx’s *Das Kapital*), which Chen Puxian had translated in Beijing.⁸¹ The individuals in Shanghai who were the most knowledgeable of Marxist theory around 1920 and up to date particularly with developments in Japanese socialist research were Dai Jitao and Li Hanjun, who was responsible for revising the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto*. The man who conveyed a rich knowledge of Marxism to Chen Duxiu, when the latter moved to Shanghai early in 1920, and poured his energies into Marxist study as a central member of the Shanghai Communist group was Dai Jitao.⁸²

From the summer of 1919, Dai began introducing the situation prevailing in revolutionary Russia as well as Marxist theory, though one should note that the level of his understanding of Marxism far surpassed other leading intellectuals of the day. As one example, let us compare the views of Dai Jitao with those of Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu on the activities of the work-study group in Beijing: this issue was a major focus of concern from the latter half of 1919 for progressive young people; received support from Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Chen Puxian, among others; and by March 1920 had failed and dispersed.

Primarily the idea of Wang Guangqi (1892–1936), the work-study movement was an effort by radical youth from August 1919 that had won the support of Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu. Influenced by Trotskyist ideas of pan-laborism, anarchist ideas of mutual aid, and the

“new village” movement in Japan, they sought to realize the ideal of “cooperative living involving work and study simultaneously.”⁸³ The first work-study group organized, in Beijing, had failed by March 1920 for both economic and personal reasons and was compelled to disband. Li Dazhao had high hopes for this work-study movement as the first step toward social reform and offered some financial assistance. He saw the main reason for its failure to be that “the work-study group in the city took on the organization of cooperative production.” In the city where “land and housing was extremely expensive . . . relying on the wages capitalists paid to laborers and modest business ventures,” it was utterly impossible to “maintain a life in which half of each day went to study and half to work.” Li’s plan to overcome this obstacle was “pure work-study”—namely “they should purchase inexpensive land in the countryside and work directly on it as farmers.”⁸⁴ Although such terms as *capitalist* and *laborer* crop up in his discussion, Li sought the proximate cause of the failure of the work-study group in the inhumanity of the city. His alternate plan thus entailed directing efforts toward the countryside, as the city would inevitably be a ground for failure.

Chen Duxiu, for his part, considered the failure of the work-study effort basically due to three causes: the strong will of the young people participating, the customary practices of labor, and production techniques. It was thus a question of people more than organization. He urged young folk launching such work-study efforts in cities other than Beijing not to repeat the mistakes of those in the capital.⁸⁵ For Chen, critical as he remained throughout the May Fourth era of the negligence and lethargy of the Chinese people’s spirit, such an evaluation was not unexpected, but he offered virtually no social or economic reflections on this issue at hand. In an essay in December (1919), “Gao Beijing laodongjie” (“Announcement to the World of Labor in Beijing”), Chen had touched on the existence of the “proletariat” and noted that “the function of pure capital is not absent from the world of Chinese production, and the organization of Chinese society and economy is indeed a capitalist one.”⁸⁶ While Chen indicated interest in the realm of social science here, at this time he was more focused on the work-study movement as the first step in remolding human minds and applying to China the ideas of democratic autonomy of John Dewey (1859–1952), who was then visiting China.⁸⁷ Any concerns for Marxism were much less evident at the time.

What did Dai Jitao have to say about this issue at the time? In an essay entitled “Wo duiyu gongdu huzhutuan de yikaocha” (“My Thoughts

on the Work-Study Group”), published in the March 1920 *Xingqi ping-lun*, Dai wrote:

The government is an institution geared toward the protection of the propertied classes and simultaneously toward safeguarding the propertied classes. . . . Given such a production system, it is impossible for a small group of people by their own strength to engage in production and simultaneously to achieve objectives in learning. In addition, with immature work capacity and an incomplete, crude means of production, even if they could recover the “surplus labor time” eroded away by the capitalist production system, it would be impossible.

His suggested plan was both extremely intellectual and agitational: “Abandon all ‘self-righteous’ concepts . . . and, holding tight to the goal of universal relief, throw all efforts into factories under the capitalist system of production.” Of course, in the abovementioned writings by Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu, we can identify critiques of the orientation toward the rural village and the peasantry characteristic and of the traditional character of the Chinese people in each of their work. However, the level at which Dai exposed the inevitability of the work-study group’s failure from society and the economy of the time reveals a clear understanding of Marxist theory far surpassing that of either Li or Chen. It has been pointed out that “Chen Duxiu’s convictions in the face of Dai Jitao’s Marxism were strong and led him to study all the more.”⁸⁸ In the summer of 1920, Shi Cuntong, who was groping his way toward Marxism from anarchism, noted that “I was most inspired by Dai Jitao. My recent thinking has almost all been influenced by him.”⁸⁹ Given the development of Dai Jitao’s ideas outlined above, these statements seem all the more appropriate.

Dai Jitao and the Japanese Socialist Movement

As noted earlier, Dai Jitao retranslated Kautsky’s *Karl Marx’s ökonomische Lehren*, a perfectly fine introduction to Marxist research, from the Japanese translation, *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu*, by Takabatake Motoyuki. His knowledge of Marxism can be gleaned from the Japanese socialist materials used. This can be seen in a letter he composed to Sakai Toshihiko in January 1920, in which the fluency of his Japanese

was extraordinary (there are only a few places in which the Japanese phrasing sounds a bit unnatural):

Japan is an advanced nation in East Asia. I believe, without a doubt, that Japan, the guiding pioneer in Political Revolution, must also be the guiding pioneer in Social Revolution. This immense project at transformation, however, will be completed only with the cooperation of the common people of the world. In particular, the task of this great transformation in East Asia will, I believe, only be fulfilled after militaristic Japan has been abolished. Thus, the activities of our comrades in Japan will, I believe, provide a huge help to the world and to East Asia, offering blessings for a long time to come in future. The era of international reform based on “the principle of people’s livelihood” or socialism, the final objective of the Three Principles of the People—nationalism, popular rights, and people’s livelihood—which we have long esteemed has reached maturity. Since last year there has been little we can do, but we have rallied comrades and continued propaganda work. Spreading the word among the people whose cultural level is still quite low has, I feel, been excruciatingly difficult, but as we now face a new dawn, our propaganda is now exerting a powerful influence in many areas. . . . Finally, I would like to ask you to introduce us to a listing of books and journals in which we might find yours and your colleagues’ fervent energies crystallized. Also, just as the English translation of Karl Kausky [sic], *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung* was the model for your translation, *Shakaishugi rinrigaku* (Socialist Ethics) (my friend Li Junpei is retranslating your translated work, and because he has considerable ability as a writer himself, I doubt there will be many major errors. Please excuse me for not receiving your permission in advance), we will compare the section that your translation deleted, which should take about a week’s time. If you could let us know, that would be a great boon to us. If it is on sale in any bookstores in Tokyo, please just let me know the name of the store.⁹⁰

Dai’s letter makes it obvious that his deep concern with the socialist movement in Japan was based on the recognition that the activities of Japanese comrades were indispensable in the great reform efforts under way in East Asia, including China. Like Chen Puxian, Dai Jitao also believed that Japan’s social revolution and China’s social revolu-

tion would advance in tandem and be a prerequisite to genuine Sino-Japanese friendship. This point is clear from his essay “Zibenzhuyi xiamian de Zhong-Ri guanxi” (“Sino-Japanese Relations Under Capitalism”). In that piece, he argued that what hindered friendship and cohesion between the two countries was not just “bureaucrats, militarists, and merchants,” but “capitalism which causes all manner of modern evils. . . . If the revolution in China and Japan—the revolution that will change the systems of production, exchange, and distribution—is not successful,” friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the two countries “is completely hopeless.”⁹¹ For Dai, then, revolution in Japan and China were profoundly connected with each other.

Even more interesting is his comment about the state of affairs of the documents available for Dai’s own research on socialism at the time. From the content of the letter, Dai seems never to have actually met face-to-face with either Sakai or the Yamakawas. What Dai sought more than anything else from Sakai, who was at the center of the socialist movement in Japan, was to be introduced to Japanese socialist books and journals and to learn how to obtain them. It is not terribly hard to imagine that behind this was an absence of materials to use to study Marxism, a problem extremely difficult to resolve in China.

Did no bookstores in China at the time sell Western books written about socialism? To the extent that Dai’s request was to learn the name of a bookstore in Tokyo, the Western-language scene in Shanghai would seem to have been paltry. The experience of Hu Shi (1891–1962), then recently returned from a period of study in the United States and soon to make his name as an intellectual, answers this question. Hu Shi lamented the fact that the Western works available at Yiwensi (Evans) Bookstore and the Commercial Press, representative bookshops in Shanghai dealing in Western writings, were sharply separated from the currents in Western thinking. As he put it:

I remember a list of English-language books recently written and immediately available at Maruzen Bookstore in Tokyo. Most of these new books published a year earlier in England and America were on the shelves there. I compared this list with those available at the Commercial Press and Yiwensi Bookstore, and nearly died out of embarrassment.⁹²

Given the pitiful situation Hu depicted of philosophical and literary writings sought, one can only conjecture the state of affairs

concerning works dealing with socialism. As can be seen from the request in Dai's letter, even he, the main figure in socialist study in Shanghai, was unable to locate books on socialism as desired. Furthermore, even in Shanghai, the most open overseas site in all of China, this situation prevailed, and thus looking for Western writings about socialism in local cities would doubtless have been even less fruitful. In other words, the fact itself that a large quantity of socialist materials had been introduced to various places in China during the May Fourth era was a miracle of sorts. And Dai's letter was hinting that what made this possible was the external condition of the socialist boom in Japan at the same time.

We do not know what assistance Sakai may have offered in response to Dai's request for socialist materials, but the very fact that Sakai published the letter in a journal perhaps indicates that he sent him materials starting with the very booklist for which Dai had asked. In fact, Dai had ordered books related to socialism from a Japanese publishing house. This much is clear from another Japanese-language letter that he apparently wrote in late 1920. He composed the following letter to thank the publisher, Daitōkaku, for sending him the Japanese translation of *Das Kapital* (J. *Shihonron*, translated by Kitabatake Motoyuki, 1920):

The meticulous care and close revision by the well-known author in your [press's] translation are sufficiently clear even before reading the work. Many young people in my country can read Japanese, and although they cannot get their hands on and read translated works in English or French, they should now be able to see the truth of Marxist theory with this translation.⁹³

For Chinese intellectuals who would have to wait until the 1930s for the publication of a Chinese translation of *Das Kapital*, the depth of foreign, particularly Japanese, knowledge of socialism was overwhelming. Just a glance at essays concerned with socialism that appeared in *Xingqi pinglun*, edited by Dai Jitao, will make this point all the clearer. The number of articles and essays based on Japanese journals and newspapers—including *Shin shakai*, *Hihan* (Critique), *Shakaishugi kenkyū*, *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, *Demokurashii* (Democracy), *Kaizō*, *Tōyō keizai shinpō* (Asian Economic News), and *Keizai ronsō* (Economic Essays)—was overwhelming. Also, visits by members of the socialist-oriented Shinjinkai (New Man Society) at

Tokyo Imperial University, including Miyazaki Ryūsuke and Taira Teizō (1894–1978),⁹⁴ to Dai Jitao and Li Hanjun in Shanghai in effect meant that the latter were unmistakably closest to intellectual trends in Japan. As we shall see later, it is not at all odd and, in fact, should be seen as perfectly natural that Dai Jitao was the one who provided the Japanese translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, which served as the basis for the first complete Chinese translation by Chen Wangdao (1891–1977) of this work by Marx and Engels.

From the summer of 1920, as the Shanghai Communist group set to work forming a Communist Party around Chen Duxiu, Dai Jitao found that Sun Yat-sen, with whom he was working closely, opposed this, and he began to maintain his distance from the activities of the Communist group. As we know from the aim of Dai's articles in the May Fourth period, the publicist activities of people associated with the Guomindang—Dai, Hu Hanmin, and Shen Xuanlu (1892–1928), among others—were to introduce Marxist theory with the objective of preventing the emergence of societal problems and the aggravation of class struggle in China.⁹⁵ Thus, they introduced Marxism theories of historical materialism and surplus value as a means of peacefully resolving China's social problems and strengthening Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People.

Dai Jitao later became anti-Communist, as is well known, and was stridently critical of the CCP's servility to the Comintern. Whenever he criticized the Communist movement, however, we can see that he was issuing a critique based on Marxist theory,⁹⁶ for his understanding and criticism of Marxism was far from superficial. To that extent, when considering the reception of Marxism in China, we cannot overlook the important role he played. He played a leading part in the early years of the Communist group in Shanghai because his knowledge of Marxism far exceeded that of any other Chinese activist at the time. In his mind, he was set on trying to forestall class struggle from arising in China before it became aggravated, and without a doubt, he saw Marxist theory as a scientific basis for the theory of People's Livelihood, one of Sun's Three Principles of the People. For someone who would attempt to make Marxism into a theory of revolution, however, the gulf separating the power of attraction that Marxism had for intellectuals at the time (the ideology that led the Russian and German Revolutions) from the difficulties of studying this theory was filled for Dai Jitao with his deep insight into foreign currents of thought and wide reading in Japanese socialist materials.

The Chinese Translation of the Communist Manifesto

The first work by Marx and Engels translated into book form in China was the *Communist Manifesto*, a work that has been accorded the important status as a “classic” within their corpus. As is well known, the *Communist Manifesto* was introduced much earlier at the end of the Qing in summary form. Especially famous in this context, Zhu Zhixin quoted from it and introduced it in his “Deyizhi shehui gemingjia xiaozhuan (jia Maerke)” (“A Short Biography of German Social Revolutionaries: 1. Marx”), which he published in *Minbao* (People’s News), an organ of the Revolutionary Alliance.⁹⁷ Over a decade later, two translations appeared in 1919, but both were excerpted works or partial translations only.⁹⁸ Chen Wangdao, who wrote for *Xin qingnian*, completed the first full translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and the complete text became known to Chinese intellectuals for the first time in 1920. Chen was a member of the CCP in its early years and joined the Shanghai Communist group about the same time that he finished his translation. Soon thereafter, he left the Party and became a scholar of linguistics and rhetoric. In the tempest of the Cultural Revolution in his later years, when others who had left the Party were subjected to fierce persecution, he somehow managed to escape such a fate, probably because he was the first translator of the *Communist Manifesto*.⁹⁹

There have been many studies of the Western-language translations of the *Communist Manifesto*,¹⁰⁰ and a fair number of studies have also been produced concerning the history of the Japanese-language translations,¹⁰¹ but we still do not know for certain what text Chen used as the basis for his first full Chinese translation, *Gongchandang xuanyan*. Chen wrote the following memoir concerning the sequence of events surrounding the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto*:

After returning home [in June 1919], I took up a teaching position at the Zhejiang Number One Normal School in Hangzhou. However, because a student, Shi Cuntong, had written an essay entitled “Fei xiao” [“Against Filial Piety”], he was subject to a ferocious attack by the bigoted powers that be, and I was drawn into it. I was charged with being “unfilial, anti-Confucian, wife-sharing, and a Communist.” Soon thereafter I was fired from Number One Normal School and returned to my hometown of Yiwu [in Zhejiang Province]. There I translated the *Communist Manifesto*. I retranslated it from the Japanese translation, a volume that Dai

Jitao had given me. When I completed the translation, the Shanghai Communist group devised a plan to get it published.¹⁰²

This volume is one that *Xingqi pinglun* asked me to translate, and I planned to publish it in this magazine.¹⁰³

After completing the translation in his hometown, Chen Wangdao resurfaced in Shanghai around June 1920. In late June, Chen Duxiu received a copy of the draft translation.¹⁰⁴ Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun proofread the text, and it was published in August by the Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe (Socialist Study Group) in Shanghai.¹⁰⁵ Although he claimed to have “retranslated it from the Japanese translation” given to him by Dai Jitao, according to one theory, Chen Wangdao used as a reference the English translation that Chen Duxiu had ordered from the Beijing University Library.¹⁰⁶ The basis for this last assertion is unclear, as Chen Wangdao himself makes no mention in his memoir of the English edition of the text, and thus we have no way to assess its validity. In any event, let us move to the Japanese edition with which Dai Jitao provided him, for despite the popularity of Marxism in Japan at this time, publication of the *Communist Manifesto* alone had not been permitted.

The *Communist Manifesto* was not on display in Japanese bookstores at the time, but that does not mean that it had not been translated previously into Japanese. A translation of the *Communist Manifesto* first appeared in Japan in *Heimin shinbun* (Commoners Newspaper) on November 13, 1904. The translators were Sakai Toshihiko (Kosen) and Kōtoku Denjirō (Shūsui, 1871–1911), who retranslated it from the 1888 English edition by Samuel Moore. It was, however, banned from being sold under the “Newspaper Regulations,” and Sakai and Kōtoku, together with the publisher and editor of *Heimin shinbun*, Nishikawa Kōjirō (1876–1940), were brought under indictment. After a year or more had passed, Sakai published the translation a second time under the title “Gakujutsu kenkyū no shiryō” (“Materials for Academic Research”). This was the very translation he had prepared with Kōtoku, and it appeared in the inaugural issue of *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (March 1906), a journal he edited. The *Communist Manifesto* as it appeared in *Shakaishugi kenkyū* was a complete translation, supplementing what had been omitted from the serialization in *Heimin shinbun*. Although this edition was not banned, after the Great Treason case in 1910, virtually all socialist materials, including the *Communist Manifesto*, disappeared from open view, ushering in the “era of the winter of socialism.” Later, in the latter half of the 1910s, bit by bit socialist materials began

to appear again, but the *Communist Manifesto* alone was not permitted for publication. The *Communist Manifesto*, though, had not completely disappeared around 1920. Manuscript copies of the Japanese translation circulated and were recopied within the circle surrounding Sakai Toshihiko. One copy, entitled *Kyōsansha sengen* (Communists' Manifesto), dated "Taishō 9" (1920), by an unnamed "Japanese translator" (based on the Kōtoku-Sakai translation, mimeographed copy, publication information unknown, held in library of the Research Institute in the Humanities, Kyoto University) exists, but the traces of socialists of that time are mostly hidden from view. Sakai himself supplemented deficiencies in the older translation and undertook a retranslation of the *Communist Manifesto* around 1921.

The search for the text upon which Chen's translation was based can be pursued through a comparison of it with the Japanese edition. First of all, Chen's translation, in both its initial printing and its second printing of September 1920, are now held in the Shanghai Library and the Beijing Library. For a long time, these originals were simply unavailable for viewing, but the second printing of the *Communist Manifesto* translation was included in volume 4 of *Chen Wangdao wenji* (Writings of Chen Wangdao), and now one can easily read the text of Chen's translation. Examining this text, the most probable candidate for the one on which Chen relied was that of Kōtoku and Sakai in the inaugural issue of *Shakaishugi kenkyū*. The similarities in style between the two, such as places in which translated terms had not as yet been fixed and the Western-language term is affixed—*ziyoumin* (J. *jiyūmin*, freeman), *nuli* (J. *dorei*, slave), *guizu* (J. *kizoku*, patrician), and *pingmin* (J. *heimin*, plebeian)—are apparent. Thus, the text Chen relied on when preparing his translation basically appears to have been this Japanese edition.

It may seem a bit odd that Dai Jitao, the man who provided Chen with a copy of the Japanese translation of the text at hand, would still have in the 1919–1920 period the inaugural issue of *Shakaishugi kenkyū* that had been published a decade before, but we have undeniable proof that he indeed did have a copy of this work. The January 1920 issue of *Xingqi pinglun*, of which he was editor-in-chief, carried Dai's "Makesi zhuan" ("Biography of Marx"), and this is a retranslation of "Marukusu den" ("Biography of Marx") by Shizuno Matao, itself a translation of a work by Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826–1900), which also appeared in the inaugural issue of *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (March 1906). Dai undoubtedly knew that the *Communist Manifesto* was carried in the same issue. The

note in Chen's memoir that he received the text from Dai would almost certainly indicate this same first issue of *Shakaishugi kenkyū*.

The story, though, is not quite so simple. When we actually compare Chen's translation with the joint Kōtoku-Sakai version, there are two major differences: Chen's translation does not include Engels's "Preface to the English Edition," which was included in the Japanese translation, and there are a number of divergences in translation terms—for example, Kōtoku and Sakai translated "bourgeois" as *shinshi* (gentry), whereas Chen rendered it *youchanzhe* (property holders), and the former translated "proletariat" as *heimin* (commoners), while Chen rendered it *wuchanzhe* (those without property). Among the manuscripts and mimeographed texts of the Japanese edition that circulated in private in Japan, there is one that is close to Chen's in style. For example, neither the aforementioned mimeographed text of the *Communist Manifesto* nor the draft translation Sakai revised around 1919 (unpublished, held in the collection of the Ohara Institute for Social Research at Hōsei University) include the "Preface to the English Edition," and both translate "bourgeois" and "proletariat" in the same way as Chen, in addition to offering a phonemic transcription. That said, this does not completely remove the possibility that the text Dai gave to Chen was the Japanese translation that circulated in secret to which the "Preface to the English Edition" was not attached and the translated terms altered.

While there was indeed the Kōtoku-Sakai translation in *Shakaishugi kenkyū* available, it is difficult to imagine Dai Jitao specifically requesting a secretly circulating text. It makes complete sense that the absence of the "Preface to the English Edition" in Chen's translation was a result of his desire to translate only the most important item, the *Communist Manifesto* itself, and thus he failed to translate the preface that appeared in the Kōtoku-Sakai work. This all appears highly likely from a broad overview of the circumstances surrounding the translation. On the translation of "bourgeois" and "proletariat" as well, Chen had earlier translated and introduced work by Kawakami Hajime and others, and he adopted Kawakami's terminology unchanged for his translation, *yūsansha* (C. *youchanzhe*, for bourgeois) and *musansha* (C. *wuchanzhe*, for proletariat); in the period in which Chen was preparing his translation, these translation terms were in wide usage. While basing himself on the Kōtoku-Sakai edition from *Shakaishugi kenkyū*, Chen did not adopt their use of *shinshi* and *heimin* for these two terms

and thus changed those terms when he brought out the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto*.

The *Communist Manifesto* in Chinese translation was the first complete work by Marx and Engels to appear in translation in China and was extravagantly praised by socialists, who in these early years were intent on the radical reform of society¹⁰⁷ playing a major role in preparing the way for an ideological basis for the formation of a Communist Party. The young Mao Zedong was one of these early socialists. During his second period of residence in Beijing (December 1919–April 1920), he mentioned Chen Wangdao's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* as one of three volumes that “deeply carved my mind, and built up in me a faith in Marxism.”¹⁰⁸ However, during his visit to Beijing this second time, Chen's translation had not as yet been published. It has been claimed that, in addition to Chen's translation, there was a mimeographed text translated from the German by the “Marxist Theory Study Group” at Beijing University at that time, and Luo Zhanglong (1896–1995), a member of this group, has argued that this was the text of the *Communist Manifesto* that Mao Zedong would have seen.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, this mimeographed text is no longer extant, and thus the veracity of this story lies behind historical analysis. In any event, the *Communist Manifesto* that Chen Wangdao retranslated from Japanese in a mere fifty-six pages went through a number of changes in form and printings until 1938, and it was without a doubt required reading for Communist Party members.

The Study of Marxism by Chinese Student Groups in Japan

Together with Dai Jitao and others associated with the Guomindang, young journalists who had studied in Japan and Chinese students in Japan were two groups that brought heightened attention to the study of Marxism in Shanghai. Along with Chen Duxiu, who had on several occasions traveled to Japan as their leader, these men included Li Hanjun, Chen Wangdao, Shi Cuntong, Zhou Fohai, and Li Da (1890–1966), among others. Their essays concerned with socialism were frequently carried in newspapers and journals affiliated with the GMD or, as in the case of Li Hanjun, were themselves related by blood to men associated with the GMD. One cannot sharply distinguish them from those associated with the GMD, although they were basically from a younger generation that had received its education after the 1911 Revolution.

The majority of the members of the Shanghai Communist group, predecessor of the CCP, had studied in Japan,¹¹⁰ and as can be gleaned from this fact, their writings and activities were closely connected to Japanese socialist research.

Those connected to the Shanghai Communist group all recognized the contribution that the experience of studying in Japan had in their acceptance of Marxism. For example, Shao Lizi (1882–1967) offered the following assessment:

When the Marxist study group got started, we could only propagate Marxism by translating and writing essays. Li Hanjun, Li Da, and Chen Wangdao all wrote quite a lot. Later, Zhou Fohai also wrote a bit, and they had all been students in Japan. At that time, Marxist writings primarily came to us from Japan.¹¹¹

Similarly, Li Da, who had studied in Japan and had been recommended at the first meeting of the CCP as someone to lead propaganda work, offered the following remembrance:

At that time, scarcely any of the writings of Marx and Engels had been translated, and we only knew a fragment of them from Japanese. Help from Japan in the reception of Marxism in China was huge. That was because there was no one to translate [the works] in China, the bourgeois scholars would not translate anything, and it was beyond the capacity of our people to translate.¹¹²

For someone who had the experience of studying in Japan, who came into contact with socialist theory and Marxism via the intermediacy of Japanese-language materials, and who was a CCP theorist in the early period, there is no better example than Li Hanjun, whom we touched on in the introduction. Born in Qianjiang, Hubei Province, Li was born Li Shushi and used the names Li Renjie (using two different characters for “Ren”); Li Hanjun; and the pen names Haijing, Hanjing, Han, Jun, Renjie, and Xianjin, among others. In 1904, at the age of twelve, he went to study at the Gyōsei Middle School in Tokyo, later moving from the Number Eight Senior High School (Nagoya) to the engineering faculty at the Imperial University (later, Tokyo University). Gradually, in these years, he became ever more interested in social science. Returning home in late 1918, he began editing the journal *Xingqi pinglun* with Dai Jitao and others, became with Chen Duxiu and Li Da

the pivotal figures in the “Shanghai Communist group,” and contributed to the creation of a Communist Party through his writings and activities. While he was the Shanghai representative to the first plenary session of the CCP, he later left the Party. He was the younger brother of Li Shucheng (1882–1965), a leader in the Guomindang.

We know that Li Hanjun was a pioneer theorist for the Shanghai Communist group also from the subsequent writings of Bao Huiseng (1895–1979), who also attended the first plenary of the CCP: “In the early years after the CCP was founded, Li Hanjun’s position in the Party was second to Chen Duxiu.”¹¹³ Also conversant in English, German, and French, Li’s source of theories was Japanese socialist materials. We know this from the Japanese writings—such as Kitazawa Shinjirō (1887–1980), *Rōdōsha mondai* (Problems of Workers, 1919), and Kubota Bunzō, *Ou-Bei rōdō mondai* (Problems for Workers in Europe and North America, 1919)—which are cited profusely in his essay “Hunpu de she-huizhuyizhe de tebie de laodong yundong yijian” (“Particular Views on the Labor Movement by a Modest Socialist”), written as a rebuttal to Zhang Dunsun (1886–1973, editor-in-chief of the Shanghai daily *Shishi xinbao*, who at the time was interested in socialism).¹¹⁴ Similarly, his translation of Mary E. Marcy’s (1877–1922) *Shop Talks on Economics*—rendered as *Makesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx’s *Das Kapital*)—was not from the English original but from the Japanese translation by Endō Musui (*Tsūzoku Marukusu Shihonron, fu Marukusu den* [Popular Edition of Marx’s *Das Kapital*, with a Biography of Marx Appended], published in 1919). That he closely tracked the intellectual movements of Japanese Marxist scholars, especially Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Kawakami Hajime, is obvious in the bibliography of reference works he methodically appended to his essays. For example, in his article entitled “Weiwu shiguan bushi shenma” (“What Is the Materialist View of History Not?”),¹¹⁵ responding to various erroneous views of historical materialism, he listed as reference works—in addition to Chinese translations “Jingjixue pipan” (“Economic Critiques”), “Kongxiang de yu kexue de shehuizhuyi” (“Imaginary and Scientific Socialism”), and “Weiwu shiguan jieshuo” (“Explanation of Historical Materialism”)—Sakai Toshihiko’s *Kyōfu tōsō kanki* (Panic, Struggle, Joy), Sakai’s *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara*, Kawakami Hajime’s *Yuibutsu shikan kenkyū* (Studies in Historical Materialism), and Takabatake Motoyuki’s *Shakaishugi teki shokenkyū* (Studies in Socialism). In his essay “Yanjiu Makesi xueshuo de biyao ji women xianzai rushou de fangfa” (“The Necessity of Marxist Theory and the Means by

Which We Can Get Started Now”),¹¹⁶ which discusses the Marxist system, he raises as the three essentials supporting Marxism “the theory of historical materialism,” “economic theory,” and “social democracy,” and he situates “class struggle” as the “golden thread” uniting them. Just as we saw with Li Dazhao earlier, this follows directly from the views of Kawakami Hajime (“Marukusu no shakaishugi no rironteki taikei,” cited above).

In the realm of understanding Marxist theory at this time, Li Hanjun thus cut a conspicuous figure, writing for beginners in Marxist guidebooks for the study of socialism. For “people who are trying to describe Marxist socialism and wish to be well-informed on Marxist socialism,” he suggested as documents that “had to be read in detail” simply “the three classics of Marxist socialism (*Communist Manifesto*, “From Imaginary to Scientific,” and *Capital*).”¹¹⁷ In an introduction to materials he wrote two years later, his list of sources included translations from Japanese and was extraordinarily lengthy. On that occasion, not only did he indicate the desired reading order for the study of Marxism, but he had the self-confidence to note, “In this way, if it [Marxism] can be mastered in two or three readings, that would be great, and thereafter reading [such] books will most certainly be easier, unhindered even if you read freely without selection.”¹¹⁸ To the extent that he could assert that “if you can get to know even just a bit of the journalistic world in Japan over the past year or two,”¹¹⁹ such self-confidence would vouch for the high level of his knowledge about socialist materials in Japan.

As for the “help from Japan” mentioned by Li Da, this did not simply refer to Japanese-language journals and translation of books. It meant as well the facts that Chen Wangdao, Shi Cuntong, and others of the Shanghai Communist group had made contact with Sakai Toshihiko and Yamakawa Hitoshi when they were students in Japan,¹²⁰ and that Li Da and Li Hanjun were sympathetic to the trends in Japanese socialist thought when they were studying there and brought back numerous Japanese socialist materials when they returned to China. Furthermore, as in the cases of Mao Dun (Shen Dehong, 1896–1981); his younger brother, Shen Zemin (1902–1933); and Zhang Wentian (1900–1976), getting one’s hands on socialist-related documents was the first objective for young people at the time who went to study abroad in Japan.¹²¹ Learning Japanese and the study of socialist theory had for them essentially the same meaning. The exchange between Shanghai socialists and Sakai Toshihiko, among others, as we noted in the letter from

Dai Jitao to Sakai, was continued via Shi Cuntong and Chen Wangdao after Dai left the Shanghai Communist group¹²² and later deepened further to the extent that Yamakawa Hitoshi wrote a piece for the Chinese journal *Xin qingnian*.

According to the translator's note, Yamakawa's article "From Scientific Socialism to Activist Socialism," carried in translation in *Xin qingnian* (May 1921), was written in response to a request from the editors of *Xin qingnian*—namely the Shanghai Communist group.¹²³ A brief biography and a representative sample of Yamakawa's writings were introduced here, and we can see that his reputation as a man weak in constitution but working tirelessly for the socialist movement extended as far as China. In addition, Shi Cuntong contributed from Tokyo, where he was then studying, an essay for *Juewu*, the supplement to *Minguo ribao*, in which he introduced the journal *Shakaishugi kenkyū*, edited by Yamakawa; in it he recommended that "you should buy this [journal] rather than *Kaihō* or *Kaizō*," both radical Japanese journals of general interest, and he offered the contents of back issues, the address for subscriptions, and the prices.¹²⁴

The attention to foreign theories of socialism and their translation should not be dismissed as something merely at the level of language. The reason is that the Communist group began activities in Shanghai from 1920 toward forming a Communist Party, and its first actions involved introducing socialism and Marxism, translating, and forming a study group; the core of the Communist group's activities, in fact, was comprised of people recognized for in-depth knowledge of Marxist theory through foreign materials. The absence of studies of socialist theory and the influx of new forms of a revolutionary movement with principles and theories that required study before implementation, these two sides of the coin indicate the extremely weighty role played by foreign knowledge and the intellectuals capable of explaining this foreign knowledge in the early Communist movement in China. The fact that the nucleus of the Shanghai Communist group, which was central to the early Communist movement in China, was the introducers and translators of foreign knowledge—Chen Duxiu, Li Hanjun, Li Da, and Chen Wangdao, among others—was by no means coincidental. At a time in which, as Dong Biwu put it, "anarchism, socialism, the commune movement in Japan, etc., were all arguing in my head"—China of May Fourth era, the crucible of new thought trends—an ideological pilot was needed, as Li Hanjun would guide his thinking and lead him to Marxism.¹²⁵

THE PROPAGATION OF BOLSHEVIK TEXTS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW IDEAS FROM WITHOUT

Changes in Xin qingnian (New Youth)

In 1915, Chen Duxiu launched publication in Shanghai of *Xin qingnian* (initially it was called *Qingnian zazhi* [Youth Magazine], but from the following year, the name was changed to *Xin qingnian*). Its influence on the world of thought in modern Chinese was tremendous. There is no need to explain the immensity of its impact surrounding the “criticism of Confucianism” and the “literary revolution,” or its pioneering work at introducing Western individualism and scientism. From 1920, *Xin qingnian* became the official organ of the Shanghai Communist group led by Chen Duxiu, but this changeover—with a brief halt in publication from May 1920—started in September when the magazine was spruced up and resumed publication. That is, Chen Duxiu’s effective manifesto of conversion to Marxism, “Tan zhengzhi” (“Discussing Politics”), appeared in this very issue, and in subsequent issues, a special column dedicated to introducing the Russian Revolution (“Eluosi yan-jiu” [“Studies of Russia”]) was installed, carrying Bolshevik documents in translation. The nature of the magazine had clearly changed.

As a result of the situation in Soviet Russia after the October 1917 Revolution, the speeches and writings of such Bolshevik leaders as Lenin and Trotsky and reports concerning the Bolsheviks were generally not, compared to Marxist theory, conveyed to China. Of course, news of the October Revolution and the revolutionary policies following it, as well as the situation in the civil war, was transmitted via foreign cables in the newspapers, but these fragmentary reports, mixed with speculation and prejudice, fell short of satisfying Chinese intellectuals who were sympathetic to the Russian Revolution. In China, anarchists who followed the ways of Liu Shifu (1884–1915) offered a high assessment of the Russian Revolution. Their journal *Rōdō* (Labor) carried articles with such titles as “The Policies Implemented by the Russian Radicals” and “A Short Essay on Lenin, Leader of the Russian Social Revolution.”¹²⁶ Only five issues of this journal appeared before ceasing publication in July 1918. I was only able to locate four examples of Lenin’s writings and speeches that were translated into Chinese before *Xin qingnian* stopped publication in May 1920. All of them are partial translations, not including interviews given to foreign reporters.¹²⁷ One of the reasons that translations of Bolshevik materials was still so

inadequate was that Japanese socialists, the primary source of news for Chinese socialists, were unable to offer explanations for the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks due to controls placed on the news media there.¹²⁸ Dai Jitao, who, as we said, was thoroughly knowledgeable of Japanese materials, wrote the following in 1919:

The present situation in Russia is complex and disorderly. It is not at all easy to obtain even a small amount of reference material. Moreover, articles on the Bolsheviks are particularly difficult to get one's hands on. This is our greatest difficulty in studying the present scene in Russia.¹²⁹

In the midst of all this, what afforded Chinese intellectuals knowledge of the spirit of the Russian Revolution in a visible form was, more than anything else, the "Declaration to the Chinese People and to Both the Northern and Southern Governments of China," published under the name of Lev Karakhan (1889–1937), Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet government, in July 1919; this document is better known as the "First Karakhan Manifesto." Details of this manifesto, primarily the unconditional return of rights and privileges unfairly acquired from China by the former Tsarist regime in Russia, were conveyed to China over a half-year later, between late March and early April 1920.¹³⁰ The presence or absence of language concerning the return to China without compensation of the Chinese Eastern Railway (a part of the old Siberian Railway spanning northeastern China), the most important item in the Manifesto, would later become a diplomatic issue between China and the Soviet Union,¹³¹ but at the time of its transmission, this epochal Manifesto was hailed as "praiseworthy to an unprecedented extent."¹³² Interest in the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik leadership would rise thereafter on the whole. It was in response to this event then that the "Russian studies" column was installed in the newly revived *Xin qingnian*.

The "Russian studies" column was occupied primarily with translations of writings about the Russian Revolution carried in various Western journals. The major source of news for it, however, was an English-language magazine entitled *Soviet Russia*. *Soviet Russia* was the weekly organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York, which commenced publication in June 1919 (see figure 1.1).

Thus, such works as Lenin's "Economics of a Transition Period" and Trotsky's "What Should We Begin With?" were translated, and

1

Lenin's Birthday Anniversary Number

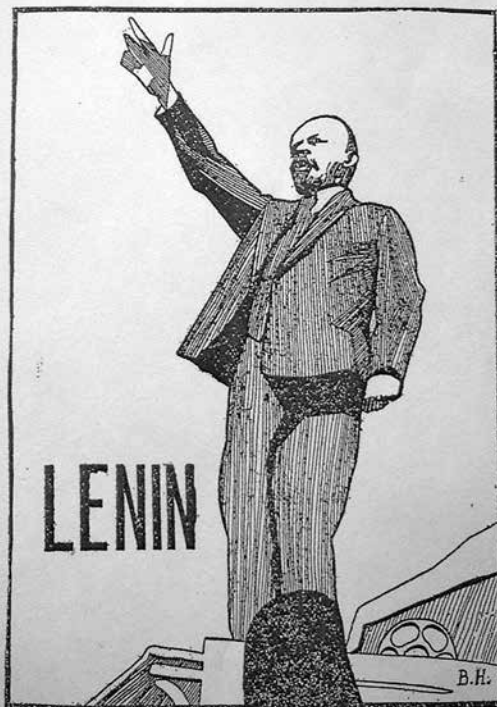
SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. II, No. 15

New York, April 10, 1920

Ten Cents A Copy



Lenin: Best Hated and Best Loved

GEORGE LANSBURY

For Lenin

GEORGES SOREL

Lenin the Seer

M. KATZ

EDITORIALS—OFFICIAL STATEMENTS—DOCUMENTS

FIGURE 1.1 *Soviet Russia* (April 10, 1920 issue)

numerous articles describing conditions in postrevolutionary Russia were introduced (see table 1.1, comparing “Studies of Russia” in *Xin qingnian* with *Soviet Russia*). Furthermore, although not in the “Studies of Russia” column, Lenin’s speech “The Right of Nations to Self-Determination” (trans. Zhenying [Yuan Zhenying]) was carried in the November 1920 issue.¹³³ The changes in *Xin qingnian* after the addition of the “Studies of Russia” column were so stunning that Chen Duxiu, the magazine’s editor-in-chief, wrote, “The direction *Xin qingnian* was taking was extremely vivid; even I wasn’t sure it was a good trend. Chen Wangdao [the editorial agent at the time] also advocated changing the content a bit.”¹³⁴ In this sense, it would seem only natural that Hu Shi, another editor at *Xin qingnian*, would express his unhappiness in a letter he wrote to a member of the editorial staff, saying, “*Xin qingnian* has now effectively become a Chinese translation vehicle for *Soviet Russia*.”¹³⁵

What gave the revived *Xin qingnian* the visual appearances of changes sufficient to warrant the charge that it was a “translation vehicle” for *Soviet Russia* was its front cover. Together with the character of the magazine, the cover and design from issue 8.1 also changed, and in the words of Mao Dun, “Two great hands appeared, one from the east and one from the west, and shook one another firmly over the globe”¹³⁶ (see figure 1.2).

This cover is extremely well known. As Mao Dun noted, it “was suggesting that the revolutionary people of China and post-October Revolution Soviet Russia had to firmly unite” and that “workers of the world unite!”¹³⁷ Somewhat later, the same sketch was used on the front cover of the published works in the “New Age Series” (Commercial Publishers), inaugurated by Communist Party members in Shanghai in 1922—for example, Takabatake Motoyuki, *Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun* (Socialism and the Theory of Evolution), translated in 1922 by Xia Mianzun (1886–1946) and Li Jizhen (1877–1954).¹³⁸ In other words, this drawing was much like a logo for the early Communist Party. The design, though, was definitely not something the editors at *Xin qingnian* had devised. It was a copy of the logo of the Socialist Party of America (see figure 1.3).

The prevailing view is that the Socialist Party of America was formed in 1901, bringing together various socialist influences, and reached its peak in the 1910s. After winning victories in a number of local houses and gubernatorial elections, Socialist Party candidate Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926) ran for president of the United States in 1912, winning 6 percent of the popular vote, the highest total gained by any socialist party in U.S. history. During World War I, the main faction held

TABLE 1.1
 “Studies of Russia” column in *Xin qingnian* and translations from Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia, issue and date	2.15 20/4/10	2.19 20/5/8	2.24 20/6/12	2.25 20/6/19	3.1 20/7/3	3.4 20/7/24	3.5 20/7/31	3.6 20/8/7	3.7 20/8/14	3.8 20/8/21	3.9 20/8/28	3.10 20/9/4	3.13 20/9/25	3.16 20/10/16	Uncertain
<i>Xin qingnian</i> 8.1 (1920/9)															
8.2 (1920/10)															
8.3 (1920/11)	1		2			3, 4		5	6						
8.4 (1920/12)	7				8, 9, 14, 15, 16		10			11, 12					13
8.5 (1921/1)							17			18	19, 20, 25	21		22	23, 24
8.6 (1921/2)	26												27		

1. Zhenying, “Liening, zuike’ede he zuikelaide”; George Lanbury, “Lenin: Best Hated and Best Loved.”
2. Zhenying, “Women yao cong nali zuoqi?”; L. Trotsky, “What Should We Begin With?”

(continued)

TABLE 1.1 (*continued*)

3. Zhenying, "Quan-E zhigong lianhe dahui"; Jakob Friis, "The All-Russian Trade Union Congress."
4. Zhenying, "Jiaonong xieshe"; V. Milyutin, "Agricultural Cooperation."
5. Zhenying, "Eluosi de woguan"; Robert Williams, "Russia: As I Saw It."
6. Yanbing, "Luosu lun Suweiai Eluosi"; Jacob Wittmer Hartmann, "Bertrand Russell in Soviet Russia."
7. Zhenying, "Suweiai de jiaoyu"; "Lunarchsky on Soviet Education" [lit., "Soviet Education"].
8. Zhenying, "Suweiai Eluosi de laonong zuzhi"; "Organization of Labor in Soviet Russia."
9. Zhenying, "Suweiai zhengfu de jingji zhengce"; "The Economic Policy of the Soviet Government."
10. Zhenying, "Guodu shidai de jingji"; N. Lenin, "Economics of a Transition Period."
11. Zhenying, "Piping Luosu lun Suweiai Eluosi"; "Editorials" [lit., "Critique of 'Bertrand Russell in Soviet Russia'"].
12. Yuan Zhenying, "Luosu, yige shiwang de youke"; J. B., "Concerning a Disappointed Traveler" [Bertrand Russell].
13. Zhenying, "Eluosi de jiaoyu zhuangkuan"; "Education in Russia".
14. Zhenying, "Wenyi he Buersaiweike"; "Art and the Bolsheviks."
15. Zhenying, "Chijun jiaoyu"; "Cultural Work in the Red Army."
16. Zhenying, "Zhonglipao dahui"; A. Myasnikov, "Non-Party Conferences."
17. Zhenying, "Eguo 'Buersaiweikezhuyi' he laonong de nuzi"; N. Budharin, "Russian 'Bolshevism' and the Working Women."
18. Zhenying, "Suweiai Eluosi de laodong nuzi"; Helen Blomina, "Working Women in Soviet Russia."
19. Zhenying, "Suweiai Eluosi de nugong"; "Women Workers in Soviet Russia."
20. Zhenying, "Eguo chujun zhong de nuzi"; "Russian Women in the Red Army."
21. Zhenying, "Luosu yu Ge'erji"; "Editorials" [lit., "Russell and Gorky"].
22. Zhenying, "Eguo nugong de zhuangkuan"; "The Condition of Working Women in Soviet Russia."
23. Zhenying, "Jiating he guoyong de nugong"; "The Family and Women Wage Laborers".
24. Zhenying, "Eguo de shehui jiaoyu" ["Russian Social Education"].
25. Zhenying, "Suweiai zhengfu de baocun yishu"; A. Lunacharsky, "The Soviet Power and the Preservation of Art."
26. Zhenying, "Liening yu Eguo jinbu"; "Lenin and Russian Progress."
27. Zhenying, "Eluosi"; Georg Brandes, "Russia."



FIGURE 1.2 *Xin qingnian* (issue 8.1)

to a formal antiwar stance, and a number of leaders were arrested and imprisoned. After the Russian Revolution, the Socialist Party of America split into three groups in 1919 (Socialist Party, Communist Party, and Communist Labor Party) and gradually disintegrated. The editors at *Xin qingnian*—that is, those who participated in the formation of the CCP—via some intermediary obtained publications of the Socialist Party of America, saw its logo, and apparently liked it.

The logo of the Socialist Party of America appeared as a kind of illustration on the party's semiofficial organ, *The International Socialist Review* (published in Chicago). In 1917, though, it was banned from publishing, and thereafter (it ceased publication with the February 1918 issue)¹³⁹ it was used only on the cover of a small number of pamphlets issued by the publishing firm of Charles H. Kerr & Co.¹⁴⁰ Pamphlets that first became available around 1920—such as his own *What Socialism*

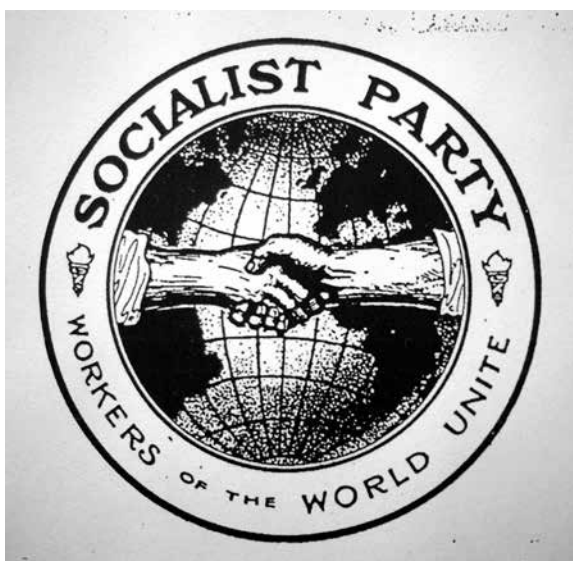


FIGURE 1.3 The logo of the Socialist Party of America

*Is*¹⁴¹—used the Socialist Party’s logo on their covers, and probably Chen Duxiu and others on the editorial staff of *Xin qingnian* in Shanghai used these pamphlets (see figure 1.4). Both the Socialist and the Communist movements were active in the United States in the 1910s, and accordingly the publication of books and magazines concerned with socialism blossomed at this time. As can be seen in the fact that, under the particularly early impact of the Russian Revolution, both the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party were formed (in September 1919),¹⁴² concerted interest in the Russian Revolution in the advanced Western countries was strong, and the American left wing, the nucleus of these Communist parties, had early on maintained publishing houses handling works on socialism. The Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company of Chicago was a representative example.

Socialists in Japan in the 1910s and 1920s also purchased English-language materials from the Kerr Publishing Company. Yamabe Kentarō (1905–1977) described the situation at the time in the following manner:

In this era there may have been ten books on socialism, and one had to read English-language writings. English materials came



FIGURE 1.4 *Xin qingnian* and the logo of the Socialist Party of America (juxtaposition of figures 1.2 and 1.3)

from the Charles [Kerr] bookshop in Chicago in the United States. Straight through from Meiji into Taishō, Japanese socialist materials all came this way.¹⁴³

In China, too, Ke Bainian (original name, Li Chunfan, 1904–1985) had the following to say about getting translations of the works of Karl Marx in the latter half of the 1920s: “I bought several volumes, including *Capital*, in English from the Kerr bookshop in Chicago, where they specialized in Marxist writings.”¹⁴⁴ This citation is evidence that Chinese socialists were also buying works from the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company. One further example would be the fact that in the latter half of 1920, Chen Duxiu sent Yun Daiying (1895–1931), then in Wuhan, the English translation of Kautsky’s *Das Erfurter Programm* (rendered in English as *The Class Struggle*) with a request to translate it.¹⁴⁵ Yun’s translation appeared the following January. The fact that the most widespread edition of the English text was published by Kerr¹⁴⁶ leads one to infer that Chen had sent away for it from the Kerr Publishing Company in Chicago.

If we may reorganize the foregoing, the influence of American socialist writings that replaced Japanese socialist writings at the time of

the change in *Xin qingnian*, following its resumption of publication in September 1920, is clearly to be acknowledged. From the latter half of that year, Bolshevik writings in English came flowing into China rapidly, perhaps in tandem with the steps leading to the formation of the CCP, and they became an important source of news for Chinese Communists.

Western Socialist Texts in Gongchandang (The Communist)

The magazine *Gongchandang* was a monthly publication inaugurated in November 1920 as a private internal party organ of the Shanghai Communist group around Chen Duxiu. As the serial's title *Gongchandang* indicates, its inauguration was epochal in the process leading to the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. As we shall discuss in chapter 3, like *Xin qingnian*, it was an epochal publication, and we shall consider the role it played in receiving Bolshevik materials primarily in relation to the English-language socialist materials from the West.

First is its appearance (see figure 1.5). *Gongchandang* inserted the English words "The Communist" in a large typeface at the top of the first page, and beneath it prefatory remarks. The style by which the large lettering of the English title carried the prefatory remarks on the cover was, of course, rather different than in the Chinese magazines of the day. To be sure, like the cover of *Xin qingnian*, there was a model upon which it was based. This was the organ of the British Communist Party, *The Communist*, published then in London (see figure 1.6). The similarity in styles would convey the impression to any observer that *Gongchandang* was a Chinese edition of *The Communist*. The style of carrying prefatory remarks on the front cover clearly appears to be an effort by *Gongchandang* to pattern itself after *The Communist*. That this was not some random consistency is supported by translations from *The Communist* carried in *Gongchandang*.¹⁴⁷ Thus, just as in the case of *Xin qingnian*, Chen Duxiu and the other editors of *Gongchandang* used the organ of the British Communist Party that came into their possession by some means and adopted its style for the magazine produced by his faction.

When we turn to the content, there were a fair number of translations from Western socialist magazines and writings. One of the sources for this was *Soviet Russia*, translations from which we have also seen featured in *Xin qingnian*, and the situation in revolutionary Russia, as well as the activities of the Bolshevik leaders, were introduced in great detail (see table 1.2). Particularly striking is a "Listing of the Writings of

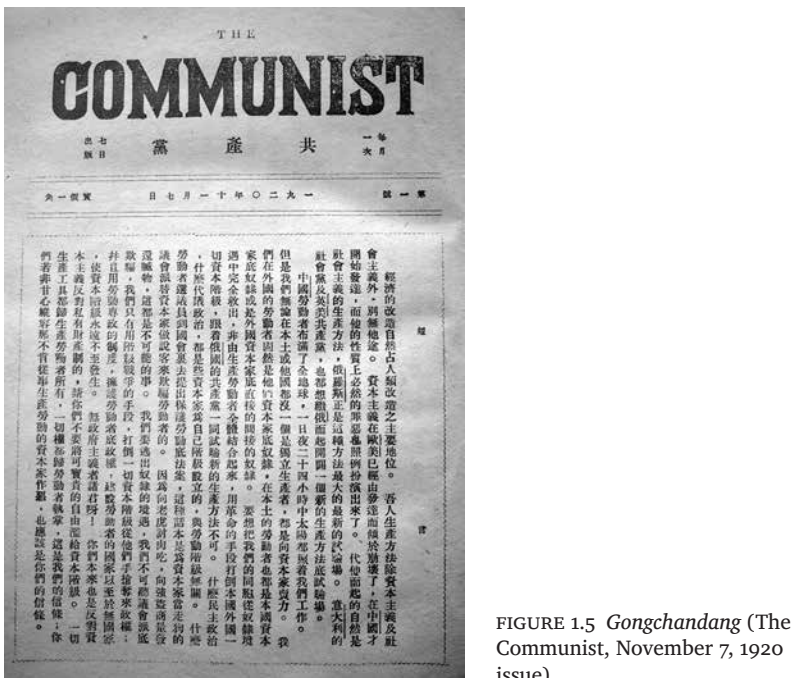


FIGURE 1.5 Gongchandang (The Communist, November 7, 1920 issue)

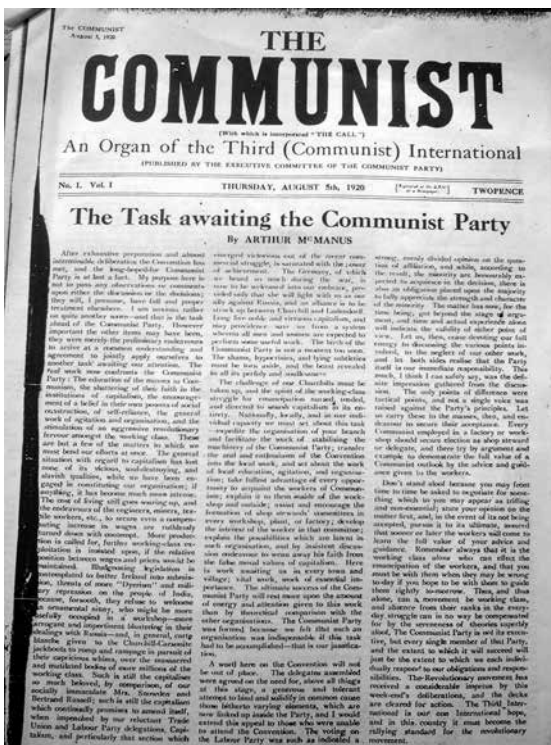


FIGURE 1.6 The Communist (English edition)

TABLE 1.2
Comparative table: articles in *Gongchandang* and translations from Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia, issue and date	2.14 20/4/3	2.15 20/4/10	2.19 20/5/8	2.24 20/6/12	2.25 20/6/19	3.1 20/7/3	3.4 20/7/24	3.5 20/7/31	3.6 20/8/7	3.7 20/8/14	3.8 20/8/21	3.9 20/8/28	3.10 20/9/4	3.13 20/9/25	4.1 21/1/1	4.2 21/1/8
Gongchan- dang 1 (1920/11)	1, 2			3							4	5				
2 (1920/12)																
3 (1921/4)	6		7		8								9, 10			
4 (1921/5)															11	12
5 (1921/6)																
6 (1921/7)																

Note: In an advertisement dated June 20, 1920, of *Guangdong junbao*, we find the note that “the fourth issue of the monthly *Gongchandang* has already arrived, and the third issue will appear shortly.” The former was scheduled to be published in mid-June, and the latter appears to have been published later (1). The first piece reprinted from the third issue of *Gongchandang* in *Guangdong junbao* was “Jiaru Disanci guoji dahui de tiaojian” (“Conditions for Joining the Congress of the Third International”), dated July 27, 1921. This would indicate that the third issue was probably published in July 1921. In an advertisement dated August 2, 1921, of *Guangdong junbao*, we find that “the fifth issue of the monthly *Gongchandang* has arrived,” indicating an actual publication date of late August. The sixth issue is said to have appeared between late August and September 1921 (see Jiang Peinan and Chen Weimin, “Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu chengli yu ‘Yida’ yihou,” *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 [1987]).

1. Zhenhuan, “Wei Liening”; Georges Sorel, “For Lenin.”

2. Zhenhuan, "Liening de zhuzuo yilanbiao"; "A List of Lenin's Works."
3. Zhenhuan, "Gongchandang dijiuci dahui"; "Ninth Congress of the Communist Party."
4. Zhenhuan, "Eluosi de xin wenti"; N. Lenin, "New Problems for Russia."
5. Zhenlei, "Eluosi de gongchandang"; Arvit Hansen, "The Communist Party in Russia."
6. Zhenhuan, "Chijun jiqi jingshen"; Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, "The Red Army and Its Spirit."
7. Zhenying, "Zhongguo yu Eguo" [lit., China and Russia]; Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek, "Our Neighbor China."
8. Zhenhuan, "Wuchanjiuji de Gesake bing zhonggao shijie de gongren"; "Appeal of the Proletarian Cossacks to the Workers of the World."
9. Zhenying, "Mosike diyi ci gongren de ziyou shiftu"; "The First Workers' Commune in Moscow."
10. Zhenying, "Bolanshi gongchandang zhonggao shijie gongren"; "A Polish Communist Appeal."
11. Sheng, "Laonong Eguo de jiaoyu"; W. McLaine, "The Educational Work of Soviet Russia (An Interview with Lunacharsky)."
12. Jisheng, "Laonong Eguo de laodong funu"; N. N., "Working Women in Soviet Russia (Seamstress Nikolayeva)."

Lenin,” which appears in the first issue in translation. This is the first introduction to China of a Lenin bibliography that is relatively thorough.

Lenin’s major work, *State and Revolution* (translation of only the first chapter in issue no. 4), “The Program of the American Communist Party” and “Manifesto of the American Communist Party” (both in issue no. 2), and “Conditions for Joining the Third International” (issue no. 3) were important pointers toward the formation of the CCP. Looking at the English texts which were apparently the bases for these Chinese translations, *State and Revolution* appeared in the journal *The Class Struggle* (February 1919 issue),¹⁴⁸ “The Program of the American Communist Party” (“Meiguo Gongchandang danggang”) and “Manifesto of the American Communist Party” (“Meiguo Gongchandang xuanyan”) appeared in *The Communist* (June 12, 1920),¹⁴⁹ and “Conditions for Joining the Third International” (“Jiaru Disanci guoji dahui de tiaojian”) appeared in *The Nation* (October 13, 1920). In addition, “The Comintern’s Appeal to the IWW” (“Gongchandang guoji lianmeng dui Meiguo IWW de kenqing,” issue no. 2) appeared in *The One Big Union Monthly* (September 1920).¹⁵⁰ On the basis of this evidence alone, the Shanghai Communists were obtaining all manner of American magazines, from *The Nation*, a liberal serial, to such Communist serials as *The Class Struggle* and *The Communist*.

One of the translators of English writings listed above, “P sheng,” was Mao Dun (Shen Yanbing), who would later become well known in the field of Chinese literature. At this time, he had joined the editorial staff of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Fiction Monthly), a journal put out by the Commercial Press, and simultaneously he was using his considerable linguistic ability to participate in the activities of the Shanghai Communist group. Mao Dun left the following remembrance about the translation of Lenin’s *State and Revolution*:

Although I translated the first chapter of Lenin’s *State and Revolution*, it was a retranslation from the English edition. I only translated the first chapter, having read so little of the classics of Marxism, and I knew that my translation was not terribly well done. Knowing the difficulties before me, I pulled back and did not continue with the translation.¹⁵¹

Mao Dun seems confused about some points in this memoir. He explains that he only translated the first chapter due to poor health, but the text he was working from at the time, *The Class Struggle*, also only

translates the first chapter. In any event, as he recounted it, he regarded a certain level of knowledge of Marxism as necessary to understanding Lenin's writings, and evidently something more than simply a fluency in English was needed.

Despite such difficulties, translating and introducing these Bolshevik materials had great significance. As Mao Dun noted, "Through these translation activities, we gained a rudimentary understanding of what Communism was and what was entailed in a Communist Party platform and internal organization."¹⁵² That is, by coming into contact with these English-language texts, they were able one way or another to understand the nature of a Communist movement that they had not been able to obtain from Japanese socialist documents and an image of a "Communist Party" organization. As indicated by the blatant copying of magazine covers and styles, the Shanghai Communist group located the images of a Communist movement and a Communist Party itself, which no one had been able to grasp in China, in foreign Communist parties (the American Communist Party and the British Communist Party here). In fact, the rules of the American Communist Party and the spirit of its platform, both of which had early on been influenced by Bolshevism and that had come to stress "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the political movement," transformed the Shanghai Communist movement from research on Marxist theory to the absorption of Leninist ideas on the movement and organization.

As we have now seen, Bolshevik writings that flowed into China from the latter half of 1920 did not come directly from Soviet Russia but via English-language translations from the West. As Yamanouchi Akito described it, it was "internationalized Bolshevism" that came to China.¹⁵³ Thus, the historical background can be summarized with four points. First, communication between China and Soviet Russia at this time was often suspended unavoidably because of the civil war in Siberia and the Russian Far East, and control over the news concerning revolutionary Russia by the Beijing government obstructed the flow of materials concerned with Russia. Second, because there were many immigrants of Russian ancestry and revolutionary refugees living in the United States, news and knowledge concerning the Russian Revolution spread there with relative speed, and the resultant formation of a Communist Party (including its breakup and reunification) transpired early on. Third, Japanese socialists, by contrast, lagged behind somewhat in their understanding of the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism, compared to their knowledge of socialism and Marxism in

general. Fourth, hardly any Chinese socialists at the time understood Russian, making it incumbent on them to acquire information on the Russian Revolution and the ideology of the Bolshevik leaders from English-language documents.

Another reason that the introduction and reception of Bolshevism occurred so rapidly in China was because the early Chinese Communists had no contact to speak of with the earlier international socialist movement: the Second International. The international Communist movement of the Comintern and the Bolsheviks was the new and only International available.¹⁵⁴ The formation of Communist parties in Europe, North America, and Japan had all, to different degrees, gone through the process of working with and then separating from the Second International. By contrast, the Communist movement in China developed on the basis of the Comintern's ideological influence from the very start. In the following section, we examine the case of Chen Duxiu, the central personage in the early years of the Chinese Communist Party.

Chen Duxiu and Bolshevism

The man who was widely recognized as the leader of the Communist group in Shanghai in 1920 was Chen Duxiu. Arrested in June 1919 on a bustling street in Beijing for distributing handbills entitled “Beijing shimin xuanyan” (“Manifesto of Beijing Citizens”),¹⁵⁵ Chen left his position as dean of the Faculty of Letters at Beijing University and moved to Shanghai (No. 2 Laoyu yangli, Huanlong lu) in February 1920. Before he moved again in December 1920, he made Shanghai the base for promoting the Communist movement.

As we discussed earlier, in the first half of 1920 Chen was not a stellar exemplar in the study of Marxist theory, nor was he widely admired. He clearly defined himself as a Communist with his essay “Tan zheng-zhi” (“Discussing Politics”), published in issue 8.1 of the transformed *Xin qingnian*.¹⁵⁶ In this piece, he wrote, “Whether we discuss politics or not, either way politics will pursue us to the point from which we cannot escape, deep in the mountains on terrain where no one has ever set foot.” And he declared that he would discuss politics once again as a Marxist. One might say that “Discussing Politics” was a large challenge for *Xin qingnian* up to that point. Initially, the journal *Xin qingnian* took the stance that “perhaps the calling of this journal is to change the ideas

of youth and help guide their mental training. It is not our principle to criticize contemporary politics.”¹⁵⁷ Thus, not political criticism but encouragement to dramatically reform ideas and consciousness was the reason the journal impressed so many young people. With this prehistory in mind, “Discussing Politics” was simultaneously Chen Duxiu’s manifesto of conversion to Marxism and a document of the dedication of *Xin qingnian* to internal transformation.

The content of “Discussing Politics” is somewhat abrupt. While Marxism remains unexplained, Chen nods approval to “Lenin’s dictatorship of the workers,” and he calls for the destruction of the old, bourgeois politics by means of “class struggle” and the “political and legal power of the state.” As Chen notes:

Even if the working class overcomes them [i.e., the bourgeoisie of many nations], it is going to be difficult all the time. After defeating them, it will never be easy to repress them perpetually so that the dying embers do not catch fire once again. At that time, to prevent their conspiratorial activities with the political power of the state, to prevent their idleness and pillaging with the legal power of the state, and to correct their practices and ideas will all be utterly necessary. . . . Russia is now changing from the free organization of Kropotkin to the dictatorship of the proletariat of Lenin, and the bourgeoisie cannot be rescued even with the revival of imperial rule, let alone immediately return to power.

While rough-hewn, to say the least, one can see clearly expressed here what were doubtless the most basic concepts of Bolshevism. One should also note the endless criticism leveled not just at anarchism but also at social democratic forces of the German Social-Democratic Party mold (revisionism, parliamentarism), which still had no substance to speak of in China, as perversions of Marx’s intentions. According to Chen, the German Social-Democratic Party after the death of August Bebel (1840–1913) had “surrendered” to the authorities by advocating parliamentarism in place of revolution and now vigorously opposed Marx’s “theory of class struggle.” Of course, while he noted that “in China at this point in time people of this ilk have not yet emerged,” he expressed the wariness that “such a tendency may exist, and such people may indeed acquire power in future and make us their sole enemy.”

The socialist materials that Chen explicitly cites in this essay include solely translated works, such as the *Communist Manifesto* and Wilhelm

Liebknecht's *No Compromise, No Political Trading* in English translation,¹⁵⁸ but they do not include any Bolshevik documents. In spite of this, he fundamentally grasped here the principles of Bolshevism, from which we may infer that prior to this work's composition, he had read a certain number of Bolshevik texts, or perhaps he had seized hold of the spirit of Bolshevism by means of his own acute perceptiveness. Either way, "Discussing Politics" aptly describes how Chen Duxiu had already moved from the first step of the Marxism that he had adopted to Leninist Marxism. To be sure, his own full-fledged explanation and introduction of Marxist theory would come in January 1921, some four-plus months after "Discussing Politics" appeared.¹⁵⁹ In other words, his basic study of Marxism began only after he accepted Bolshevism, making this at first glance appear to be a curious conversion. We can see with a fair degree of clarity that the background to this phenomenon of conversion lacked any connection to the earlier Socialist International, which made it that much easier to accept Bolshevism in China.

In the case of Japan, for example, Sakai Toshihiko said of both the Second and Third Internationals in 1920, "How these two varieties of international socialism will oppose one another and how they will unite is truly a major object of interest";¹⁶⁰ "a new international Communist party has arisen with its headquarters in Russia, and it is called the Third International. . . . It is important to know from the start if we oppose it or support it."¹⁶¹ There was no need for Chen Duxiu and his colleagues to be similarly concerned about Chinese socialists. In his January 1921 speech, "Shehuizhuyi pipan" ("Critique of Socialism"), Chen noted that the choice China was called upon to make was none other than the route of Russian Communism and that of the German Social-Democratic Party was out of the question. Chen and the other Chinese socialists were setting out from a point that the American socialist movement had reached in 1919 after going through its own twists and turns.

Li Dazhao and Bolshevik Texts

As we noted in the second section of this chapter, Li Dazhao from early on was introducing Marxism on the basis of Japanese materials, and he was the first person from an extremely early stage to express sympathy for the Russian Revolution and to offer a high evaluation of its world historical significance. Among his well-known essays of 1918 are "Fa-E

geming zhi bijiao guan” (“A Comparative View of the French and Russian Revolutions”); “Shumin de shengli” (“The Victory of the Masses”); and “Bolshevism de shengli” (“The Victory of Bolshevism”).¹⁶² Behind his assessment of the Russian Revolution are his distinctive views on history and geography and his conception of civilization (understanding Russia from the point of view of eastern and western civilizations),¹⁶³ but this alone cannot explain Li’s understanding of the Russian Revolution. Let us now take a brief look at the writings on the Russian Revolution that he used and examine the nature of those documents and the English-language translations of Bolshevik materials then available in China.

In the first half of 1918, when he wrote “Fa-E geming zhi bijiao guan,” there was, to be sure, hardly a single Bolshevik piece of writing to which he might have been able to refer, and his intuition and impressions form the basis for this essay. The citations that we can confirm include Kayahara Kazan, *Ningen seikatsu shi* (A History of Human Life, published by Kōgakkan shoten in 1914); Paul S. Reinsch (1869–1923), *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century*,¹⁶⁴ and Nobori Shomu (1878–1958), “Minzokusei yori mitaru Rokoku kakumei to sono shōrai” (“The Russian Revolution and Its Future as Seen from the Perspective of National Character”), *Nihon hyōron* 25 (May 1917). None of these could be called Bolshevik works.¹⁶⁵ By contrast, “Bolshevism de shengli” (written in December 1918) cites two English-language works: a correspondent’s account (original date unknown) by Harold Williams (1876–1928) in *The Times* (London) and an essay (dated January 1918) by Frederic Harrison (1831–1923) published in *Fortnightly Review* (London). Particularly noteworthy is the frequent reference to Trotsky’s *The Bolsheviks and World Peace* (New York: Boni and Liveright, January 1918), and it is from this work that he drew his understanding of the Russian Revolution. Yamanouchi Akito had already written on the issue of the publication of this work by Trotsky in the United States, the publication of a Japanese edition in a hurry—Murobuse Takanobu (Kōshin, 1889–1970), trans., *Kagekiha to sekai heiwa* (Tokyo: Uedaya, May 1918)¹⁶⁶—and these two translations, and by using them, we can investigate how Li Dazhao read this book.

As for the edition that Li relied on, textual comparison indicates that it was probably the English translation, there being no evidence that he referred to the Japanese text translated by Murobuse.¹⁶⁷ The Japanese translation was full of errors, and it appears that it was pulled out of print by Murobuse himself soon after being published. Li, though,

seems to have had the English edition. This point is further clarified by his mention that “The minister of foreign affairs [Trotsky] practiced in Petrograd what he preached in Switzerland, where he wrote most of the chapters of his book. . . . He wrote it after the War began; he finished the main part of it before the Russian Revolution.”¹⁶⁸ These words appear in the translation’s introduction by Lincoln Steffens (1866–1936), which was appended to the English edition.

In fact, what this introduction to the English translation says is not entirely accurate; it was pointed out at the time in America that there were problems with the text and structure of the English translation (which was reorganized apparently to comply with commercial needs). A review by an American socialist, as Li points out, noted that “at the time Trotsky did not see himself as a Bolshevik. They drew the line in Russia more between nationalists and internationalists than between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. . . . If one were to find one point of significance [in Trotsky’s book], it is that one can learn from this book that Trotsky is no pawn of the Germans but an internationalist and revolutionary socialist.”¹⁶⁹ This “one point of significance” in the English edition of the book became the basis for Li Dazhao’s understanding of the Russian Revolution. Namely, as a conclusion drawn from this book, Li wrote as follows:

Trotsky’s argument is that the Russian Revolution can be understood as a fuse for world revolution. The Russian Revolution is only one of the world’s revolutions, and countless national revolutions will continue to erupt. Because he sees the governments in Europe as the enemy, Trotsky will remain skeptical for awhile about friendship with Germany. In fact, he is not friendly with the allies, nor does he even love Russia, much less is he pro-German. He loves the proletarian masses of the world and the society of workers in the world.¹⁷⁰

For Li Dazhao, then, Trotsky’s image as an internationalist before the revolution was superimposed on Trotsky as a member of the Bolshevik regime, and from this he acquired his understanding of the nature of the Russian Revolution. Selecting relevant pieces from the past speeches of the leaders of the Bolshevik regime and trying to explain the Russian Revolution in a convenient manner were common at the time, and not limited to China, and this was one of the reasons that Trotsky’s book garnered so much attention from commercial journalists

in the United States. Although the orientation of his explanation differed, by projecting Trotsky's prerevolutionary speeches on the nature of the Bolshevik regime—Li probably did not know that at the time Trotsky wrote his book, he was not yet a Bolshevik—Li Dazhao was expressing solidarity with the Russian Revolution. Such a reading—for we cannot simply say it was a misunderstanding—renders his perception of the Russian Revolution distinctive.

As noted earlier, Li later began to study Marxism to which he was introduced via Japanese-language materials. In tandem with this, he was apparently collecting English-language materials on the Bolshevik leaders. In his essay, “Eluosi geming de guoqu ji xianzai” (“The Past and Present of the Russian Revolution,” written in 1921),¹⁷¹ he looked at three kinds of writings in each of the works he had read by Lenin and Trotsky (in English). The works cited by Lenin were (in his Chinese rendering) *Wuchan jieji de geming*, *Suweiai zhengfu de yaotu*, and *Guojia yu geming*. Those by Trotsky were *Duoshupai yu shijie pinghe*, *Eguo geming shi*, and *Wuchan jieji geming*. The last of these works is, in fact, the same as the first one listed by Lenin, making the total five.¹⁷² It was at this time that he learned that Trotsky had once been a Menshevik. Li's knowledge of the Bolsheviks was remarkably enriched, and this was a result of his reading of these English-language writings.

Of these five Bolshevik works, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia* is especially worthy of attention. For one thing, this volume by Lenin and Trotsky was a large compilation put together by American socialists to help understand the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism, and it was extraordinary in both size and quality compared to materials then widely available in the United States. For Yamakawa Hitoshi and other Japanese socialists, it was the best reference work for understanding the Russian Revolution.¹⁷³ For another, essays such as “The Soviets at Work” included in the volume became texts published in 1921 and 1922 by the CCP from Renmin chubanshe (People's Publishers) in the series “Liening quanshu” (“Complete Writings of Lenin”) and “Kangminnisite congshu” (“Communist Series”).¹⁷⁴ Just as in Japan, this work exercised a huge influence on the Chinese understanding of Bolshevism.

Brief Conclusion

As we saw in this chapter, the spread of Marxism-Leninism in China pushed forward as it was being forcefully influenced by socialist trends

in Japan and the West (especially the United States) at the same time. With regard to the relationship between Japan and the reception of Marxism, just at that time there was an overflow into China of the revived Japanese socialist trends. Broadly speaking, this was an important stage in the history generally of the reception of modern Western thought in East Asia via Japan. Also, the relationship between Western socialism and the reception of Bolshevism was a dramatic scene in the “ideological chain” developing on a global scale. If the Communist movement transcended national frontiers, then the Chinese Communist movement was largely enveloped in the international socialist flow of ideas and the world Communist movement, from its first step in accepting socialist theory to news about the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary leaders and on to images of the Communist movement.

Speaking in general terms, as clearly indicated in the switch of texts within the Communist movement (from primarily Japanese-language documents to the emergence of Bolshevik works in English), the influence of Soviet Russia—via the American Communist movement as well as past Marxist research from Japan—gradually came to support the Chinese Communist movement theoretically. All this formed the skeletal structure in the history of the reception of Marxism in China. If I might be permitted to conjecture, early Chinese socialism, which came into contact with new international trends via Japan, ultimately came to see the world through Soviet Russia. As was strikingly evident in the dramatic change in style and content of *Xin qingnian*, this transition occurred in Shanghai in the latter half of 1920. Similarly, one thing that is immediately apparent from table 1.1, which compares translations from *Soviet Russia*, is that the order of the publication of Chinese translations not only did not follow the order that the original pieces had in *Soviet Russia*, but they often appeared in the reverse of that order. This fact is hinted at only once: *Soviet Russia*, which the editors of *Xin qingnian* consulted, was not subscribed to by them, but at some point (probably from the latter half of 1920), they sent away for a batch of issues.

What made it possible for the rapid influx, seen in the ordering of *Soviet Russia* in late 1920, of Western Bolshevik materials? Chinese socialists did have someone like Katayama Sen (1859–1933) in Japan who was being sent Bolshevik materials from the United States. To be sure, with Shanghai then the most international city in East Asia, it was possible that foreign socialist and Bolshevik sympathizers would be living there. For example, Jack Lizerovitch, a British citizen of Russian ancestry living in Shanghai, who contributed an article on May

Day to *Xingqi pinglun*, was said to have been a socialist with ties to other Western socialists.¹⁷⁵ One further thing to note is the influence of envoys from Soviet Russia and the Comintern, beginning with Grigori Voitinsky (1893–1956), who was sent to China by the Vladivostok Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Communist Party in April 1920. Needless to say, their activities and the spread of Bolshevik writings were a major reason for the activities of Chinese socialists being brought in line with Bolshevism and for the formation of the CCP.



Soviet Russia, the Comintern, and the Chinese Communist Movement

UNKNOWN “SECRET EMISSARIES”

Soviet Russian Approaches to the Far East

Earnest prodding from the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Comintern on China is said to have begun when Grigorii Naumovich Voitinsky (1893–1953) and his group were sent to China. While this was the beginning of encouragement for a socialist movement in China, it was also one result of earlier approaches to Siberia and the Russian Far East by the Bolsheviks and the Comintern. Let us then first look back over the prehistory to Voitinsky’s mission. We return to the first congress of the Comintern in 1919.

In March 1919, while the Russian civil war and war of intervention in Siberia following the October Revolution were still raging, an international meeting to create a new International—the Third International or Comintern—that would replace the Socialist (Second) International convened in Moscow under the guidance of the Bolsheviks. Although this memorable congress did not devote much time to questions of colonies and the East, and there was no debate on these issues, two Chinese representatives were present: Liu Zerong (1892–1970) and Zhang Yongkui (1893–1977).¹ Liu was interviewed by Lenin and spoke to the congress.² The two Chinese men were addressed as representatives of the Chinese Socialist Labour Party,³ an organization that was

not in China proper. These were Chinese residents of Russia, and the Chinese Socialist Labour Party, as they called it, was a paper organization created for their participation at the congress.

At this time, the 400,000 to 500,000 ethnic “Chinese” on Russian soil were centered in Siberia and the Russian Far East. Many of them had been laborers away from home in wartime construction connected with World War I, and at the time of the Russian Revolution, almost 3,000 Chinese lived in Moscow.⁴ After the Revolution, a group of these resident Chinese formed several organizations in response to the Revolution. The most active was the *Zhonghua lü-E lianhehui* (Rus. *Soyuz kitaiskikh grazhdan v Rossii*; Union of Chinese Citizens in Russia), organized in April 1917 in Petrograd, that students, including Liu Zerong and Zhang Yongkui, had formed. Following the October Revolution that year, they formed the *Lü-E Huagong lianhehui* (Rus. *Soyuz kitaiskikh rabochikh v Rossii*; Union of Chinese Laborers in Russia) in Moscow, with Liu as chairman. Recognized by the Soviet government, this Union was devoted to repatriating impoverished Chinese workers, and it was in fact active as a Chinese Communist group.⁵ The Chinese Socialist Labour Party represented by Liu and Zhang at the first Comintern congress was none other than this Union of Chinese Laborers in Russia.

The Union of Chinese Laborers in Russia later expanded the scope of its activities and petitioned the Soviet government to send representatives to China. On June 25, 1920, it established within its own organization the *Tsentrāl’noie organizatsionnoie byuro kitaiskikh kommunistov pri RKP(b)* (Chin., *Eguo Gongchan Huayuanju*; Central Organization Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks; it was recognized by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party on July 1). It transformed its party organization, and in July it sent two men—Liu Zerong (1892–1970) and An Longhe⁶—to the second congress of the Comintern as representatives of the Central Bureau of the Chinese Socialist Labour Party. On July 25, during the congress, Liu Zerong held meetings in Moscow with Maring (Hendricus J. F. M. Sneevliet, 1883–1942) and Pak Chin-sun (D. Pak, b. 1879) concerning the formation of a Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Shanghai.⁷ The second congress of the Comintern addressed the problems of nationalities and colonial peoples, so it is considered the congress at which the Comintern turned its gaze eastward.⁸ (In September, the First Congress of the Toilers of the East was convened in Baku under Comintern leadership.) Parallel

to these events, Chinese Communists in Russia formed their own Communist organization and participated in Comintern activities, steadily advancing preparations for action in the Far East and within China itself.

At the same time, and again looking eastward, approaches to the countries of the Far East were attempted from early 1919 in Siberia and the Russian Far East, which were both experiencing the continuing, ferocious civil war and the stationing of troops associated with the Siberian Expedition. The Second Siberian Representative Congress of the Russian Communist Party, convened secretly in Siberia in late March 1919, proposed the establishment in the Far East of an Intelligence and Propaganda Office of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. This office was to “maintain communication with Communists in the East and in America, organize so as to convey intelligence to them and to receive intelligence from them, and organize agitation verbally and in written form.”⁹ Additionally, notes written by F. I. Gapon, a member of the Bureau, dated June 18 of that year, recounted the desire to create at the Siberian Bureau an Eastern Office in which representatives of nations of the Far East (including China) might take part. Included in Gapon’s plan was assistance in establishing a revolutionary force and close contacts within the Far Eastern countries and the setting up of Communist organizations within those countries.¹⁰ According to E. H. Carr (1892–1982), “The year 1919 was the year of Soviet Russia’s complete isolation from the outside world.”¹¹ Although at the time the Siberian base towns of Tomsk, Omsk, and Irkutsk were still under pressure from anti-Bolshevik forces, the eyes of Bolsheviks in Siberia were nonetheless steadily looking toward the Far East.

In the midst of that V. D. Vilensky-Sibiryakov (1888–1937?), a Bolshevik activist in the Russian Far East and Siberia, presented a report to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party in Moscow, where he had taken refuge, on Communist work in East Asia. Soon thereafter, receiving ratification by the Politburo, he departed Moscow as chief representative for Far Eastern Affairs of the People’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When he assumed this appointment, his responsibilities included the following:

1. After examining the animosity that existed among Japan, the United States, and China, using every means available to further aggravate the situation.

2. Encouraging the broad masses of China, Mongolia, and Korea to fight against the oppression of foreign capitalists.
3. Supporting the revolutionary movements of the peoples of the nations of East Asia and establishing firm bonds among the revolutionary organizations in Japan, China, and Korea.
4. Assisting Koreans and Chinese in setting up guerrilla organizations.¹²

Vilensky-Sibiryakov traveled to Siberia in September and participated in organizational activities until the end of the year. In February 1920, he learned that a Soviet regime had been established in Irkutsk, and he went there with Ya. D. Yanson. He then moved on to Vladivostok and took up residence there.¹³ Just at that time, the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Communist Party (which had been set up underground) conveyed its intention to establish a permanent communication link with Chinese revolutionaries (in a letter from January sent to the Party Central Committee).¹⁴ At the time, Vilensky-Sibiryakov attended a conference of Far Eastern districts in the Party (March 16–19) held in Nikolsk and there proposed to the Japanese army commander stationed in Vladivostok the establishment of diplomatic ties between Japan and Soviet Russia.¹⁵ Not only was he active in efforts to resolve the pending issues in the Far East, but he later traveled to China on his own (see below). Grigorii Voitinsky and his party were sent in April from Vladivostok to China, where they received their orders from Vilensky-Sibiryakov himself.

“Envoys” Before Voitinsky (1): N. G. Burtman

Before delving into Voitinsky’s visit to China, we must first examine several Russian revolutionaries (including non-Bolsheviks) who were thought to be active in China before Voitinsky. Much of what we know of these revolutionaries comes from official records and memoirs, and thus the true situation is often shrouded in mystery. To be sure, because these were not necessarily organized activities, scarcely any formal records concerning them remain extant. In addition, because the political and revolutionary scene in Siberia and the Far East was extremely complicated, their backgrounds are also complex. By tying together fragmentary records, though, it is possible nonetheless to paint a faint image of them.

The first name often mentioned as a Russian emissary to make initial contact with a Chinese socialist (Li Dazhao) was N. G. Burtman. The first study of Burtman was the work of Yuri Garushiants during the Soviet era,¹⁶ and he became better known to scholars generally through the pioneering research of Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*.¹⁷ The descriptions of Burtman in the works of Garushiants and Meisner were both based on a memoir that A. A. Myuller, who was active in China with Burtman, wrote in 1957.¹⁸ The following is an excerpt:

Before I arrived, Burtman had broadly established ties with progressive Chinese students at high-level educational institutions and universities in the Tianjin and Beijing area, and he had made personal contact with Professor Li Dazhao. Burtman told me that he [Li] was a superb Marxist. . . . When I met with Burtman in September 1919, the bond with the students continued as before, and virtually every evening one or another group of them visited us at our apartment.

While frequently discussing problems related to China, we introduced the Chinese students to Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. . . . In early 1920, before we left China, a group of four students had already founded an organization of dock workers and were set to create a labor union.¹⁹

Myuller's movements at the time are unclear, making details about timing impossible to ascertain, but Burtman appears to have made contact with progressive Chinese intellectuals like Li Dazhao around 1919.

According to a Burtman biography that was published later,²⁰ he was born in Odessa in 1900. Around 1915, he moved with his family to Harbin, China, and it was there while he was a student that he learned of the October Revolution. In the summer of 1918, he became a member of the secret branch of the Russian Communist Party in Harbin. He later studied at Vladivostok University, but was expelled in February 1919 because of his actions as the ringleader of a student movement. He then returned to Harbin and continued working in the underground movement, and in March he was sent by the Bolshevik organization in Harbin to North China to carry on revolutionary activities. After arriving in Tianjin, he worked in a company managed by an American of Russian background named Steinberg (probably, Shide yanghang, Steinberg & Co.), while making contacts (spring 1919) with students in Tianjin and

Beijing, as well as with Li Dazhao, Deng Zhongxia (1894–1933), and others. He is said to have left Tianjin on January 15, 1920, at the determination of the organization. This biography, based on Myuller's memoirs, reports that he had two meetings with Li Dazhao, but no sources are given to corroborate this fact.

This biography leaves the impression that Burtman was sent to the Chinese interior as a result of the larger organizational activities of the Bolsheviks, but this is doubtful. In a memorial for him written shortly after his death in early 1921, all we find is that after his expulsion from Vladivostok University, "he returned to Harbin, and while carrying on illegal propaganda activities among railway workers, he became a member of the Russian Communist Party in early 1919. Because of the military actions of [Aleksandr] Kolchak [1874–1920] in the middle of that year, he was forced to flee to China."²¹ The memorial mentions nothing about any contacts with Chinese, including Li Dazhao.

The Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, of which Burtman was a member, prepared a report in December 1920 that named Russians who had been active in China until that point in time, but of Burtman's activities, which by all rights should have been cited, not a word is mentioned.²² Considering that Myuller's memoir was written after Li Dazhao—who died in the midst of the Chinese revolution—had been awarded the title of "Father of Chinese Marxism," it would seem certain that the man Burtman and Myuller met was not Li Dazhao. If he did have some sort of contact with Chinese intellectuals, it was not from organizational activities, nor did it exceed the framework of Burtman's own personal activities.

On his way home in early 1920, Burtman traveled through Mongolia, and in March he arrived in Verkhneudinsk (now, Ulan-Ude) and there became active as a member of the government of the Far Eastern Republic. In June he arrived in Irkutsk and worked for the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. When the Eastern Peoples' Section was set up (in August 1920) in the Bureau, he assumed the post of chairman of the Section and ran its daily affairs until his death.²³ His appointment as Section head was probably a result of his history of activity in Harbin and China proper, and because of his actual achievements working in this Section, perhaps a retroactive interpretation of contacts with Chinese socialists from earlier was born.

*“Envoys” Before Voitinsky (2): M. Popov, A. F. Agaryov, and
A. S. Potapov*

While Burtman may or may not have been an “envoy” who was active in North China, three Russians—Popov, Agaryov, and Potapov—were involved in secret operations around Shanghai. Let us begin with Popov.²⁴

The name M. Popov, a secret envoy from Soviet Russia, first became publicly known in a 1928 work by H. Owen Chapman entitled *The Chinese Revolution*. According to this volume, in 1919, Popov was sent from Soviet Russia to investigate conditions in China, and after a few months, he returned and filed his report. As a result, another envoy was sent in 1920 from Soviet Russia, and the formation of the CCP went forward.²⁵ This view was supported by Luo Chuanhua (C. H. Lowe) in his book *Jinri Zhongguo laogong wenti* (Labor Issues in Contemporary China, 1933): “In 1919 a Russian by the name of M. Popoff [given in English in the text] came to Shanghai to investigate whether or not it was possible to propagandize Communism in China. The Communist Party of Soviet Russia in 1920 dispatched a man to China, and he helped organize the Chinese Communist Party.”²⁶

According to British and American diplomatic documents, as well as the archives of the Shanghai Municipal Council, Popov (also known as Smolsky) came to Shanghai four times. The first time was in May 1918, when he traveled from Russia with a man named Podvoisky; the next time he came to Shanghai was around the time of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, and he came twice in 1920 (early in the year and again in July). Before going to China, Popov had been an active-duty soldier in the Russian Amur Military District, and either he was sent by the local Bolsheviks or by A. Voznesensky, Eastern Section Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Soviet government. With the intention of establishing an intelligence department, he contacted Zhang Mochi and Jing Meijiu (1883–1949), among others. He also seems to have made contact with Sun Yat-sen, who was then living in Shanghai.²⁷ In documents in the Japanese Foreign Office Archives as well, there is a report concerning the “newspaper *Shanghai Life*, organ of the Bolsheviks,” and another report notes that as of October 1920, it was responsible for making contact with the socialist movement in Japan.²⁸

Information about Popov’s activities only appears in official records. Documents on the Russian side, who would have been the ones to send him, cannot be confirmed. There is a tendency in Japanese government documents to treat all Russians either as Bolsheviks or

“*kagekiha*” (“radicals,” synonymous with Bolsheviks), and one cannot simply assume that information about Popov’s activities was conveyed accurately. The one thing that does appear to be true is that he was involved to some extent with the Communist movement in Shanghai, which moved ahead promptly after Voitinsky’s arrival. We cannot, however, assert that when he came to China in 1918–1919, he was already a formal “envoy” under orders of a Bolshevik organization. As we have seen in the case of Burtman, Popov’s arrival in China and his activities there may have been initially motivated by personal concerns more than organizational activities. He appears to have traveled to Beijing in the spring of 1921 from Shanghai and then returned to Vladivostok,²⁹ and it would appear that he did not return thereafter to China, nor is there any hard evidence that he joined the Russian Communist Party or participated in any Comintern operations in China.

A. F. Agaryov was active at about the same time as Popov. As for official documents, a report dated March 1920 from a Japanese military official stationed in Shanghai noted as intelligence from a Russian military official that the “Russian Agaryov was conspiring with Li Renjie [Hanjun] and Yō Un-hyōng, among others,” and they were moving forward with a plan “to publish a magazine entitled *Laodong* [Labor] in both Russian and Chinese.”³⁰ Li Renjie was, of course, one of the leading figures in the formation of the CCP, and Yō Un-hyōng (Yuh Woon-Hyung, 1885–1947) was a well-known patriot in the Korean independence movement who was in Shanghai at the time. Also, in a report of the Japanese consul-general in Shanghai dated May of that year, we find that no sooner had “Agaryov, the former mayor of Vladivostok,” left from Shanghai to Vladivostok via Tianjin in February than he returned to China a few days later, leaving Shanghai again on May 15 and this time heading toward Vladivostok via Beijing.³¹ We learn from all this that he traveled a great deal to many places within the Far East. The report gives him the title of “former mayor of Vladivostok,” but in fact, after the overthrow of the Soviets there in the political incident of late June 1918, he served as head of the revived Vladivostok City Council, and from the perspective of Party affairs, he was a Menshevik.³² With the establishment of the Zemstvo regime in the Maritime Province by various revolutionary groups in January 1920, he was sent to China by the provisional government to establish diplomatic relations,³³ and somehow in this period, he made contact with socialists in Shanghai. In a report prepared by the Russian Communist Party dated December 1920, the name Agaryov actually appears as a Russian resident

individually active prior to the sending of the Voitinsky mission.³⁴ His association with Voitinsky's work remains completely unknown.

A. S. Potapov (b. 1872), by contrast, is worthy of our attention as someone who laid the groundwork for Voitinsky's later mission in China.³⁵ Originally a major general in Imperial Russia, Potapov was serving in the Russian Far East from the early twentieth century. After the February Revolution in 1917, he was sent to China in May and was still there at the time of the October Revolution. After the Revolution, though, he switched sides to support the Bolsheviks and offered military intelligence on the Russian Far East to the Soviet regime. Although he seems to have been stationed in Japan as well for a time, in December 1919, he was ordered by the Japanese government to leave and thereafter took up residence in China.³⁶ During the period of his sojourn in Shanghai (December 17, 1919–April 22, 1920), in March 1920 in Shanghai, he met with such important figures as Chen Jia'nai, Yao Zuobin (1893–1949), Cao Yabo (1876–1937), Dai Jitao, and Sun Bolan, and he planned to publish “Guojizhuyi zhi shubao” (“Bolshevik Writings”).³⁷ At the end of April, he went with Yō Un-hyōng, well known as a Korean social activist, to visit Zhangzhou, Fujian Province (the protected region in southern Fujian), which was then under the control of Chen Jiongming (1878–1933), who was known at the time as the “socialist general.”³⁸ On April 29, they met, had talks with Chen, and proposed that Chen offer assistance to the revolutionary movement.³⁹ On May 22, he joined the Datongdang, an organization of anarchists and Communists (discussed more below).

Concerning Potapov's status at the time, an American newspaper reporter, George Sokolsky (1893–1962), who was in contact with him, secretly informed Edwin S. Cunningham, the American consul-general in Shanghai, that Potapov “professes to be a Bolshevik, and he has not formally gained our trust.”⁴⁰ Although in this sense he was no different from Burtman or Popov, in the intelligence he acquired about China through his work, he was decidedly different from Popov, and the influence it exerted on Soviet Russia and on subsequent Soviet actions in China was considerable. That is, Chen Jiongming's letter to Lenin written after visiting with Potapov was delivered by him to Moscow and entered in the Soviet government's *Vestnik NKID* (Report of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, published March 15, 1921) with the explanatory remark that Chen Jiongming “is a convinced Communist” and “not only a revolutionary general . . . but a brilliant organizer,

receiving the sympathy of the masses.”⁴¹ It is, no doubt, well known that the first person with whom the Soviets later attempted to work in concert within China was Chen Jiongming. While I cannot examine the relationship between Soviet Russia and Sun Yat-sen, Chen Jiongming, and others in the Guomindang in this book,⁴² Chen’s letter to Lenin, in which he expressed his full endorsement of Bolshevism, clearly was responsible for the Soviets’ high opinion of him.

The information collected by Potapov in Shanghai and Zhangzhou concerned the direction of the Chinese Communist movement itself and was provided to the Soviets. For example, on May 1, 1920, while he was in Zhangzhou, a grand May Day celebration was held there, and he conveyed its scope and contours to the aforementioned Vilensky-Sibiryakov. Similarly, the overall state of the student movement in Shanghai with which Potapov had contact was introduced verbatim in an essay by Vilensky-Sibiryakov.⁴³ Also, in a report sent from Shanghai by Voitinsky, the “formal” envoy who had arrived in China in April 1920, we read, “Inasmuch as Potapov has either left for Europe or returned to Russia, I’ve had no communication with him.”⁴⁴ It would appear from this that Voitinsky’s coming to China was dependent on Potapov’s cooperation. Ultimately, the Japanese intelligence agency in Shanghai reported that “Potapov was receiving funds from a handler named ‘Tarasov’ [an alias used by Voitinsky] who is active as a leader of the radical Communist Party there.”⁴⁵ Thus, it is virtually certain that he was responsible for a wing of activities in the Vilensky-Voitinsky line, a principal route of pressure on the Chinese Communist movement.

He also contributed to supplying Chinese intellectuals with Bolshevik written materials. He reported that “I handed a pamphlet to Li Rienie. He translated it into Chinese and published it together with an essay by Trotsky I had obtained in a Communist publication of his.”⁴⁶ Although which pamphlet he was referring to is unknown, “Li Rienie” is Li Renjie (Li Hanjun), and the “Communist publication” was *Xin qing-nian* (November 1920), in which Trotsky’s essay “What Should We Begin With?” appeared in translation.⁴⁷

Once he returned to Shanghai from Zhangzhou, Potapov met with Sun Yat-sen in early June and explained the situation in Soviet Russia. Unlike Chen Jiongming, though, Sun’s attitude was one of caution. Potapov left Shanghai soon thereafter and returned to Moscow in the fall of 1920 via Europe.⁴⁸

Operational Units in Siberia and the Far East

Soviet pressure on China manifested itself in many ways. There was the Comintern as an international Communist organization, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs as a diplomatic channel, and the Russian Communist Party as a party organization. Not only did these routes all complicate one another, but there were frequent reorganizations in response to the civil war in Russia, making it extremely difficult just to track them. In addition, when the Far Eastern Republic was set up in April 1920 as a buffer state in the Russian Far East, its diplomatic channel and its local party organization added to the maneuvering in China, which only created more confusion. One cause for the unclear background of these "unknown envoys" (Burtman, Popov, Agaryov, and Potapov) may be found in this organizational chaos. It was even unknown for a long time whether Voitinsky was sent to China in April 1920 as an envoy of the party or of the Comintern.⁴⁹ The jumbled state of party, government, and Comintern channels continued for a time even after Voitinsky's arrival in China, adding further complications to the CCP's formation. To understand this background, it is essential that we trace the history of local organizations of the Russian Communist Party and operational units for China in Siberia and the Russian Far East.⁵⁰

We begin with the party groupings under the Russian Communist Party. The Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party was established on December 17, 1918, and the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Community Party was established on March 3, 1920. To carry out its overall activities in Siberia, the former was set up in Omsk as a department directly under the control of the Party Central Committee; the latter was set up in Verkhneudinsk to supervise party groups within the terrain of the Far Eastern Republic as its creation was being prepared. Later, in combination with a fortunate turn of events in the military situation, they moved, respectively, to Novonikolayevsk (now, Novosibirsk) and Chita. Initially, the Far Eastern Bureau was a group beneath the party's Siberian Bureau, and because the entire Far Eastern region was not yet unified, it was placed in a branch office in Vladivostok. This branch office instituted a foreign section as an agency for diplomatic activities. The Far Eastern Bureau was upgraded and reorganized into the Far Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party—on par with the party's Siberian Bureau—in August 1920.⁵¹

The party's Siberian Bureau in Tomsk set up an Eastern Peoples' Section in Irkutsk in August 1920, which served as its window on foreign activities. As some background to this, at that time many Chinese and Koreans lived in Irkutsk, Russia, and they became involved in the formation of a Communist organization. The members of the Eastern Peoples' Section included N. K. Goncharov, Burtman, and Gapon; later, M. N. Bronshtein joined the group. Burtman and Bronshtein were in charge of the daily business. From its inception, this Section established a subsection for each of the various peoples, thus readying its battle array. M. M. Abramson and V. Khokhlovkin (or Hohlovkin) were in the Chinese subsection (which contained no Chinese citizens), and Gershevich was in the Korean subsection; because they had no one with linguistic training, a Japanese subsection was not immediately established.⁵² Although Abramson and Khokhlovkin were both said to be highly skilled in the Chinese language, there were apparently no suitable Chinese Communists to be found there, despite the large number of ethnic Chinese residents. The linkage of this Section (and the party's Siberian Bureau) with the party's Far Eastern Bureau (or the Far Eastern Republic, which this Bureau was guiding) was exacerbated by sectionalism within each and thus not harmonious. Frequently, the Section would write to Moscow of its dissatisfaction with the lack of communications within Far Eastern terrain due to interference by the Far Eastern Bureau (or the Far Eastern Republic). That fall, it requested directly of the Comintern that it be absorbed under its aegis and so eliminate the intermediacy and obstruction of the government of the Far Eastern Republic.⁵³

Thus, foreign operational units of local party groups in Siberia and the Far East were set up one way or another, and in response, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party decided on September 2, 1920, to transfer the "Chinese Department of Russian Communists" (set up in Moscow by a group of Chinese living in Russia) to the Far East and to rename it the Chinese Department of Russian Communists in the Far East. The Central Committee also ordered it to communicate directly with the Eastern Peoples' Section in Irkutsk.⁵⁴ This move was aimed at expanding the membership of the Section, as the Chinese Communist organization produced in Moscow was ultimately to gain a field of activity in the Far East.

By the same token, shifting our attention to the channel established by the Comintern, preparations from late 1920 for operations in China had already begun. As said before, Maring, Liu Zerong, and Pak Chin-sun met in Moscow in July and negotiated the creation of a

Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Shanghai. In August, the Executive Committee selected at the second congress of the Comintern decided to place foreign agents in strategic locales around the world, and it appointed Maring to be the agent in Shanghai.⁵⁵ The same committee decided on September 15 to establish a Comintern Secretariat in the Far East.⁵⁶ The Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau welcomed this decision and requested funding for the Comintern Secretariat. It seems that at first the newly created Secretariat was to be placed in Verkhneudinsk (or Chita), which was at that time the capital of the Far Eastern Republic and the site of the party's Far Eastern Bureau.⁵⁷ During this time, locations for the Far Eastern Secretariat and ways to integrate it with several other organizations without losing intercommunications were debated. Without going into great detail, on the basis of a resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of January 5, 1921, and a decision reached January 15, 1921, of the Comintern Executive, a Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive (*Dal'nevostochniy sekretariat IKKI*) was established in Irkutsk. As a result, the Eastern Peoples' Section was eliminated, and its staff was incorporated into the Far Eastern Secretariat. Many of the members of the Siberian delegation of Soviet Russia's People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs became part of the Secretariat's office. In this way, the operational units for China of the diplomatic and party groups of both the Comintern and Soviet Russia were fundamentally unified within the Comintern channel.

In so doing, the friction on this point among the Eastern Peoples' Section (Irkutsk) and the party's Far Eastern Bureau and the Far Eastern Republic (Verkhneudinsk) did not completely dissipate, because the Far Eastern Republic—although under the influence of Soviet Russia—was an independent state carrying out foreign negotiations with China.⁵⁸ The Far Eastern Republic's official diplomatic negotiations with China began on August 26, 1920, when the mission (nominally, a commercial delegation) led by M. I. Yurin arrived in Beijing. Because both Soviet Russia and the Comintern were active in China, they had to rely to a certain extent on Yurin's mission, which was then working legally in Beijing, including such technical matters as exchanging documents and sending funds. Funding and reports went along the Beijing-Chita channel, which gave rise to the intermediacy of the government of the Far Eastern Republic as well as the party's Far Eastern Bureau. When the first "envoy," Voitinsky, reached China, Soviet Russia's operational window into China had not yet been unified.

VOITINSKY'S ACTIVITIES

The Arrival of the Voitinsky Party in China

The first envoy from Soviet Russia and thereafter on several occasions the representative of the Comintern resident in China, Grigorii Naumovich Voitinsky would exercise an immense influence on the Chinese Communist movement. The Foreign Section of the Vladivostok Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Communist Party sent Voitinsky to China in April 1920, when he was only twenty-seven years old.

Considering Soviet Russia's operations in China at the time, and because Voitinsky arrived in China before the formation of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau, which was to become the main line in these operations, it was one of the foreign maneuvers that the Vladivostok branch office of the Far Eastern Bureau undertook on its own initiative. In fact, the Eastern Peoples' Section's report on Voitinsky's trip to China that was released later and submitted to Moscow considered it an activity in the Far East in which the cities of the Russian Far East and eastern Siberian were within its ken.⁵⁹ Although not mentioned in this report, in April 1920, V. D. Vilensky-Sibiriyakov, plenipotentiary for Far Eastern affairs who was ordered by



FIGURE 2.1 Grigorii Naumovich Voitinsky

the Politburo of the Russian Communist Party to “support the revolutionary activities of the peoples of East Asia and establish firm links with Japanese, Chinese, and Korean revolutionary organizations,” was stationed in Vladivostok. And Vilensky-Sibiryakov without a doubt played a part in sending Voitinsky and his party to China. Also, at the time, the Vladivostok branch office of the Far Eastern Bureau had the authority to appoint Pyotr M. Nikiforov (1882–1974), head of the bureau, and Kushinarev, transport minister in the bureau, to the cabinet of the government of the Maritime Province in Vladivostok.⁶⁰ Another important reason these “envoys” were dispatched was they provided a basis for foreign communication for Vladivostok at the time, even as the Japanese military remained stationed there in advance of its move into domestic sites such as Irkutsk and Chita.

Voitinsky was born in the Russian city of Nevel’ in 1893. After graduating from school in 1907 and working as a typesetter and accountant, he traveled to the United States in 1913 to find employment. In 1915, he joined the Socialist Party of America. After five years in the United States and Canada, he returned home in the spring of 1918 and joined the Russian Communist Party in Vladivostok. He was involved in the fighting in Siberia and the Russia Far East, was apprehended, and was exiled to the island of Sakhalin. En route to penal servitude, however, he managed to escape, and he made his way back to Vladivostok in January 1920 and became involved in Bolshevik activities.⁶¹ Although he seems not to have known Chinese, he was appreciated for the strength of his English acquired from living in North America and for his political sense, and thus he was selected to be an envoy to China.

According to Voitinsky’s report, his party consisted of himself as plenipotentiary “and two assistants, Titov [a graduate of the Eastern Institute in Vladivostok] and B. I. Serebryakov [a well-known social activist in Korea].” Aside from having graduated from the Eastern Institute, details about Titov’s life and work are vague,⁶² but Serebryakov’s name frequently appears in the history of the Korean Communist movement as Kim Man-gyŏm (1886–1938?).⁶³ All three were members of the Communist Party. Voitinsky’s report does not clearly delineate the tasks assigned to him and his assistants, but if we can surmise on the basis of their subsequent activities, it involved an investigation of the social movements in Japan, China, and Korea and assistance in the establishment of socialist and, if possible, Communist organizations.

The report notes only that Vladivostok sent them to “China (Shanghai)” —with no mention of the route they took—although given the

transport situation at the time, they undoubtedly went by sea. It would seem that, after traveling first to Fengtian and Beijing, they went on to Shanghai, though it is also possible that they went directly to Shanghai. In a letter Voitinsky sent from Shanghai, he notes having received a telegram via Beijing, and the site of his contact in Tianjin is reported. Thus, it is probable that he visited Tianjin and Beijing en route.⁶⁴ From the memoirs of Chinese who came into contact with Voitinsky at the time, he first met with Li Dazhao in Beijing, and then at Li's recommendation he went on to Shanghai.⁶⁵ It is probably safe to assume that he first stopped in Beijing.

It has been said that the members of Voitinsky's party were I. K. Mamaev and Yang Mingzhai (1882–1938), who was originally from Shandong and had been living in Russia and serving as Voitinsky's interpreter, but neither of their names appear in his report. The theory that includes Yang and Mamaev in the group is based on the 1950 memoir of Bao Huiseng (1894–1979), a participant at the first CCP congress.⁶⁶ Yang Mingzhai was born in Pingdu County, Shandong, and in 1901, he traveled to Russia to find a job and over the years worked in a wide variety of professions in the Russian Far East and Siberia. According to one theory, after the October Revolution, he joined the Bolsheviks and worked to organize Chinese laborers. Before returning to China, he was engaged in a secret operation of the Russian Communist Party in Vladivostok as "the man in charge of the affairs of Chinese living there."⁶⁷

In other memoirs, Yang Mingzhai is often mentioned as traveling to Beijing with Voitinsky, and Yang is even cited as the person responsible for bringing Voitinsky into contact with Li Dazhao.⁶⁸ As we shall discuss later, he clearly participated with Voitinsky in activities aimed at forming a Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai, and possibly he was an official member of the party from the start, but it is unclear whether he had already joined Voitinsky's group when he was working in Beijing. In Yang's summary of his own career written at a later date, he mentions arriving in China at the end of 1919.⁶⁹ If this is correct, then, for whatever reason, he returned to China before Voitinsky's arrival there, and they joined up after Voitinsky arrived.

As for Mamaev, there are two theories. One is that when Voitinsky set off for Shanghai from Beijing, Mamaev remained in North China, and the other is that he was never a part of Voitinsky's group in the first place.⁷⁰ The latter is probably correct. The report notes that after Voitinsky departed, Mamaev was a member of the foreign section stationed in Vladivostok and later was active with M. M. Abramson in

Harbin. Considering the fact that Bao Huiseng, who mentioned that Mamaev was part of the group, was not actually in Beijing at the time, the reliability of his memory of these events becomes much more doubtful. This by no means says his memoirs are without any basis at all. In a memoir of 1953, he recounted that in the fall of 1920, Mamaev came to Wuhan, where he (Bao) was living, and this is corroborated by memoirs of others linked to Wuhan.⁷¹ Although there is no official confirmation that Mamaev came to China proper, he did in fact come to China and met with Bao Huiseng and others in Wuhan. Bao may have found out about Voitinsky and his party's arrival in China the same way.

The first person Voitinsky met in Beijing was Li Dazhao. Li had by this time already indicated his sympathy for the Russian Revolution and carried out some research on Marxism, making the meeting between the two men seem a most natural occurrence. Because this was Voitinsky's first trip to China, someone must have introduced Li Dazhao to him. This person was most likely either A. A. Ivanov (1885–1942), a Russian colleague of Li's and a teacher of Russian and French at Beijing University, or S. A. Polevoy (1886–1971), a teacher of Russian.

Ivanov (known in Chinese as Yi Wen) was born in Russia, but he fled to France because of the revolutionary movement, and from 1907 to 1917, he worked with anarchists of the Kropotkin line. Soon after he returned to Russia following the February Revolution (1917), he came to China as a member of a diplomatic embassy of the Kerensky government in September. After the October Revolution, he sided with the revolutionary regime, and while taking a firm stand supporting Soviet Russia in the French-language newspaper published in Beijing, *Journal de Pékin*, he worked as a French- and Russian-language teacher at Beijing University beginning in September 1919.⁷² The theory that Ivanov introduced Voitinsky to Li Dazhao is based on the memoir, published in 1975, of Sergei A. Dalin, who was active at this time in the Russian Far East.⁷³

The theory of Ivanov serving as intermediary, when investigated thoroughly, always comes back to Dalin's memoirs, but there are a number of items that hint at his playing this role. In his report, Voitinsky mentions him as a resident of the city and active there before his own arrival in China; he notes that he was "an anarcho-syndicalist" who was "the actual editor of the French-language, socialist newspaper, *Journal de Pékin*." In the report that he sent from Shanghai, Voitinsky mentions that he received a telegram from Siberia via the *Journal de Pékin* in Beijing.⁷⁴ Although this is all we have of a relationship between

Ivanov and Voitinsky, for Voitinsky, who did not have much of a foothold in China, Ivanov's position as an editor of a "socialist newspaper" must have been reassuring support. We do not know the extent to which Ivanov was aware of the duties of Voitinsky's group, but he was a colleague of Li Dazhao, and as such it is entirely possible that he introduced Li to Voitinsky.

In this context, the role played by Polevoy (Chinese name Bo Liewei) was even more important than that of Ivanov. The theory that Polevoy introduced Voitinsky to Li Dazhao also stems from Bao Huiseng's memoirs. As Bao recalls:

When they [the Voitinsky party] had just arrived in Beijing, they were unfamiliar with it and could not proceed with their activities. Later, through contacts at the Soviet Russian embassy, they happened to meet Polevoy, a Russian-language professor at Beijing University. Polevoy had been a White Russian, but he was sympathetic to the October Revolution. . . . He [Voitinsky] met Comrade Li Dazhao on Polevoy's introduction, and he also met others tied to the May Fourth Movement.⁷⁵

There are a number of problems with this remembrance, such as the role it attributes to the Soviet Embassy, which did not even exist at the time. Nonetheless, the points that the essential cooperation of a Russian on the ground for Voitinsky's work in Beijing and the political stance taken by Polevoy are extremely interesting. On the reasons for and dates of Polevoy's arrival in China, there are two theories: he arrived from Vladivostok in the latter half of 1918 and was connected to the *North China Star*, an English-language newspaper in Tianjin,⁷⁶ or he was installed as a cultural liaison stationed in Tianjin for the Comintern after the October Revolution.⁷⁷ The extent to which either of these theories is accurate is unknown. We do know from official Chinese documents of the time that he lived in Tianjin and taught Russian and that he would travel several times each week to teach at Beijing University.⁷⁸

In contrast to the aforementioned memoir of Bao Huiseng written by one who was not in Beijing at the time, Zhang Guotao (1897–1979), a central figure in the Beijing Communist group, offers a bit more detail:

There were people sympathetic to Soviet Russia even among the Russians then resident in China, and Polevoy, a Russian citizen

who was teaching in the Russian-language department at Beijing University, was one of them. He had frequent interactions with Li Dazhao, and he was often able to provide us with pamphlets and the like published in Moscow. . . . [Voitinsky] had the status of a journalist, and Yang Mingzhai, a Chinese living in Russia [and a registered member of the Russian Communist Party], accompanied him as an aide. They visited Beijing briefly, and Polevoy introduced them to Mr. Li Dazhao. . . . They then first made the acquaintance of Mr. Li, and with his letter of introduction they traveled on to Shanghai and met Chen Duxiu.⁷⁹

In Voitinsky's report, Polevoy is listed as a Russian resident who, along with Ivanov, had been active before Voitinsky party's arrival in China; he was said to be a "professor at Tianjin University [*sic*]" and a Communist Party member. In several letters that Voitinsky sent to his superiors after coming to China,⁸⁰ not only does he report that Polevoy actively cooperated with him, but later when remittances were provided to Voitinsky to support him from the Yurin Mission in Beijing and those connected with the Far Eastern Republic, he acted as mediator.⁸¹ Clearly, he was functioning as more than just a mutual acquaintance after the Voitinsky party arrived in China.

His subsequent activities, though, have not been praised in the least. According to Zhang Ximan (1895–1949), who coauthored a grammar of Russian with him, Polevoy was a "degenerate" (*bailei*); he provided secret papers for those wanting to enter Russia and often embezzled Comintern funds. When his thievery was discovered and he was ordered to return the money, he escaped to the United States to avoid punishment.⁸² In addition, the memoirs of students enrolled in Russian-language courses at Beijing University at the time mention that Polevoy often behaved in a willful manner and tried to give the impression that he had the authority of the Soviet Union behind him. He was frequently reprimanded for doing so by Ivanov, who was in fact responsible for the Russian-language department.⁸³ That his bad reputation was not just rumor is corroborated by a letter (1921) from Yurin in which he claims that Polevoy disclosed top secrets and requests that he be recalled to Moscow for punishment.⁸⁴ The careless use of secret funds from Soviet Russia was not at all rare in this era, as can be seen in a group of people connected to the Korean Communist Party.⁸⁵ The point here is that even if someone called himself a Communist, there were all types of people involved in activities in these early years.

Voitinsky's Activities in Beijing

Therefore, Voitinsky met Li Dazhao by virtue of a joint introduction from Ivanov and Polevoy, but what did they talk about? Because Li would subsequently become the central figure in Beijing in the formation of the CCP, the two men conveyed the impression that at the time of their initial meeting, they spoke about organizing the Communist movement in China, and in fact it is often said that “Li Dazhao discussed with Voitinsky among others the question of the formation of a Chinese Communist Party on several occasions in the library in the Red Chamber of Beijing University.”⁸⁶ Of course, inasmuch as no record of their conversations remains extant, such statements are ultimately no more than conjecture. Some believe, however, that *before* Voitinsky came to China, Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu had discussed forming a Communist party.⁸⁷ This position contends that Li Dazhao and others had considered forming a Communist party long before this time, and the discussions with Voitinsky as representative of the Russian Communist Party naturally included this topic.

Although the “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” has a number of variations, they are all more or less consistent in arguing that in early 1920 (roughly February), while quietly leaving Beijing en route to Tianjin, Chen Duxiu had a conversation about forming a Communist party with Li Dazhao, who was traveling with him (or possibly the conversation transpired in Tianjin). This view has been adopted by the CCP’s Party History Research Department⁸⁸ and is held primarily in Mainland China, where the intention is clearly that the creation of a Communist party came not at the suggestion of Soviet Russia or the Comintern but was the result of the efforts of Chinese Communists themselves. This may at first glance seem like a trivial matter, but in fact, it contains the essential issue of whether the formation of the CCP was a result of the Soviet Union’s revolutionary export or a product of the revolutionary movement of the Chinese themselves.

The “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” is based on several memoirs, although at its root it comes from Gao Yihan (1884–1968), a friend of Li’s. The following is from Gao’s speech at the memorial ceremony for Li in 1927:

Mr. Chen Duxiu was imprisoned for three months for striking out at Duan Qirui, and after he was released, he traveled together with Mr. [Li Dazhao] to Wuhan, where [Li was to] give a speech.

Because the Beijing newspapers carried the text of these speeches, they mentioned the anger Li felt for the Beijing government. Thus, when he was going to return to Beijing, he disguised himself and together they took refuge in his family home [in Liting County, Hebei Province]. En route there, they planned the formation of the Chinese Communist Party.⁸⁹

This speech as published in the newspapers at the time contains a number of factual errors (or mistakes that were introduced by the person recording the speech), and these should be explained with reference to circumstances at the time. Chen Duxiu was apprehended in June 1919 for distributing leaflets entitled “Manifesto of the Citizens of Beijing,” and as noted in chapter 1, he was held until September. In late January of the following year, he eluded the watchful eye of the police and headed toward Wuhan via Shanghai; he remained in Wuhan for a few days from February 4, giving several speeches. The text of the speech carried in the Beijing newspapers was from this time. However, he did not travel with Li Dazhao en route to Wuhan. Chen returned to Beijing by train on February 9, but he was interrogated by the police for leaving Beijing without permission, and sensing danger on the horizon, he sought shelter with Hu Shi, his *Xin qingnian* coeditor, and Li Dazhao, and soon thereafter he fled the city.⁹⁰ The putative conversations with Li would have taken place at this time.

At roughly the same time he gave this speech, Gao Yihan was writing a memorial for Li Dazhao.⁹¹ In the memorial as well, he touched on Li’s and Chen’s escape from Beijing, and in this instance, the means of escape and their disguises are depicted more realistically. Strangely, though, the one thing missing from his memorial is any mention of a conversation between the two men concerning the formation of the CCP. Years later, when he wrote his memoirs, which were revised after the founding of the People’s Republic of China, he notes that the two men went not to Li’s family home but directly to Tianjin.⁹² Otherwise, it is much like the memorial written in 1927. There is, of course, no mention of a conversation concerning the formation of a Communist party. The reason that the section of his speech at the memorial ceremony concerning such a conversation between Chen and Li was omitted in Gao’s memorial essay (written at about the same time) and his later memoirs remains uncertain. The first memorial speech was transcribed not by Gao himself but by a newspaper reporter, and the latter may have put together a sloppy summary of it. In any event, the string of

memoirs by Gao Yihan have been used as the basis for the “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” in China.

If we believe Gao’s essays are accurate, while they may form the basis of the “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis,” unfortunately there are still many questionable gaps in his accounts. It is understandable that Gao says nothing about any discussion of forming a party because, as he himself pointed out, he was in Beijing at the time, trying to help Chen Duxiu to escape. Although this may seem to support the reliability of Gao’s memory, in fact at that time (in 1920), Gao was living in Japan and would have had no way of knowing the circumstances surrounding Chen’s and Li’s fleeing Beijing.⁹³ His novel-like description of the escape from the capital is at worst a dramatization of events and at best an explanation based purely on hearsay.

The fact that Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao were leaders at the time of the establishment of the CCP was well known when Gao gave his speech in 1927, and the fact that Hu Shi and Li Dazhao braved dangers to protect Chen Duxiu and aid him in his escape was a moving story that circulated among Beijing intellectuals. It can only be surmised that Gao connected these two episodes in a suitable fashion. Thus, on the basis of Gao’s memoirs, we cannot say that Chen and Li discussed forming a Communist party before Voitinsky arrived in China.⁹⁴ Naturally, then, the conjecture about the content of the aforementioned conversation between Voitinsky and Li on the basis of the thinly grounded “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” must be reexamined.

The reminiscences of Zhang Guotao, a confidant of Li’s, about the latter’s relationship with Voitinsky in Beijing is worthy of greater consideration:

Mr. Li Dazhao introduced Mr. Chen Duxiu to Voitinsky and Yang Mingzhai, but he does not seem to have known of their secret mission, for neither Mr. Li Dazhao nor Voitinsky ever subsequently said that they had any sort of initial discussions. Perhaps Li honestly thought that Voitinsky was a journalist. When he first met Mr. Chen Duxiu, Voitinsky concealed his own true status. One can easily surmise that the letter of introduction from Li was extremely general in nature.⁹⁵

Even in the reports Voitinsky submitted from Shanghai in June and August of that year, he centers his narrative around Chen, whose name appears, while Li’s name is not mentioned at all.⁹⁶ This point might

lead one to believe that the meeting with Li Dazhao, as Zhang Guotao recounts, was no more than that between a journalist from Soviet Russia and a Chinese intellectual interested in revolutionary Russia concerning the exchange of information. In April 1920, when Voitinsky arrived, the revolutionary first “Karakhan Declaration” from Soviet Russia was reported in the Chinese press, and the news spread far and wide throughout China. As Zhang put it:

This declaration was finally published in Chinese newspapers in early 1920. Student circles and cultural groups in Beijing welcomed the news first, and then various national associations and groups of intellectuals in Shanghai were also excited by it, jointly issuing a document of endorsement. I was one of them. For most young people, Japan and the Western powers had oppressed China—only Soviet Russia was proving to be an exception.⁹⁷

Then, Voitinsky unexpectedly visited Beijing at this time. It is easily imaginable that, as someone from Soviet Russia, he would have received an enthusiastic welcome. He would surely have described the present state and future prospects of revolutionary Russia, and certainly he would have discussed the Soviet regime that issued the “Karakhan Declaration.” Perhaps in the process, the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern also came up as topics of conversation, but, that said, during his brief stay in Beijing, should the conversation with Li Dazhao have moved as far as the exchange of ideas about the formation of a Chinese Communist Party, it would have passed rather quickly. It is thus perfectly appropriate to see the meeting of the two men, as Zhang Guotao put it, as transpiring at an entirely general level. Voitinsky’s activities aimed at stimulating a unification of Chinese socialists began in earnest only when he arrived in Shanghai.

At about the same time as the Voitinsky party reached China, a man by the name of K. A. Stoyanovich (alias: Minor) was sent from Harbin in the north to Tianjin. According to a report of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the party’s Siberian Bureau that mentioned his dispatch, Stoyanovich was a Communist Party member of proletarian origins who spoke French. The biggest city along the Chinese Eastern Railway, Harbin was an exotic city with the largest percentage of Russian residents in all of China. In June 1917, the Bolshevik organization there secretly created a soviet of Harbin laborers and soldiers; in response to the October Revolution, they launched a struggle to seize power from

the Chinese Eastern Railway authorities (managed by Russians), the effective governmental structure in Harbin, in November–December, soon afterward suppressed. The Bolshevik organization, though, did have a strong base.⁹⁸ While on Chinese terrain, this semi-Russian city was a Bolshevik base in the Far East. We do not know what Stoyanovich did in Harbin, but the report of the Eastern Peoples' Section mentioned that he was sent to China as one of its Vladivostok operations, perhaps as part of the activities of the Vladivostok Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Communist Party that sent Voitinsky to China as well. There is no evidence that he engaged in any actions together with Voitinsky in either Tianjin or Beijing, but after Voitinsky set to work in Shanghai, Stoyanovich received orders that he was being sent from Tianjin to Guangdong. There he worked as a special correspondent for Dalta New Agency (the news agency of the Far Eastern Republic), and he did participate in the Communist movement in Guangzhou.

Voitinsky's Position and His Base of Action

With a letter of introduction from Li Dazhao, Voitinsky arrived in Shanghai in late April 1920 or possibly May.⁹⁹ Voitinsky's ostensible status in Shanghai was, as in Beijing, a journalist, or to be more precise, a reporter for the Dalta News Agency of the Far Eastern Republic. We can surmise this from clues given in his June report on his activities:

On the basis of your suggestion, we shall put our energies into information and propaganda. Of course, we should try to do everything. In the June 1st issue of *China Press*, there was an article concerning the Far Eastern Republic, but it was written on the basis of material that I had copied down for them. Today's issue has a full translation of "an appeal to the proletariat of the world."¹⁰⁰

China Press was an English-language newspaper, known in Chinese as *Dalu bao* (Mainland News), published at the time in Shanghai. Although there is no date affixed to this report, from its content, it would appear to have been written to the Vladivostok Branch of the Far Eastern Bureau, the agency that had sent him, and thus V. D. Vilensky-Sibiryakov. The date would be the day that "an appeal to the proletariat of the world" that he wrote was carried in *China Press*. According to the editor's notes to the collection of materials in which this letter appears,

because this issue of *China Press* could not be found, the date remains uncertain. In fact, though, in the materials held in the Japanese Foreign Office Archives, an excerpt from this very article on the precise day of *China Press* by chance remains extant.¹⁰¹ The date is June 9, so it can be assumed that Voitinsky's report appeared on the same day. Even more interesting is the fact that *China Press* carried this article as delivered from "the Shanghai branch of the Dalta News Agency of Peking." Thus, clearly *China Press* believed that Voitinsky was connected to the Dalta News Agency. His report also requested documents and articles that might be published for foreign consumption, but this supports the notion that he was first and foremost active as a journalist. Information gathering, as well as reports and propaganda concerning Soviet Russia, was an essential part of his revolutionary activities, and his status as a journalist and activities as a secret envoy of the Russian Communist Party were thus inseparable.¹⁰²

Dalta was a news agency established by the Far Eastern Republic in 1920, and many of its activities in China remain unclear. In early June, however, its Beijing branch office appears to have opened for business with A. Ye. Khodorov working as the branch manager.¹⁰³ According to the report of the Eastern Peoples' Section, Khodorov was a socialist who had worked as an editor of the newspaper *Dalyokaia okraina* (Distant Borderland) in Vladivostok; he was a Russian resident of China who was individually active there from before the time of Voitinsky's arrival. The Dalta News Agency was later absorbed into the Rosta News Agency (forerunner of the Tass News Agency) of Soviet Russia, and later still an important contact point for Soviet organs placed in China. It is thus safe to say that Voitinsky got started by forging contacts with Khodorov.¹⁰⁴

The offices of Tsentrosoyuz (All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies) and the company that produced the Russian-language newspaper *Shankhaiskaia zhizn'* (Shanghai Life), which was located in the same building as the Shanghai branch of the Dalta News Agency, were designated as organs of Soviet Russia based in Shanghai in a letter sent to the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau.¹⁰⁵

In particular, *Shankhaiskaia zhizn'* (founded in September 1919) was the first to convey the news of the "Karakhan Declaration," and it was called a "pure, radical newspaper."¹⁰⁶ One of its editors, M. L. Goorman, was later responsible for making contacts between Japan and Comintern agents sent to Shanghai, and he worked actively as an agent for Soviet Russia.¹⁰⁷ Thus, there were a fair number of Bolshevik

sympathizers—if not pure Bolsheviks—in the international city of Shanghai at the time, including the “unknown secret envoys” we examined earlier: Popov, Agaryov, and Potapov. Voitinsky was never operating all by himself.

There were at this time some 5,000 Russians residents in Shanghai, over ten times the number before the Russian Revolution.¹⁰⁸ The great majority of them were, of course, refugees from the eastern advance of the Bolshevik forces. Among them were those who sided with the Bolsheviks, and as the White armies’ fortunes declined and the Soviet regime stabilized, the former Russian overseas agencies in Shanghai were gradually confiscated by personnel of the new regime placed there, as well as by residents who supported the Bolshevik government. With the Beijing government, which had not easily come to recognize either the Far Eastern Republic or Soviet Russia, such a changeover did not proceed at all smoothly.¹⁰⁹ In Shanghai, though, the conditions for Voitinsky’s party to thrive had been put well in order. This and the convenience of communication made Voitinsky’s activities based in Shanghai possible.

Voitinsky’s Activities in Shanghai

One document concerning Voitinsky’s activities in Shanghai is the report (dated September 1920) from Vilensky-Sibiryakov who sent Voitinsky on this mission from Vladivostok. It reads in part, “In May of this year [1920], a temporary group leadership center was established to take the lead in activities that have already begun. This center located in Shanghai is known as the East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern (Vostochnoaziatskiy sekretariat III Komintern).”¹¹⁰ The foreign agencies of the Comintern were thus set up soon after Voitinsky arrived in Shanghai. Although Voitinsky’s name does not appear in this report, inasmuch as it was Vilensky-Sibiryakov who sent him there, the installation of the East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern clearly was premised on his being in Shanghai. At first, Vilensky-Sibiryakov, who had been sent to the Russian Far East from Moscow, received instructions to “support the revolutionary movements of the peoples of the nations of East Asia and establish firm bonds among the revolutionary organizations in Japan, China, and Korea.”¹¹¹ Hence, together with Voitinsky’s coming to Shanghai, they moved to realize this by establishing the “East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern.” Whether this Secretariat,

however, was formally recognized by the Comintern Executive and integrated into its organizational structure remains somewhat doubtful. As we noted earlier, about two months later, the establishment of a Far Eastern Secretariat was in negotiations within the Comintern Executive in Moscow. The plan was realized in January 1921 with the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive (in Irkutsk).¹¹² The “East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern” that emerged at this time was probably no more than a temporary organ put into place for convenience’s sake.

With Shanghai bases at the Tsentrosoyuz and the Delta News Agency, Voitinsky had the assistance of Yang Mingzhai, his interpreter and traveling companion, and the backing of resident Russians in Shanghai who supported the Bolsheviks. Not only did he come into contact with people from all walks of life in Shanghai, but from his Shanghai base, he was able to collect intelligence from Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hankou, Guangzhou, and other Chinese cities, as well as from Korea and Japan. At the center of all these various and sundry people in Shanghai was none other than Chen Duxiu. Chen had come to Shanghai from Beijing in February of that year, and the editorial department of *Xin qingnian* (in fact, he was the lone editor) also moved to Shanghai. Just then, the May 1 issue, inscribed “Commemorative Issue for Labor Day” and devoted to issues of labor, came out in celebration of May Day, strengthening the degree of its radicalization. This issue also introduced both the “Karakhan Declaration” and brought together the favorable responses from a host of quarters. While none of these, of course, anticipated Voitinsky’s arrival, the foundation had been well laid, so to speak, to welcome him.

In addition to Chen Duxiu, the individuals and groups with which Voitinsky was able to forge linkages in Shanghai were numerous. These would include, within Chen Duxiu’s orb, socialists such as Li Hanjun and Dai Jitao of *Xingqi pinglun*, a magazine that put out a special May Day issue just like *Xin qingnian*, and people affiliated with the Guomindang such as Shao Lizi of *Guomin ribao*, which had introduced numerous socialist works in its supplement *Juewu*, thus drawing a clear line to the Guomindang. There were also journalists such as Zhang Dongsun (1886–1973) of the daily *Shishi xinbao* (affiliated with the Research Clique), which was not to be outdone in introducing socialist writings. Groups would include the China Industrial Association (Zhonghua gongye xiehui),¹¹³ a Guomindang-affiliated group of labor organizations that aimed at rallying various workers’ organizations and planned the first full-fledged May Day in Chinese labor history, and the National Federation of Students (Quanguo xuesheng lianhehui), the

national center of the student movement and a product of the May Fourth Movement, as well as the Shanghai Federation of Students (Shanghai xuesheng lianhehui). Here as well, the base of the social movement in Shanghai was far beyond that in Beijing. And, just as in other places in China, here too we find an atmosphere teeming with welcome for the spirit of the Russian Revolution as seen in the “Karakhan Declaration.”

Contacts with individuals and groups seem to have proceeded smoothly, for a letter Voitinsky sent as early as June 9 from Shanghai to Vladivostok described, in conjunction with his activities, how “at present, we have in fact established relations with all the leaders of the Chinese revolutionary movement,” and particularly important were “highly popular and influential professors [such as] Chen Duxiu.”¹¹⁴ The letter thus reports, together with his cover activities as a journalist, that his basic mission in China of organizing a socialist movement was moving forward. About a month after coming to Shanghai, he had obtained a foothold through contact with Chen, and steps toward the formation of a Communist organization were advancing rapidly.

We can confirm that Voitinsky submitted two reports from Shanghai, one dated June 9 and one August 17. Prior to June 9, there was at least one report, but it has not been found.¹¹⁵ In addition, one document that traces Voitinsky’s activities in Shanghai is the report (dated September 1) addressed to the Comintern Executive from Vilensky-Sibiryakov, written, it would appear, upon receipt of Voitinsky’s reports.¹¹⁶ These reports, which vividly convey from the actual scene Voitinsky’s activities and the chronology of Communist organizing, reveal several new facts, but in a number of cases, they contain material that fails to jibe with the memoirs of Chinese individuals that have long been relied on by scholars. The process of the formation of a party as reflected in the eyes of Chinese Communists and the process of the formation of a party as reflected in the eyes of the Russians who guided them are different entities. This inconsistency itself and the historical event, of which there can be only one, appear in a variety of guises based on one’s position and one’s environment, a familiar phenomenon in history. How did the single matter of the formation of a Communist party, the joint work of members of the CCP in its early years and the “envoys” of Voitinsky’s group, appear differently, and why was it seen differently? In the next chapter, we trace the concrete process by which the Communist party organizations in various places took form, while here we examine the

formative process of the Communist organization as seen primarily in the reports filed on the Soviet Russian side.

First, let us look at Voitinsky's reports. After the report of June 9 conveyed the information that contacts had already been forged with all of the leaders of the Chinese revolutionary movement,¹¹⁷ Voitinsky noted, "They have yet to place representatives in Hankou, Guangzhou, Nanjing, and other locales, but our activities in those areas have already begun to manifest themselves through our friends, revolutionaries at those sites." Thus, their collaborator in Hankou was a "certain temporary assistant professor" recommended by "Professor Polevoy,"¹¹⁸ the very Polevoy who introduced him to Li Dazhao. With help from Russian collaborators then in China, we know that his activities had already spread beyond Shanghai to a number of other Chinese cities. As he put it:

The activities in which we are primarily engaged at present are linking up with various revolutionary groups, and we shall create a single central organization. As one focal point, the United Publications Bureau (Ob"iedinienie izdatel'skogo byuro) may be able to bring about a concentration of these revolutionary groups around it. The major weakness of the Chinese revolutionary movement is the dispersed nature of its activities. To harmonize and concentrate the activities of these organizations, we are at present proceeding with preparations to convene a meeting of allied representatives of socialists and anarchists in north China. . . . Professor Chen Duxiu has sent letters to revolutionaries in a number of cities, trying to fix an agenda for this meeting as well as a place and date. Accordingly, this meeting will probably be convened in early July. Not only have we participated in the preparatory work for the meeting (enacting the schedule and resolutions), but we plan as well to attend.

As this indicates, the immediate goals were to link the organizations at various sites around the publications bureau and convene a meeting to stimulate an overall unity of socialists, including anarchists. Clearly, Chen Duxiu was the central figure here. What sort of organization, in concrete terms, was the United Publications Bureau, which he assumes will become the core of this integration? We do not know its Chinese name. Although we have information that purports to be Qunyi shushe

of Shanghai, the publisher of *Xin qingnian*,¹¹⁹ there does not seem to be any independent evidence to this effect. As in other reports on the Russian side, in this one as well, there are few proper nouns given for the names of people, places, or organizations, adding considerable difficulty to any effort to coordinate their data with contemporaneous events in China. In addition, geographical concepts appear to differ widely from our contemporary ones. For example, “north China” as found in this report seems to point to the Beijing-Tianjin region, and in fact, looking at examples from other reports, it seems to include Shanghai and the Jiangnan region. The terrain of the southern government that at the time was centered in Guangdong was “south China,” and everything north of it seems to have been considered “north China.” In any event, Voitinsky’s effort in the period centered on Chinese activists in Shanghai and extended to Hankou, Guangzhou, Nanjing, and elsewhere; we see that a meeting as a formal procedure to integrate socialists, including anarchists, was now on his agenda.

Whether or not the meeting of Chinese socialists and anarchists transpired as planned is not clear. There is a note in another Russian document to the effect that on July 19, 1920, a meeting was held in Shanghai of “the most active Chinese comrades,”¹²⁰ and perhaps this was the meeting in question, but unfortunately we have no definitive evidence. Yet, because a resolution was drawn up beforehand in anticipation of this meeting, there is no room for doubt that the integration of socialists had begun under the leadership of Chen Duxiu and Voitinsky.

Especially interesting in this context is the fact that Vilensky-Sibiryakov, the man who had sent Voitinsky on his mission, visited China at around this time, as if in support of these activities. According to Chinese diplomatic records, he came as secretary to the Yurin delegation on the pretext of “observing the state of business and industry.” In late June, he proceeded to China from Vladivostok in advance of the delegation¹²¹ and arrived in Beijing on July 4.¹²² Upon entering Beijing, immediately from the next day (July 5) through July 7, he convened the first public meeting of Russian Communist Party members in China, with people already contacted by telegram assembling from Tianjin, Shanghai, and elsewhere. The goal was to exchange ideas. Voitinsky, who was of course active in Shanghai just then, seems to have attended the meeting in Beijing, as did Stoyanovich and Polevoy, among others. At this meeting, according to Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report, there was a discussion of ideas about “Chinese Communist organizations—namely, a representative congress that should soon be convened and the estab-

lishment of a Chinese Communist Party.” It was recognized that “the initial foundation for building an organization had been laid, . . . the present organization would make use of its accumulated experience and continue the work of forging a party, . . . and by getting the masses of workers over a broad area to join in a systematic way the building of a party, to work to expand the present organizational activities from within.”¹²³ Voitinsky was commended for the “accumulated experience,” and the formation of a CCP was now on the agenda. In a word, this meeting gave the green light to forming a Chinese Communist Party.

How did Voitinsky’s activities proceed in Shanghai after the meeting? His report of August 17 differed from his letter of June 9 in that it was addressed and written to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the party’s Siberian Bureau. As pointed out earlier, Russian Communist Party operations vis-à-vis China in Siberia and the Russian Far East went through a number of twists and turns before being unified in the Eastern Peoples’ Section that was established in Irkutsk in August 1920. Voitinsky was in Shanghai at the time and would have known this. According to a subsequent related report from the Eastern Peoples’ Section in Irkutsk, the Section received his report of August 17, the first and last one so received.¹²⁴

One interesting point in this report comes at the very beginning, which notes the establishment of a “Revolutionary Bureau”: “Recently we have been able to bring our activities here together as described below. We set up in Shanghai a Revolutionary Bureau comprised of five members (four Chinese revolutionaries and myself). The bureau has three sections: (1) publication section; (2) information agitation section; and (3) organization section.”

The names of the four Chinese constituent members of this “Revolutionary Bureau” (*Revoliutsionnoie byuro*) are not indicated, and we do not know them in Chinese, but it is a virtual certainty that at least Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun were members¹²⁵ and that the “Revolutionary Bureau” was the Shanghai Communist group that became the parent body of the subsequently formed Communist Party. Not only was the “Revolutionary Bureau” set up in Shanghai, according to the report, but a similar organization came into existence in Beijing, and Stoyanovich and Polevoy continued their work as per Voitinsky’s instructions. Stoyanovich was later sent to Guangzhou from Tianjin to set up a “Revolutionary Bureau” there as well, and installation of a “Revolutionary Bureau” in Hankou was also planned. By the same token, in addition to these Revolutionary Bureaus, there was a “Korean Revolutionary

Bureau” focused on dedicated patriots in the Korean independence movement who were resident in Shanghai, and it cooperated with the Chinese groups and carried on publishing work of its own.

The descriptions of the activities of the three sections of the Shanghai “Revolutionary Bureau” are rather detailed. First, he discusses the publication section:

We have already set up a print shop and have published a number of pamphlets. Almost all the materials (aside from books) that were sent on from Vladivostok have been translated and published in Chinese. In addition to the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*, some fifteen pamphlets and handbills are presently awaiting publication. Let me just add that we have already issued such works as *What Is Communism?*, *The Russian Communist Youth Movement*, and *Story of a Soldier* (the work of a certain Chinese revolutionary). . . . On August 22, this week, our publication section is set to publish the *Workers’ Word* in Chinese. The plan is for it to be a weekly, with a print run of 2,000, at a price of one cent [copper cent] per issue. We shall print it in our own print shop.

The *Communist Manifesto* was, of course, the Chinese translation by Chen Wangdao. It was just published that August after revisions by Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun. As for the pamphlets and handbills whose titles are given, there are a number of unclear references. *What Is Communism?* appeared as *Shei shi gongchandang*,¹²⁶ and *Story of a Soldier* appeared as *Yige bing de shuohua*.¹²⁷ Both were pamphlets said to have been distributed by the Communist group in Shanghai around 1920. *Workers’ Word* may be the weekly magazine *Laodong jie* (Workers’ World; inaugural issue dated August 15, 1920), published by the Shanghai Communist group. The second issue appeared on August 22 (price: two copper cents) with essays by Chen Wangdao, Li Hanjun, and Chen Duxiu. The publisher of the *Communist Manifesto* (Chin., *Gongchandang xuanyan*) is given as “Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe” (“Socialist Study Society”). In addition to the *Manifesto*, the same organization published *Makesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx’s *Das Kapital*, by Mary Marcy, translated by Li Hanjun, 1920). It would thus appear that this “Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe” was, in fact, Xin qingnian she (the general distributor of *Laodong jie*), which constituted the publication section of the “Revolutionary Bureau.”

The report has the following to say about the information agitation section:

The information section instituted a “Russo-Chinese Information Bureau” (*Rusko-Kitaiskoie inform byuro*), and at present it contributes articles to thirty-one Chinese newspapers. To expand its scope, we have already established a branch in Beijing. Although material for the information section is the responsibility of a certain Chinese comrade, the principal sources of material are newspapers in the Russian Far East, the *Daily Herald*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Nation*, *The New Republic*, the *New York Call*, *Soviet Russia*, and articles our group contributes. Articles in *Sovietskiy kalendar’* (Soviet Calendar), such as “What Did the October Revolution Bring About?”¹²⁸ have been printed in full.

The “Russo-Chinese Information Bureau” was, in Chinese, the “Zhong-E tongxinshe” (on occasion also known as the “Hua-E tongxinshe”) established around the figure of Yang Mingzhai, who had come with Voitinsky to Shanghai. The “certain Chinese comrade” in charge of materials (translations) for the information section points to Yang Mingzhai. To the extent that it can be confirmed at present, the first copy this news agency produced was an article carried on July 2, 1920, in *Guomin ribao* (“Yuandong Eguo hezuoshe qingxing” [“Circumstances Surrounding the Russian Joint Agency in the Far East”]), indicating that the “Russo-Chinese Information Bureau” was established before it.¹²⁹ The “Zhong-E tongxinshe” seems, in fact, to have been part of a single entity with the Dalta News Agency and the Rosta New Agency, and when Khodorov later visited Guangdong, he reported that “the Hua-E tongxinshe was a branch agency of both Dalta (main office in Chita) and Rosta (main office in Moscow).”¹³⁰ While Dalta and Rosta were primarily concerned with distributing news abroad, the Zhong-E tongxinshe was responsible for distributing Chinese-language news that it translated.

While the report clarified the origin of these materials in the information bureau, noteworthy among them were the leftist American magazine *New York Call* and *Soviet Russia*, the principal source for news in the “Russian studies” column in *Xin qingnian*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, soon after this report, the revived *Xin qingnian* began translating numerous Bolshevik documents from American journals beginning with *Soviet Russia*. In a single stroke, it began to show signs of

the influence of the American socialist movement, and Voitinsky and his colleagues supported the use of such English-language documents as intermediaries.

Looking back at Voitinsky's early life, we know he was a member of the Socialist Party of America during his years (1913–1918) as an immigrant in North America. He would have been extremely well versed in the circumstances surrounding publication of socialist materials in the United States (such as the orientation of magazines and publishers), at least as compared to Chinese socialists in Shanghai. If that was indeed the case, then we can safely assume that it was Voitinsky who suggested the kinds of magazines mentioned in his report and the publications of socialist-oriented American publishers (such as the firm of Charles H. Kerr) that were translated into Chinese in the latter half of 1920, as well as served as middleman in purchasing such works. After their contacts with Voitinsky, Chen Duxiu and his colleagues at *Xin qingnian* put the logo of the Socialist Party of America on the cover of their magazine. Bearing in mind the link between Voitinsky and the Socialist Party of America, it is easy to understand why. Voitinsky's role is immense, not only in organizing an actual Communist movement but in the realm of propagating Bolshevik materials as its theoretical support.

Third was the organization section about which he conveys the objectives toward which they were working and the progress made:

The organization section has been engaged in student operations, and its aim is to carry out propaganda among them and treat them as allied with workers and soldiers. Although its activities in this arena have not as yet produced results, there are several active groups at work, and we are beginning to work with them. This week our organization section convened a meeting of representatives comprised of two representatives each from ten workers' groups, and we are going to establish a central bureau of workers' groups. This central bureau will send one representative to our Shanghai Revolutionary Bureau. I shall draft a resolution in English for this meeting, to be discussed and adopted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Bureau. The resolution has already been translated into Chinese, and its main points are now material to be used in propaganda by the workers' organizations.

The report described how the establishment of a "central bureau of workers' groups" by integrating various workers' organizations was

planned and the preparation of a resolution for it. When we trace newspaper articles of the time in such places as *Laodong jie*, however, there is no evidence that in Shanghai in late August such a meeting was held or such a center for labor organizations was ever established. We do know that Chen Duxiu and others were calling for “genuine labor groups to organize,”¹³¹ and they had made contact with workers’ organizations such as the China Industrial Association, the Shanghai Federation of Unions of Shipping and Warehousing, and the Shanghai Friendly Society of Industry and Commerce,¹³² but these diverse groups never came together as one. Perhaps Chen was referring to the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union, which launched itself from roughly that September (proposed at a meeting on October 3, officially established on November 21),¹³³ but in any event it was not a large-scale entity “comprised of two representatives each from ten workers’ groups.” The integration of extant workers’ organizations—according to Chen Duxiu, “the great majority of new unions have been invaded by vulgar politicians”¹³⁴—did not develop as this report indicated.

The extent to which the activities of these “Revolutionary Bureaus” posted results is seen less in the organizational area of rallying labor groups and more in the publication and propaganda areas. At any rate, from July 1920, after the Beijing meeting of Russian Communist Party members in China flashed a green light to forming a Chinese Communist Party, until August, the steps toward the formation of a Communist party clearly accelerated around the pivot of the “Revolutionary Bureaus.” The report offers the following prospects as future plans:

This month I would like to organize various revolutionary student groups and then establish a united Socialist Youth League (*Soyuz sotsialisticheskoi molodezhi*). This Youth League should then have representatives join our Revolutionary Bureaus in Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin. . . . Over the next two weeks we will have a string of student meetings in Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin under our leadership, and we shall be discussing the forging of an alliance of all radical groups. Today in Beijing there is to be a conference of student representatives from various Chinese cities (Beijing, Tianjin, Hankou, Nanjing), and the goal is to finally decide on the issue of alliance. At today’s meeting, the trend supporting the establishment of a Socialist Youth League through such an alliance should be strong, for over the past few days we have been in consultation

over this question with influential representatives participating in the meeting and have finally reached agreement.

Noteworthy here is the plan to establish a “Socialist Youth League” as a unified organization of revolutionary student groups. After a preliminary meeting, he was reporting, a conference of representatives to address this issue was convening that very day, August 17, in Beijing. What sort of meeting would have been convened in Beijing, bringing together representative from Tianjin and elsewhere? It is conceivable that this was a meeting that proposed a “Reform Alliance” (Gaizao lianhe) convened by five organizations—Young China Association (Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui), Morning Light Society (Shuguangshe), and Humanitarian Society (Rendaoshe), all of Beijing; Awakening Society (Juewushe) of Tianjin; and Youth Mutual Aid Corps (Qingnian huzhutuan)—August 16–18 at the Taoranting Park in Beijing and the Beijing University Library. The Young China Association was formed shortly after the May Fourth Movement and was the largest youth organization in its day, said to be carrying on the spirit of struggle for China’s youth (among its members were subsequent CCP members Li Dazhao, Deng Zhongxia, and Zhang Shenfu [1893–1986]). The Morning Light Society was a youth organization founded in November 1919 around a student (Song Jie, 1893–1951, later a CCP member) from Shandong who was studying in Beijing (it published the journal *Shuguang* [Morning Light]), and from 1920 ran numerous articles introducing Soviet Russia); the Awakening Society of Tianjin was a progressive youth organization formed in September 1919 around the figures of Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) and Liu Qingyang (1894–1977)—both future CCP members—and others; and the Humanitarian Society was a group of young people, including members such as Qu Qiubai (1899–1935) and Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958), who had earlier issued the journal *Xin shehui* (New Society) and were connected with the YMCA in Beijing founded in early August 1920 (they published the magazine *Rendao* [Humanitarian]). Although the location and membership of the Mutual Aid Corps remain unknown, it is safe to assume that it was an anarchist organization with numerous members.

The meeting of these five groups was led by the Awakening Society of Tianjin and was convened with the objective of forging an alliance of progressive organizations dispersed at many sites. At a tea party on August 16, Li Dazhao, representing the Young China Association, appealed for the need to clarify principles to maintain internal consistency and,

on their basis, encouraged adoption of an alliance of the various groups. At a meeting preparatory to an alliance convened by representatives of the various organizations at the Beijing University Library on the August 18 (Li Dazhao and Zhang Shenfu attended from the Young China Association), they decided that the name of the unified organization would be the Reform Alliance, and the content of its activities and the general features of its organization were drawn up.¹³⁵ At a Young China Association tea party in Beijing the following day, Li Dazhao noted, "We must make clear internally and externally the principles of this organization. The reason is that, if our principles are unclear, then not only will we be unable to unify our overall purpose internally, but we shall also be unable to work together with others externally." And it was decided that they would discuss this general direction together.¹³⁶

The Socialist Youth League is not mentioned in the short article describing the contours of this meeting, and the Reform Alliance that was formed by the preceding five groups seems to have been a short-lived organization, as there are scarcely any materials that indicate its subsequent activities. In the sole memoir of someone who participated in the Reform Alliance meeting, we find, "Among the members of the Awakening Society in Beijing, a number joined the movement of workers, women, and young students, under the leadership of Mr. Li Dazhao. With an introduction from Mr. Li Dazhao, two society members took part in activities of the 'Hua-E tongxunshe,' the international news agency of the Soviet Union."¹³⁷ As just noted, the "Hua-E tongxunshe" was part of the information section of the Revolutionary Bureau, so this matches Voitinsky's report in which he states, "As for the Youth Group, we shall have our representatives take part in the Revolutionary Bureaus on Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin." The meeting to propose a Socialist Youth League would seem to have been this Reform Alliance conference. The movement toward the integration of small progressive groups that the Reform Alliance portended appears to have been expressed in Voitinsky's report in a rather exaggerated fashion as the Socialist Youth League.

As we have now seen, although there is a certain amount of hyperbole in Voitinsky's report and the concrete names of organizations and people are quite difficult to match up with their Chinese names, the report nonetheless describes how the Communist movement in China, especially Shanghai, advanced considerably under his leadership. The concrete process of party formation in various places in China will be

examined in detail in the next chapter, but here I would like to follow his footsteps to the point of his return home in early 1921. Because we only have the preceding two Voitinsky reports, however, few details are available about his activities after August.

The first concerns his contacts with the socialist movement in Korea and Japan, one of his tasks.¹³⁸ Around October 1920, he met Ōsugi Sakae (1885–1923), who had escaped from Japan to Shanghai. According to Ōsugi's *Nihon dasshutsu ki* (Account of an Escape from Japan), around late August he was visited by an important man named M (a Mr. Ma) of the Korean Provisional Government (Shanghai), who encouraged him to go to Shanghai. When he went there in October, he met L (Yi Tong-hwi, 1873–1935), C (Chen Duxiu), and R (Yŏ Un-hyŏng, 1886–1947), among others.¹³⁹ There, a “Russian named T” crops up, and this was probably Voitinsky, who used the pseudonym Tarasov.¹⁴⁰ According to Ōsugi, he received 2,000 yen as funds for the movement from “T” and then returned home.

As for contacts made with figures in the Chinese political world, on October 9 in Beijing, he went with Polevoy to meet Bai Jianwu (1886–1937), a member of the staff of Wu Peifu (1874–1939), who enjoyed a reputation for being a progressive warlord. They exchanged views on China's present situation and future prospects, and Voitinsky introduced various organizations from revolutionary Russia.¹⁴¹ He was both collecting data as a journalist and trying to understand the attitudes of Wu Peifu, an influential figure in the Zhili Clique supporting the Beijing government at the time. At the prompting of Chen Duxiu, he met with Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai in November.¹⁴² At the time of their meeting, Sun explained in detail the steps in his own revolutionary movement, and he asked many questions about the state of the Russian Revolution. Because it was difficult to make contact between his base in Guangzhou and Russia, due to geographical conditions, he asked if they might set up a strong radio communication facility at Vladivostok or Manzhouli to stay in contact.¹⁴³ We do not know Voitinsky's response. Most likely, this visit was aimed at learning about Sun's views, whose reputation both at home and abroad was mixed.

Responding to an invitation from Chen Jiongmeng, who had returned to Guangzhou late that year, Chen Duxiu and Voitinsky (about the same time or possibly together) visited Guangzhou and stayed there for awhile. While helping Stoyanovich, who had already been sent to Guangzhou, with the activities of the Guangzhou Communist group (in Voitinsky's terms, the “Guangzhou Revolutionary Bureau”)

at this time, he also joined Chen Duxiu for a conversation with Chen Jiongmeng.¹⁴⁴ The move toward organizing a party organization in Guangzhou is discussed in the next chapter, but we can confirm that he was accompanied on this trip to Guangzhou by Polevoy, on the orders of Yurin, head of the diplomatic mission of the Far Eastern Republic in Beijing.¹⁴⁵ Yurin had become exasperated at the lack of progress being made in diplomatic negotiations with the Beijing government and may have sent him to investigate the intentions of the southern government in Guangzhou. Voitinsky returned to Shanghai from Guangzhou on January 12, 1921,¹⁴⁶ and soon thereafter made his way back to Russia via Beijing. His route of return is not known in great detail. After returning to Russia, though, he stayed for a time in January at the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive in Irkutsk.¹⁴⁷ Building his career in Vladivostok and at the fourth congress of the Comintern (November–December 1922) in Moscow, he established a position for himself as an expert on the Far Eastern question, and he would visit China again as a representative of the Comintern Executive three years later in April 1924.¹⁴⁸

The Arrival in China of Subsequent Envoys

Among the pressures brought to bear on China by Soviet Russia and the Comintern in these early years, there can be no doubt that Voitinsky's activities constituted a huge weight. The window for Russian operations vis-à-vis China in the period he was there was not necessarily efficiently worked out by Voitinsky and his colleagues. In spite of the fact that the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau was established in Irkutsk in August 1920 to centralize the Far Eastern operations of the Russian Communist Party's organization in Siberia and the Russian Far East, we have only one report on activities received from Voitinsky between August and December,¹⁴⁹ and the remittances sent to Voitinsky relied on the party's Far Eastern Bureau because of the straitened economic circumstances of this Section.¹⁵⁰ As a result of inadequacies in this contact structure that continued as before, during Voitinsky's visit to China, a variety of other envoys in different lineages also came to China. Two such representative figures were V. Khokhlovkin and M. Fromberg.¹⁵¹

We know the general contours of Khokhlovkin's coming to China from a story that Peng Shuzhi (1896–1983), an early member of the CCP,

heard from Li Dazhao in 1924. At the request probably of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern in Irkutsk in early 1920, Khokhlovkin (Chinese: Hehenuofujin) visited Li in Beijing to discuss how he felt about organizing a Communist Party. During his visit to Beijing, Khokhlovkin received positive responses from both Li and Chen Duxiu about forming a Communist Party, and he returned to Irkutsk happy; shortly thereafter, Voitinsky was formally sent on his mission. Born and raised in Harbin, Khokhlovkin is said to have spoken Chinese fluently and later to have taught at the Eastern University (Communist University of the Toilers of the East, or KUTV) in Moscow.¹⁵² If his memory was accurate, then Khokhlovkin preceded Voitinsky as a Soviet envoy. While it is certain that he was later a senior staff member in the Far Eastern Department,¹⁵³ however, he does not appear to have been the first envoy sent by Soviet Russia. His report on the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau that sent him states that Khokhlovkin (secretary of the Chinese division of the Section) was the first messenger sent to China by the Section (established in August 1920). According to this report, the mission assigned to him was to transport jewels that could be converted into money, books, and detailed instructions to the Shanghai branch (Voitinsky).¹⁵⁴ Because communication with China—be it through the Far Eastern Republic or the party's Far Eastern Bureau—never proceeded smoothly, they decided to send someone directly. He certainly was sent sometime in or after August, but no documents have come to light offering the detailed times of his departure or return, or the outcome of his contact with Voitinsky in Shanghai.

M. Fromberg was sent to Shanghai via Manzhouli by Yu. D. Smurgis of the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Council of Trade Unions in Chita in January 1921, just as Voitinsky was preparing to return home.¹⁵⁵ Until this point in time, Fromberg appears to have been working in the intelligence division of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Far Eastern Bureau. The aim of sending him to China was primarily to sustain contact with Voitinsky in Shanghai and to support the Chinese labor movement. In a report dated June 3, 1921, Smurgis noted that the representative sent by the Far Eastern Bureau (probably Fromberg) had reached Shanghai, although he does not specify the arrival date. In another report, however, he mentioned that some twenty Chinese with a letter of introduction from Fromberg had arrived in Chita on June 10. Taking into consideration travel conditions between Shanghai and Chita at that time, Fromberg must have reached Shanghai several months earlier. Whether or not he was ultimately able to make

contact as planned with Voitinsky in Shanghai remains unclear. Smurgis's report of July 6 mentions Voitinsky by name as a comrade with whom Fromberg worked on activities in Shanghai, but this was an error of some sort, since by that time Voitinsky had already left China. Perhaps he confused this with Maring and Nikolsky, who reached Shanghai in June 1921,¹⁵⁶ but in any event, we can confirm that Fromberg appeared in Shanghai as if to relieve Voitinsky and made contacts with Chinese socialists.¹⁵⁷ These Russian Communist Party members active in China in late 1920 numbered as many as ten or more.¹⁵⁸

Although Khokhlovkin's and Fromberg's travels to China and their activities there are rather easy to understand because their aims were in line with those of Voitinsky, from around the time of Voitinsky's return to Russia, they were proceeding in their operations in China along altogether different avenues. This accurately reflects the lack of unity in Soviet and Comintern operations in the region. Encouragement from this different route gave birth to another "Chinese Communist Party" different from the one founded by Chen Duxiu and others. This complicated the steps toward the organization of Chinese Communism that Voitinsky had only just gotten on track.

THE "BOGUS" CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Chinese "Communist Party" Contacted by Kondō Eizō

After Voitinsky left China in early 1921—undoubtedly to report on his activities there¹⁵⁹—both Soviet Russia and the Comintern ceased sending personnel for a time before Maring reached Shanghai in June of the following year. As we have seen, after Voitinsky's return home, a number of men connected to Soviet Russia, such as M. Fromberg, continued in fact to take up residence in Shanghai, but the departure of Voitinsky who had played such an important role in the formation of Chinese Communist organizations was a major blow for Communists in Shanghai. For a time thereafter until Maring arrived in China, the activities of the Shanghai Communist group ceased for lack of funds. In addition, Chen Duxiu, the central figure in those activities in Shanghai, moved to Guangzhou in late 1920, which proved to be another reason for this stagnation. For example, after the release of the January 1921 issue of *Xin qingnian*, it ceased publication until the following April. Similarly, after the December 1920 issue of the monthly *Gongchandang* came out,

it would not appear again for over six months.¹⁶⁰ This slump in publishing activities was not simply the result of obstruction by the authorities,¹⁶¹ as is made clear in a subsequent report submitted by Maring:

During the period in which Comrade Voitinsky was active in Shanghai, the Chinese Communist group took shape under the leadership of Comrade Chen Duxiu. Comrade Chen Duxiu had been editing the journal *Xin qingnian* for a number of years. Although this group had seven or eight regional branches, its total membership in China overall did not exceed fifty or sixty. They were active with assistance from a workers' school, and when Comrade Voitinsky returned home, they fell into financial straits and had to suspend operations.¹⁶²

That Voitinsky's departure meant the interruption of funds for activities can be seen in the following statement by Bao Huiseng: "Later, when Voitinsky returned home and Chen Duxiu left for Guangzhou, funds from the provisional center ceased, and all of our activities suffered as a result. The monthly *Gongchandang* stopped being edited and published for a number of months."¹⁶³ During the period in which the activities of the group around Chen Duxiu came to a halt, the movement to form a Chinese Communist Party along a different track with encouragement from Soviet Russia did in fact proceed in China. This is the other "Chinese Communist Party" about which scarcely anything is known even now. This "CCP," which for a brief moment cast a bright light in the early 1920s and then soon faded completely into the darkness of history, was the very Communist Party with which Kondō Eizō (1883–1965) made contact when he was sent to Shanghai by the Japanese Communist organization in May 1921.

Kondō Eizō was a member of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) from the outset. After being prompted by the Korean Yi Ch'ung-nim (or "Mr. Lim"), who had secretly come to Japan in the spring of 1921, he was entrusted by the "Provisional Executive of the Japan Communist Party" and traveled to Shanghai by himself. He made contact with international Communist organizations there and was charged with making contact with the Comintern and distributing funds. However, it is unclear which international Communist organizations and Chinese Communists he spent time with in Shanghai. According to a memoir Kondō wrote late in his life,¹⁶⁴ he was welcomed in Shanghai by several Korean Communists, including Pak Chin-sun and Yi Tong-hwi, and a

Chinese man named “Mr. Huang,” who was “a teacher at Beijing University, and a pioneer Chinese Communist” (Huang Jiemin).¹⁶⁵ In an official document thought to be based on a deposition he gave to the police,¹⁶⁶ also present in Shanghai were Koreans Kim Ha-ku, Pak Ch’i-sun (Pak Chin-sun), Yi Tong-hwi, and Kim Ip and a Chinese man by the name of “Yao Zuobin.”

Of the names mentioned, Pak Chin-sun and Yi Tong-hwi were the leaders of an organization known as the Korean Communist Party in Shanghai. The question, however, is the identities of Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin. The Shanghai Communist Group, forerunner of the present CCP, had been active in founding a Chinese Communist Party around Li Hanjun and Li Da, but Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin were not mentioned. Why was it that the Chinese Communists whom Kondō met in Shanghai were not “genuine” members of the CCP like Li Hanjun and Li Da? And why did they include such unknown figures as Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin? Who were they, and in what sorts of documents do their names crop up?

The first time that the term *Chinese Communist Party* (*Zhongguo gongchandang*) appeared was back in 1912, shortly after the 1911 Revolution. An advertisement recruiting party members to the “Chinese Communist Party” appeared in the March 1912 issue of *Minquan bao* (People’s Rights News), and a political program for a “Chinese Communist Party” was carried in the April 28 issue of *Shengjing shibao* (Shengjing News, Fengtian). The “Communist Parties” in these instances were no more than names on paper; no documents remain that convey what actual activities they engaged in, and their memberships remain completely unknown.¹⁶⁷ In China later, after the Russian Revolution, the two-character expression *gongchan* was labeled “immoral” by conservatives, while attracting radical intellectuals. In addition to Chen Duxiu’s group, organizations bearing “*gongchanzhuyi*” (Communism) in their names appeared here and there between 1920 and 1922. The term *Gongchandang* (Communist Party) was not as yet a monopoly of Chen Duxiu and his associates. From the manifestos and reports issued by such groups that remain extant, we can point to a “Gongchandang” that came into existence in March 1920 in Chongqing and a “Zhongguo Gongchanzhuyi tongzhahui” (Association of Chinese Communist Comrades) that appeared in Beijing in February 1922. Basic research on such organizations as these is now under way.¹⁶⁸ These Communist parties of various strains were formed in keeping with the changing times, but the Communist Party organized by Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin

was established with the encouragement of the Comintern, and in the struggle over authenticity with the Communist Party of Chen Duxiu and his colleagues, this was an altogether different case. The formation of Huang and Yao's party emerged as a result of the fact that Soviet and Comintern operations in China were not necessarily unified.

The Chinese "Communist Party" Assembled in Moscow in 1921

Compared to the materials concerned with the history of the formation of the "authentic" Chinese Communist Party, documents of these other CCP groupings are effectively nonexistent. Concerning the "Communist Party" of Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin, of which not even one of their own reports is extant, there is no reason that any such collections should exist, but it is possible to tie together a few documents and describe certain details about it. First, let us look at how their Communist Party was treated in Moscow in 1921. There are three items indicating efforts by Yao Zuobin in Moscow to make contact with the Comintern.

One is a section of "Chi-E youji" ("Travelogue in Red Russia"), by Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), a Chinese anarchist in Moscow at the time, that was published in 1924. It states that Kim (possibly Kim Ip), a Korean in Shanghai who had received 400,000 to 500,000 yuan in funding from the Comintern, met with a Chinese anarchist through Yao Zuobin. He donated 1,000 yuan to be used to convene a meeting, and in May 1920, a congress of anarchists was held in Shanghai. The majority of the members at the anarchist congress were opposed to sending a representative to a Comintern congress, but several members insisted that someone should attend, and as a result, on his way to Europe, Yao Zuobin tried to participate in the Comintern congress in 1921 in Moscow. Yao told the Russians that he was a representative of the Communist Party and reported how many members it had. Upon hearing this information, the Socialist Youth Corps in Moscow immediately sent the Comintern a letter of protest. Pressured by a strike of the entire student body, they dispatched a delegate and arrested Yao and Zhang [Minquan].¹⁶⁹

Jiang Kanghu (1883–1954), who established the Chinese Socialist Party in the early years of the Republic, penned a section entitled "Notes on Five Communist Parties in China" of a travel narrative he wrote from a 1921 trip to Moscow. The following is the gist of that discussion. In order to attend the third Comintern congress in 1921, "a Shanghai

student by the name of Yao entered Russia from Western Europe with a Korean. From what he said, there was already an Eastern Communist Party organization, and he was its special delegate.”¹⁷⁰ The remaining four “Communist parties” in Russia that Jiang mentioned would include “Zhang [Tailei] and Yu” (probably Yu Xiusong), students from the Socialist Youth Corps; similarly, overseas students who had come in large numbers from the Socialist Youth Corps, “the Young Communist Party . . . that did not recognize Zhang and Yu as their representatives”; the “Chinese Communist Party,” reorganized by “Gong and Yu” of the old branch of the Chinese Socialist Party in Heihe, Heilongjiang Province; and the “Chinese Communist Party” (Zhina gongchandang) that “Zhang” (Zhang Minquan) from Hangzhou, who had come to Russia as an individual, claimed he represented. While all five of these parties argued for their respective legitimacy, Jiang Kanghu pointed out that the students from the Socialist Youth Corps had the most members. While criticizing the others’ pretensions to call themselves Communist parties, he “was particularly exasperated with Yao, and I don’t know what happened to him in the end.”

One other person, known as “CP,” who is believed to have taken part in the Congress of the Toilers of the East,¹⁷¹ wrote an essay in 1922 entitled “Wo guanchaguo de Eluosi” (“The Russia I Observed”).¹⁷² He had the following to say:

The ones who demonstrated the most inferior disposition [in Moscow] were Mr. Liao [probably Yao, or Yao Zuobin] and Mr. Zhang [Zhang Minquan], who misrepresented themselves as delegates of the Chinese Communist Party. Originally, this Liao, working in concert with a Korean named Kim [possibly Kim Ip], had cheated the Russians out of funds, and spoke in a dignified manner about such things as having organized a Communist party in China. When the support of the Communist party faded in China, he and Zhang came to Russia to play their tricks again. They came under serious attack from Chinese students on this occasion, though, and quickly retreated to China.

Summing this up, the Communist Party of China organized by Yao Zuobin appears to have been created with the encouragement of Korean Communists. This party—together with various other “Communist parties” in China that came to Moscow for the third Comintern congress convened there from June to July 1921—seems to have been

involved in secret feuds over Comintern authorization. In this connection, the Zhang Minquan, who is said to have also falsely claimed ties to the “Communist Party,” was an Esperantist and anarchist who had been active in this period over a wide range of places from Shanghai to Fujian to Southeast Asia. “When young people in numerous places who were intent on the transformation of China began convening meetings, his name was put forward to attend the Comintern congress,”¹⁷³ and thus he departed from Shanghai in June 1921 and made his way to Moscow via Irkutsk.¹⁷⁴ Somehow or other, both he and Yao Zuobin seem to have raised the banner of their “Communist Party.” Without even citing the example of the Korean Communist Party with its internal discord of a “Shanghai branch” and an “Irkutsk branch,”¹⁷⁵ in order for these self-proclaimed “Communist parties” from various countries to be the “authentic Communist Party,” it was essential that they receive Comintern recognition. Yao Zuobin’s Communist Party was apparently scheming to win this recognition, and we can now understand the strong response they encountered.

What became of the encouragement Yao Zuobin gave the Comintern about his organization? There is one document in the Central Archives in Beijing from which we may conjecture an answer. This is the proclamation, cited earlier in Bao Pu’s “Chi-E youji,” which resembles a protest sent to the Comintern by the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps over the issue of Yao’s delegate rights. To wit, Yu Xiusong, a delegate of the Socialist Youth Corps sent to Soviet Russia at the time, sent a statement (dated September 27, 1921) to the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive in which he wrote:

Recently arrived in Moscow, Yao Zuobin, a Chinese citizen who calls himself a representative of the Chinese Communist Party, is not a member of the Chinese Communist Party. He thus has no standing to make contact with the Comintern. The Chinese Communist Party will not consent to whatever investigation and decision the Comintern has reached regarding him (such as providing him with funds on the basis of his petition for such). The reason is that, as is well known, Yao Zuobin was an apostate reviled by Chinese students at the time of the second nationwide student strike.¹⁷⁶

At the third congress of the Comintern that opened prior to this statement, Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong represented China—namely,

the CCP of Chen Duxiu and his colleagues—and this letter of protest, it can easily be imagined, was a huge blow to Yao Zuobin’s maneuvering. There is, in fact, no evidence of the Comintern’s dealing with Yao thereafter, and we do not see his name in the group of Chinese delegates to the Congress of the Toilers of the East three months later.¹⁷⁷ Ultimately, he was unable to gain legitimacy for his “Communist Party.”

Setting off for Moscow in high spirits, was his effort there initially just a haphazard attempt to get money? If that were the case, how is it best to understand the fact that the Comintern had conversations about providing funds, as the statement of Yu Xiusong indicates, with the Communist Party of Yao Zuobin, which was criticized by the various Communist Parties assembled in Moscow—first and foremost being the “authentic” CCP? Furthermore, when Kondō Eizō went to Shanghai to make contact with the Comintern, how do we explain that Yao Zuobin among others was present at the meeting? In fact, the Communist Party of Yao Zuobin appeared to the Comintern to be a Communist organization worthy of some sort of appropriate interaction.

*The Great Unity Party (Datongdang): The “Communist Party”
of Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin*

Earlier we looked at V. D. Vilensky-Sibiryakov, who sent Voitinsky to China and visited Beijing himself in July 1920. After returning home in December of that year, he wrote up a report in Moscow on conditions surrounding the revolution in China, entitled “On the Eve of the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party.”¹⁷⁸ This report conveys to us which Socialist forces he was paying attention to during his trip to China. In a section of it, “Revolutionary Organizations in China,” which drew an overview of the May Fourth student movement, the labor movement in various places, and the existing political parties since the early Republic, he named two “new political groupings formed in China since the great revolution in Russia”: the “Tchen-Li-Tche” (Zhenlishe, Truth society) led by Chen Jiongming in Fujian; and the “Da-Tun-Dan” (Datongdang), which was “adopting democratic socialist and gradually more and more Communist principles.” Both were said to have been born of the “student movement network.” Strangely, he mentions nothing about the Shanghai Communist group of Chen Duxiu and his colleagues, which would already have been active by this time. Interestingly, he does mention the name “Jao-Tso-

sin”¹⁷⁹—namely, Yao Zuobin—as a member of the Datongdang, which he evaluates highly as a “Socialist, Communist” party. Yao Zuobin was a board member of the Student Union of the Republic of China (or National Student Union).

A reading of his report reveals that Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s concerns were focused on the socialist administration of Chen Jiongming, who had made Zhangzhou his base, and the student organization that formed a nationwide network in the aftermath of the May Fourth Movement. He based the information regarding these concerns on a report from Potapov, whom we mentioned earlier in this chapter. Recalling that the dispatch to China of various and sundry “envoys” from Soviet Russia was occasioned by astonishment at the May Fourth student movement, which was immensely uplifting to the nationwide student movement, one may easily conjecture that these important personnel from Soviet Russia saw the Student Union in Shanghai, the national center of the Chinese student movement, as an object worthy of their cooperation.¹⁸⁰ One official document on the Chinese side reports that Yao Zuobin, together with Dai Jitao and others, convened a meeting in the office of the National Student Union at No. 14 Rue Admiral Bayle in the French Concession to propagandize on behalf of radicalism (Bolshevism) with a Russian (probably, Potapov).¹⁸¹

We know that this was not necessarily a false report, because in May of that year, Yao Zuobin would have made contact with the Russian Communist Party organization when he was representing the National Student Union and secretly visited Vladivostok. A document of the Russian Communist Party states that “Comrade Yao Zuobin, a delegate of the Chinese Student Union, came to Vladivostok from Shanghai in May of this year [1920]. Comrade Yao discussed with us the issue of Soviet support for the Chinese revolutionary movement, the issue of strengthening our influence in China through the publication of newspapers, and the issue of offering aid to Chinese students who admired Soviet Russia.”¹⁸² He was clearly regarded as a “comrade.” May 1920 corresponds to right after Voitinsky was sent to China, and that would mean that Yao crossed paths with Voitinsky when the latter visited Vladivostok. The National Student Union and the Shanghai Student Union had just then posted replies to letters arriving from revolutionary students in Vladivostok.¹⁸³ They expressed fervent approval for the first “Karakhan Declaration,” and Yao’s trip to Vladivostok may have been a move to translate the Student Union’s views into action. In any event, from about the fall of 1920, there can be little doubt that he was exploring

links with the revolutionary movement in Soviet Russia and that his contacts in the Russian Communist Party, such as Vilensky-Sibiryakov who had high hopes for the National Student Union, certainly approved of the direction in which he was heading.

Many points about the “Datongdang” in which Yao Zuobin, among others, was a member remain obscure, but we do know a number of things from the documents at hand. First, in its founding period, Japanese government documents note that “it was established in Minguo 6 [1917] . . . on the basis of a proposal by Huang Jiemin who called for the principle of universal brotherhood.”¹⁸⁴ According to the account of Huang Jiemin, the sponsor of this idea, the predecessor of the Datongdang was the “Xin Ya tongmengdang” (New Asia Alliance Party) that he organized with Shin Ik-hŭi (1894–1956) and Chang Tök-su (1895–1947), Korean students in Japan, and Chen Qiyou (1892–1970) and Wang Xitian (1896–1923), Chinese students, among others, while studying in Japan in July 1915.¹⁸⁵ A student at Waseda University, Shin Ik-hŭi later served as a cabinet minister in the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, and after liberation, he became a member of the National Assembly and a candidate for president. Chang Tök-su also was a Waseda student and a leader in the Korean Student Union in Japan; he visited China for a time, during which he took part in the planning of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. He later served as vice-president of the *Tong-A Ilbo* (*Dong-a Ilbo*) newspaper, and after liberation, he was a leader of the Democratic Party of Korea. Both men were activists whose names are remembered in the history of the Korean independence movement. On the other hand, Chen Qiyou was a revolutionary linked to the Guomindang who had participated in the abortive Huanghuagang Uprising of April 1911; in 1915, he was studying at Chūō University, and later he served as a minister under Chen Jiongming. When Potapov visited Zhangzhou, he entertained him.¹⁸⁶ Wang Xitian was a leader in the Chinese YMCA, a base for the Chinese student movement in Japan, and later, at the time of the Great Kantō Earthquake, he was murdered by Japanese soldiers.¹⁸⁷ The aim of international cooperation between Chinese and Korean students in Japan can also be seen later in the Cosmo Club that Sakai Toshihiko and Yoshino Sakuzō founded with them.¹⁸⁸ Such feelings ran deep, and Huang Jiemin’s “Xin Ya tongmengdang” was apparently a predecessor of this kind of solidarity movement. It is not known how long the Datongdang remained active, but the Japanese anarchist and Esperantist Yamaga Taiji (1892–1970) who visited China in 1922 noted that he joined the

Datongdang that year in Shanghai.¹⁸⁹ It seems to have lasted at least that long.

The organization's name contained the term *datong* (great unity or harmony), which comes from the well-known "Liyun" ("Conveyance of Rites") chapter of the *Li ji* (Classic of Ritual) and pointed to an ideal society. We cannot, however, explain it in connection with the idea of *datong* in the sense used by the famed reformist Kang Youwei (1858–1927) in his *Datong shu* (On Universal Harmony). Furthermore, the *Datongbao* (*Velikoie Ravenstvo* [Great Equality]), organ of the aforementioned Union of Chinese Citizens in Russia, organized by Chinese students in Moscow, was unaware of Kang's idea of *datong* and took it simply to mean an "expression of the idea of equality of people in a socialist world."¹⁹⁰ Thus, this too would seem to have in mind a vague, socialist, idealist society. As for the political program and basic direction of the Datongdang, they supported "human equality and international harmony," or more concretely, they set out directly to forge ties with oppressed peoples: "We reject the idea that a certain country possesses the power to rule Korea and Taiwan, we reject the idea that a certain country possesses the power to rule India, and we reject the idea that a certain country possesses the power to rule Viet Nam."¹⁹¹ The program of the "Xin Ya tongmengdang," the Datongdang's predecessor, stated, "We shall aid one another to oppose the power of the state; we shall investigate opportunities to plan for the independence of various places; we shall work for the conclusion of a large alliance for Asia as a whole; and we support international peace."¹⁹² It was thus an international revolutionary organization of a sort consistent with anti-imperialism. Interestingly, Potapov, the "envoy" who came to China before Voitinsky, joined the Datongdang in May 1920.¹⁹³ Thus, for Potapov, as for Vilensky-Sibiriyakov who received his report, the Datongdang that "was adopting socialist and gradually more and more Communist principles" was a revolutionary organization worthy of their consideration.

One of the leaders of the Datongdang, Huang Jiemin (1883–1956) was originally known as Huang Jue and came from Qingjiang, Jiangxi Province.¹⁹⁴ As a young man he joined the Revolutionary Alliance and took part in the 1911 Revolution in Jiangxi. In 1913, he went to study at Meiji University in Japan, joined Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Party, and participated with Li Dazhao and others in editorial work on *Minyi*, the journal of the Association of Chinese Students in Japan. Around this time, as we have indicated, he organized the "Xin Ya tongmengdang" in 1915, and soon thereafter, to realize its principles, he traveled to

Korea with a fellow Korean student in Japan and made a wide range of contacts there with Korean independence activists and socialists, such as Cho So-ang (1887–1958).¹⁹⁵ As we noted earlier, when Kondō Eizō visited Shanghai, Huang Jiemin emerged together with Korean Communists who had made contact with Soviet Russia and the Comintern, but their ties to Huang would come later. In 1918, the opposition movement of students in Japan to the Sino-Japanese joint defense military accords erupted, and he joined the movement and became an important member of the National Salvation Corps of Overseas Students,¹⁹⁶ as well as participating in editing the movement's organ, the *Jiuguo ribao* (National Salvation Daily). When the May Fourth Movement broke out the next year, he became a leader in the China Industrial Association, a labor group affiliated with the Guomindang, and was active on many fronts. As mentioned earlier, the China Industrial Association planned in 1920 to carry out the first full-fledged May Day event in the history of the Chinese labor movement, and it was Huang who actively promoted this.¹⁹⁷ He also actively cooperated with the Korean independence movement under the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea then situated in Shanghai. His close friends from the Xin Ya tongmengdang days in the Korean independence movement, such as Shin Ik-hŭi and Cho So-ang, were energetically working at their bases in Shanghai at the time—the Provisional Government and the Sino-Korean Mutual Aid Society.¹⁹⁸ A leader of the Datongdang, which was working for solidarity with oppressed peoples, Huang Jiemin collaborated with them out of shared principles. In a word, Huang was not only influential in the student and labor worlds of Shanghai in the May Fourth era, but he was also an activist with channels to the Korean independence movement. What organizationally embodied all of these activities was his and Yao Zuobin's Datongdang.¹⁹⁹

As to the number of members in the Datongdang, we have a Japanese government report that states, “roughly 3,000 persons, including Indians, Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese.”²⁰⁰ Despite the fact that this party was “a pure secret society in which members have no responsibilities . . . and was entirely vague about what actions to take following each individual's conscience,”²⁰¹ this assessment seems to be exaggerated. Because we have no other documents that shed light on the number of members, we cannot conjecture on actual figures. Although in addition to Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin, we do not know which Chinese joined the organization, looking at all the documentation together, it would appear that Kang Baiqing (1896–1958), Wang Dexi, and Wen

Li, all associated the National Student Union, were important personnel in the Datongdang.²⁰²

Encouragement Offered to the Great Unity Party by Soviet Russia

After Voitinsky returned to Russia in early 1921, the activities of the Shanghai Communist group connected to the “authentic” CCP effectively ceased, as we noted, for a short time. In fact, as if exchanging places with Voitinsky at this moment, a Korean Communist arrived in Shanghai from the Comintern and met with Huang Jiemin, among others. After taking part in the second congress of the Comintern in 1920 as a delegate from Korea (the Korean Socialist Party), Pak Chin-sun was selected as Far Eastern representative on the Comintern Executive, which came into being after the congress. During the time the congress met, Pak held negotiations with Maring and others in Moscow about establishing a Far Eastern Section of the Comintern Executive in Shanghai.²⁰³ His objectives in coming to Shanghai—although it remains unclear if he gained formal ratification from the Comintern—were, it may be surmised, to establish this Far Eastern Section and to reorganize the Korean Socialist Party into a Communist Party organization (the Korean Communist Party).²⁰⁴ Receiving a huge sum of money for his activities, Pak traveled to Shanghai some time at the end of 1920.²⁰⁵ And so Pak Chin-sun, member of the Comintern Executive, was put into contact with Yi Tong-hwi, a member of the Korean Socialist Party and minister of state of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, by the Datongdang of Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin.

Among those Chinese Communists who mention the formation of Pak Chin-sun’s Communist Party in Shanghai in their memoirs, the earliest was Wang Ruofei (1896–1946), who reported on it in Yan’an in 1943 as follows:

In 1919, the Comintern sent men to China. The first was the head of the Russo-Chinese Information Bureau in the Soviet Union. Later, a Korean named Ba-ke-jing-chun came to China and organized a party. At the time, Huang Jiemin’s group was in Shanghai, and he made contact with Chen Duxiu and with Qu Shengbai and Huang Lingshuang (an anarchist who had been to the Soviet Union) in Guangzhou.²⁰⁶

This Ba-ke-jing-chun was none other than Pak Chin-sun.²⁰⁷ The “head of the Russo-Chinese Information Bureau,” who, he claimed, came to China first seems to point to Potapov who was Beijing branch chief of the Dalta News Agency. Yet, while Pak Chin-sun was active in Shanghai, Wang Ruofei was a student in France on the work-study exchange, and he could not have had firsthand knowledge of Pak’s coming to China and organizing a party. He must have heard of it from other party members. In the 1960s, Zhou Enlai mentioned the encouragement given to Huang Jiemin by the Comintern,²⁰⁸ indicating that it was comparatively well known among a group of men who had joined the party in the early period. Zhang Guotao also recounted that Huang Jiemin had founded something called the “Datongdang,” advocated links with all Chinese socialists, cooperated with Korean revolutionaries, and tried to forge bridges with Russia.²⁰⁹ He revealed that Koreans resident in Shanghai were deeply involved as intermediaries between the Comintern and the Chinese Communist movement.

The activities of Korean Communists in China—such as the shared printing press that the Sino-Korean Communist organization had in Shanghai²¹⁰—were intimately tied to the development of the Chinese Communist movement. Because of internal discord over movement funds and leadership struggles, the Koreans’ activities developed in an extremely complex manner, making it exceedingly difficult to get a clear picture of them.²¹¹ If we limit ourselves to those activities in which Pak Chin-sun and his colleagues who came to China were involved, it appears they did not necessarily receive complete endorsement from the Soviets. To wit, the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Russian Communist Party in Irkutsk, which took the leadership role in Voitinsky’s work in China, expressed in December 1920 clear discontent with Pak’s being sent to China, as the following shows:

Pak Chin-sun, a subordinate and collaborator with Krasnoshchekov, and Pak Ae, one of his activists, carried out ceaseless oppositional work to the Eastern People’s Section and the central committee of the Korean Communist organization. . . . The Comintern, the party central committee, the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and the Far Eastern Bureau have each dispatched activist personnel (people not necessarily up to the task) with their own distinctive duties, but there is no overall plan, and this has not been done with an understanding of the current situation on the

ground there. For example, the Comintern sent Pak Chin-sun to China, and he is trying to convene a meeting of the Korean Socialist Party in Shanghai. The Korean masses there are weak, and this meeting will be nothing more than individual Korean intellectuals chosen from among Pak's acquaintances. . . . The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has sought the help of the Eastern Peoples' Section, and it is carrying on revolutionary political actions without frequent coordination with this Section. For example, when genuine Korean Communist organizations needed funding, the Commissariat went over the head of the Section and provided Pak Chin-sun with 4,000,000 rubles and is trying to use the Korean Socialist Party.²¹²

A. M. Krasnoshchekov (1880–1937), whose name appears in this report, was, at this time, both head of the cabinet and foreign minister of the Far Eastern Republic, and within the Russian Communist Party, he held a leadership post in the Far Eastern Bureau of the party.²¹³ We have already noted that the windows into Soviet operations in the Far East were divided into a number of lines without mutual communication, and within the party's Siberian Bureau, the highest agency in the Eastern Peoples' Section, the party's Far Eastern Bureau, and the Far Eastern Republic, there were leadership struggles over the centralization of operations in the Far East. Reading this report alone, despite the trust afforded Pak Chin-sun's activities by the party's Far Eastern Bureau, the Comintern, and the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, clearly the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau, which was set on unifying operations in the Far East, certainly looked on him with distrust. On the internal discord within the Korean Communist Party (the Shanghai and Irkutsk groups), Maring aptly noted, "The difference between the two Korean groups is in fact a difference between Irkutsk and Chita, in particular between Shumyatsky and Krasnoshchekov."²¹⁴ The divisions and disputes within the Korean Communist Party were rooted in the fact that the Siberian Bureau of the party in Irkutsk (led by Boris Shumyatsky, 1886–1938) and the Far Eastern Bureau of the party in Chita were each organizing and supporting Korean Communists on their own. In terms of clique classifications, Pak Chin-sun belonged to the line of the Far Eastern Bureau in Chita, meaning that he came to China with a somewhat different organizational background to the Voitinsky line.

When Pak Chin-sun arrived in Shanghai in late 1920, how aware he was of the delicate position he was in and the encouragement afforded the Chinese Communist organization in place before he appeared is unknown. In name, he was the Far Eastern delegate of the Comintern Executive and was of course planning for the development of Communist organizing with the Chinese. He did not have a distinct channel to Chinese intellectuals, and thus he doubtless used personal connections among the Koreans in Shanghai who were Communist sympathizers in the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea to single out Chinese Communists. As a result, he reached out and made contact with the Datongdang of Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin, who were of a distinctly anti-imperialist bent and were close to activists in the Korean independence movement.

Soviet Russian efforts to make contact with the Datongdang (or the “Communist Party” organization other than the “authentic” CCP) were, in fact, not only the work of Pak Chin-sun. Contacts were made by the “Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party,” which was relocated to the Far East in September 1920—namely, a Chinese Communist organization made in Moscow—and by Chinese Communists resident in the Russian Far East connected to the former. Active among them in making contacts with Communist organizations within China proper was a man known as Liu Qian, alias S. Fedorov, who was a member of the Amur Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party. It was located in Blagoveshchensk, which faced Heihe on Chinese soil across the Amur River; many Chinese immigrants were at the time living in Blagoveshchensk, and a Chinese branch was established within the Amur Regional Committee that published a Chinese-language serial every tenth day entitled *Gongchanzhuyi zhi xing* (*Kommunisticheskaia zvezda* [Communist Star]).²¹⁵ Although, like other unknown “secret envoys,” Liu Qian was enveloped in countless mysteries, a number of records enable us to glimpse his links to the organization of the Communist movement in China in the latter half of 1920.

A member of the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party, Liu Qian sent a letter on July 18, 1920, to Chinese Communists in the name of the “Chinese Communist Party”; he asked of news about Jiang Kanghu (due to return home from the United States that September), who had gained the trust of the Bureau, and he expressed the hope that Chinese compatriots would consider Jiang a “close comrade.”²¹⁶ He visited China from that summer through the fall

and made contact with Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai; after returning to Blagoveshchensk, he filed his report and offered proposals (dated October 5, 1920), using the name of a “representative of the Chinese Communist Party,” to the Amur Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party on the results of his meetings, which included a bold attack plan for China proper.²¹⁷ Significant here is the fact that he used the term “Chinese Communist Party.” As noted earlier, the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party, although founded in Moscow, was in fact a Communist organization that sent representatives to Comintern congresses. Thus, it was not that out of the ordinary for one of its members, Liu Qian, to have called his own organization the “Chinese Communist Party.” Indeed, we can confirm that Yao Zuobin of the Datongdang joined this “Chinese Communist Party” of Liu Qian.²¹⁸ While we do not know where or when Yao joined Liu’s CCP, it would appear that, using his base with Chinese Communists on Russian soil, Liu was attempting to rally Jiang Kanghu, a pioneer of the socialist movement in China; Yao Zuobin, a leader of the National Student Union; and others in an effort to form a “Chinese Communist Party.” Neither the personal name Yao Zuobin nor the party name Datongdang appears in Liu’s report, but he offers a high evaluation of Chinese student organizations. From his perspective, the National Student Union had indicated sympathy for revolutionary Russia and had members mobilized for action; it conceivably could serve as a plausible parent body for a Chinese Communist Party.

Liu Qian’s conception of transplanting to China a Chinese Communist Party made in Russia received approval at the Far Eastern Bureau of the Russian Communist Party; at a meeting on December 6, 1920, the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party consulted on the necessity of a branch organization for the Communist party and making contact with youth organizations in Shanghai and Tianjin. They “ratified sending Comrade Liu (Fedorov) immediately for three months,”²¹⁹ and drafted a plan on January 16 of the following year to send propaganda operatives to China and distribute Communist propaganda literature in areas that were under Sun Yat-sen’s influence.²²⁰ Liu Qian died suddenly in late 1920 or early 1921,²²¹ and this plan never seems to have been implemented because Liu Zerong, whom we discussed earlier as a member of the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party, received orders from the Comintern and returned home (December 1920); later, for no apparent reason, he broke away completely from the Communist movement.²²² Just as in

the case of sending Pak Chin-sun to China, there were problems as well from the Eastern Peoples' Section with respect to distinctive operations in China. The report submitted by this Section reads in part as follows:

The Comintern placed its trust in Liu Shaozhou [Liu Zerong] and sent him to work in China, but he lacked sufficient political background, and judging by his ideas and beliefs, he was most assuredly not the right man to coordinate with the socialist movement. . . . The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party dispatched the central organization section of Chinese Communists [namely, the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party] to the east, but these men lacked self-discipline as party members, their political qualities were poor, and they were thoroughly incapable of organizing a revolutionary movement among the Chinese people.²²³

The envoys from Soviet Russia with whom Huang Jiemin, Yao Zuobin, and other Chinese Communists of the Datongdang sort made contact—be they like Pak Chin-sun or the operative involved with Liu Qian and the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party—were all men with links to the Comintern Executive or the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Yet, they were unfit for service in the Eastern Peoples' Section of the party's Siberian Bureau that formed the main line of subsequent operations in the Far East (the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive). In a word, among the many and sundry operations in China developed on the basis of a complex set of circumstances, the Communist organization of the Huang Jiemin and Yao Zuobin was incorporated into an inescapable collateral channel. One of the reasons why they later had to lose in the fight over which was the legitimate "Communist Party" has its basis here.

All this notwithstanding, considering that Huang and Yao were the leaders of the Datongdang, they had no way to know of the disunity in the intricate expectations and purposes of the Soviets who were behind sending Pak Chin-sun and Liu Qian to China. Pak's coming to China was without a doubt a visit of a Comintern envoy, and there was no reason to refuse contact with Pak, given his standing in the Comintern Executive. To be sure, the "Chinese Communist Party" of Huang and Yao was a full-fledged Communist political party linked to the Comintern—both for them as individuals and for Pak Chin-sun. As far as the Japanese authorities were concerned, the "Chinese

Communist Party” or “Shanghai Communist Party” referred more to Huang Jiemin’s group than to that of Chen Duxiu,²²⁴ and the Japanese Consulate-General in Shanghai, which monitored the movements of the Korean Communists in Shanghai in great detail, kept a close watch on the police’s contacts and links to Huang Jiemin, Yao Zuobin, and their associates.²²⁵ Shi Cuntong, who was part of the Communist Party affiliated with Chen Duxiu and who was then studying in Japan, offered testimony in a police inquiry to the effect that “there were two Communist parties in Shanghai. One was founded by Chen Duxiu and believes in a pure Marxism, while the other was a group organized by Huang Jiemin and believes in adding some anarchism to its Marxism.”²²⁶ This was a clear statement that Huang Jiemin’s “Communist Party” was an altogether different entity from that of Chen Duxiu.

In May 1921, Pak Chin-sun, Yi Tong-hwi, and the other Korean Communists in Shanghai changed the name of the Korean Socialist Party to the Korean Communist Party (the so-called Korean Communist Party in Shanghai), and in June, Pak and Yi left Shanghai to attend the third congress of the Comintern due to convene soon thereafter; they traveled through Europe to Moscow, and Yao Zuobin was with their group.²²⁷ Given the close ties between Yao and the Korean Communists, when Kondō Eizō visited Shanghai in May of that year with the blessing of the “Provisional Executive of the Japan Communist Party,” it was thus not strange to find that Yao and Huang Jiemin attended a Comintern meeting convened with Pak as “chairman.” On this occasion there is no way to know whether Yao called himself a member of the Datongdang or a member of the Chinese “Communist Party,” as he would later do in Moscow. Yet, he did attend, flattering himself a member of a Chinese “Communist Party” either semirecognized by the Comintern or at least soon to be recognized. Had this not been the case, he would not have traveled with Pak and Yi to Moscow to attend the third Comintern congress. According to Kondō’s memoirs, at the time of their meeting, he was encouraged to send a delegate from Japan to the congress.²²⁸ If this were true, Pak, Yi, and Yao should have known the schedule for the opening of the Comintern congress. The coming meeting of the Comintern would then have the formal debut before the international Communist movement of his “Communist Party.”

Unfortunately, Pak and Yi were arrested en route in Colombo and did not arrive in Moscow until September or October, and they were thus unable to attend the crucial third Comintern congress.²²⁹ According to the *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji* (Jiang Kanghu’s Travel Narrative

of the New Russia), “a Shanghai student by the name of Yao entered Russia from Western Europe with a Korean,” and we also find in Yu Xiusong’s letter of protest (dated September 27, 1921) that Yao had “recently arrived in Moscow”; it would thus seem that Yao also suffered house arrest along with Pak and Yi and ultimately arrived late at the third Comintern congress. This late arrival proved fatal. Not only had an important Comintern session already ended, but two members of the “Chinese Communist Party”—Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong—had attended as official delegates from China.

Nor did things go well for his fellow travelers. The Eastern Peoples’ Section of the party’s Siberian Bureau, the parent body of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive, had branded Pak Chin-sun as someone who could not be trusted. Arriving late, Pak and Yi were looked at contemptuously as delegates from Korea, and after the congress, the Comintern Executive installed in place of Pak a member of the Irkutsk branch of the Korean Communist Party by the name of Nam Man-ch’un, who had denounced the Shanghai branch members of the Korean Communist Party. The Irkutsk branch²³⁰ was a faction assembled on the basis of personal ties by Shumyatsky, leader of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive (in Irkutsk); at its first meeting in early May 1921, Zhang Tailei, who was favored by Shumyatsky and who had worked with the Secretariat, attended, and he delivered a congratulatory address.²³¹ Once the Irkutsk branch, born with the support of Shumyatsky, a major player in the Comintern organization in the Far East, represented Korea at the third Comintern congress, the position of the leaders of the opposing Shanghai branch and Yao Zuobin then in Moscow became endangered; this was especially true after Zhang Tailei, who was supported by the Irkutsk branch of the Korean Communist Party through links to Shumyatsky, had become the representative of the “Communist Party” of China. Yu’s letter of protest in the name of the “Chinese Communist Party” that undermined Yao Zuobin’s contact with the Comintern was sent to the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive under Shumyatsky, which suggests a tug of war over the acquisition of legitimacy between the various Chinese and Korean Communist parties.

It was not that the Comintern offered strategies unilaterally to the Irkutsk branch on the issue of internal discord in the Korean Communist Party, but exploring a solution to integrate the two branches under Comintern guidance continued, with internecine feuding, for some time thereafter, although the fall of Pak Chin-sun, on whom Yao Zuobin

would have relied, could not be hidden. In Moscow, Yao seems to have had talks with someone in the Comintern, but the end result could not have been good. It might have been possible at the time that the third Comintern congress opened (June 1921), but by the time he arrived in Moscow, the Chinese Communist Party, whose first national congress had been attended by Comintern envoy Maring, had been born in Shanghai. Yao possessed neither the reputation enjoyed by Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao in the Chinese revolutionary movement nor the powerful organization supporting them. So ended the brief life of the “Communist Party” of Yao Zuobin and Huang Jiemin.

*Yao Zuobin and the National Student Union: The Post-May
Fourth Student Movement*

What sort of a man was this Yao Zuobin, an activist in the student movement in the Datongdang that emerged as “a Chinese Communist Party” in Moscow in the latter half of 1921? What inspired him to approach Soviet Russia and raise the idea of forming a “Communist Party”? In this concluding section, we look at the development of the Chinese student movement after the May Fourth era and, in particular, at the rise and fall of the National Student Union by tracing the career of Yao Zuobin, from the first half of 1920 through the next year, as a student activist who flew through the student movement in Shanghai like a comet. Many studies touch on the “formation” of the National Student Union as one of the major results of the May Fourth student movement, but its subsequent trends from 1920 into 1921—those trends in the era when the Communist movement in China was enjoying a sudden rise to prominence—remain largely unclear.²³² Thus, despite the fact that the May Fourth student movement was one of the forces leading to the formation of the CCP, the post-May Fourth student movement has scarcely been reconsidered. One section of the May Fourth student movement that began as an anti-Japanese, patriotic movement advanced into social reform, as can be seen in the creation of the Communist Party; and there are certainly both internal and external causes here.²³³ Let us now investigate more closely the career of Yao Zuobin, who was a leader of the post-May Fourth student movement and at the same time a central figure of one “Communist Party.”

Yao Zuobin came from Nanchong, Sichuan Province. In the spring of 1918, he was living in Tokyo as a self-funded student and apparently

already a prominent fighter among the overseas students. On April 6, 1918, some fifty self-funded students from Sichuan were apprehended by the Japanese police for scuffling with the staff at the Chinese Mission over the issue of loans for tuition. According to the police's list of names of the arrested Chinese students, we find "Yao Zuobin (age 24), school uncertain." Perhaps, he had not as yet formally decided where to attend school.²³⁴ In an investigative report on overseas students prepared by the Japanese police the following year, he is listed as enrolled at Meiji University, and he is recognized as someone of importance in the Sichuan provincial association, with roughly twenty students under his influence.²³⁵ Thus, at the time of the eruption of the May Fourth Movement, he was in Tokyo and already had accrued a modicum of influence in the student world.

As I understand it, Yao first emerged in the world of the Shanghai student movement on January 1, 1920, when he attended a tea party of the National Student Union as successor to board member Liu Zhenqun, a representative of students in Japan who was stepping down.²³⁶ As is well known, the National Student Union was the national center of the Chinese student movement. It was founded in Shanghai on June 16, 1919, to remove impediments to communication among the many regional student unions cropping up in the post-May Fourth era. Its founding was a harbinger of an organizational federation at the national level and one of the attainments reached in the heady days of the May Fourth student movement. Over sixty student unions of various sizes were affiliated, and nationwide it was said to encompass a huge force that could mobilize 500,000 students.²³⁷ Like many such federated organizations, the National Student Union was comprised of representatives from various local unions; as 1919 was coming to a close, with one movement inciting another, it was looking for a future direction for its activities, and as it tired, its activities began to stagnate.

As a practical issue, it was difficult for student representatives from many places to remain resident in Shanghai long-term, and of necessity frequent staff changes and the lack of replacements for departed staff had become a regular problem. Duan Xipeng (1898–1948) and Kang Bainian (1896–1945), celebrated leaders in the National Student Union, had received plentiful scholarships from the Shanghai financial world and had left the Student Union and gone to study in the West; they were ridiculed in the student world at the time as "five ministers who went to the West," adapted from a late-Qing story to this effect.²³⁸ Thus, organizational looseness could not be avoided. It was in this period that

Yao Zuobin, in high spirits, emerged in the National Student Union in Shanghai. He pushed forward with Union activities to recoup their declining fortunes. Although 1919 passed like a whirlwind, tasks needing great effort remained on the agenda of the Student Union.

Because China refused to sign the Versailles Peace Treaty, a huge problem remained: how to deal with the unresolved Shandong issue (that is, the question of whether or not to entrust the handling of German rights in Shandong that Japan had inherited to direct, bilateral negotiations between the Beijing government and Japan—to which the student movement, of course, was staunchly opposed). From January to March, soon after assuming his post, he attended on occasion meetings of the Student Union board of directors, and as representative of the Student Union, he served on any number of occasions as provisional chairman of the “People’s Congress on the Shandong Issue,” which met frequently in Shanghai.²³⁹ For the National Student Union, needless to say, the “direct negotiations over the Shandong issue” was an excellent, unsought opportunity to spread nationwide the earnestness of the patriotic student movement, which had cooled down considerably. Coincidentally, the Tianjin Student Union, then in the grips of a movement in opposition to direct negotiations, was bloodily suppressed on January 29, and as a result, the Tianjin Student Union, known for its combativeness, had suffered a destructive blow.²⁴⁰ There was also the possibility that this could serve as a stimulus to a national upsurge in the movement. On February 27, the executive of the National Student Union sent a directive to the provincial and local student unions to immediately call meetings for discussions of the movement opposed to direct negotiations over the Shandong issue.²⁴¹ The hearts of Yan Zuobin and the members of the National Student Union executive were certainly pounding.

Contrary to their expectations, however, delegates from the many locales did not gather. According to the Shanghai newspaper *Minguo ribao*, which was sympathetic to the Student Union, the conference of representatives affiliated with the Student Union was scheduled for March 20, but fewer than half of those expected to attend had arrived, and what was supposed to have been a board meeting was abruptly switched to a conversational meeting. They finally were able to convene a board meeting a week later on March 27. On March 31, they issued a “final memorandum” to the Beijing government in which they expressed opposition to direct negotiations with Japan and sought abrogation of the secret treaty between the two countries.²⁴² No prominent

articles on the Student Union's activities appeared in newspapers at this time. Considering that in the latter half of 1919, the top articles in every Shanghai newspaper's "local news column" concerned the daily activities of the National Student Union, it had clearly lost its former strength from the perspective of its influence on mass media.

At this point, though, the Student Union was in no position to pull back. As expected, the Beijing government ignored the Union's "final memorandum," and the main office of the Student Union called on its local branches to go on strike as of April 14. This marked the start of the second great strike, continuing from the first in 1919. In a strike directive from the Student Union proclaiming a "final, decisive battle," we can see the fervor of Yao Zuobin and the Student Union executive: "The evil government which violates the law and betrays the nation cannot continue to exist."²⁴³ Distinctive of the second great strike was the call to bring down the government. Representatives of the National Student Union who took part in the Shanghai Union's meeting that was held in a public athletic field on April 14, the day set for the commencement of the strike, made explicit "overthrowing the traitorous government."²⁴⁴

The pace of the students nationwide did not, however, slow down. Student unions in Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Jiangxi, and the southeast generally received the strike directive and went on strike one by one. The unions in Beijing and Tianjin—in the heart of the capital region—had been hit hard in the earlier repression and did not quickly express sympathy with the strike. In addition, the student unions in the north may have felt in response that a political strike in Shanghai that looked with hostility on the Beijing government was not necessarily the best policy.²⁴⁵ In the political context of the time, disapproval of the Beijing government carried the nuance of sympathy for Sun Yat-sen and the Guomindang, and students were inclined to avoid going to extremes in being caught up in questions of political strife. The mass media of the time seems to have supported the Student Union's strike, with *Minguo ribao*, which was affiliated with Sun, and the Guomindang expressing approval of the strikes; *Shibao*, *Shishi xinbao*, *Yishibao*, and other major newspapers were all critical of the action of the student strikers for targeting the Beijing government.

On April 22, the Beijing students finally started their strike, but two days later, martial law was invoked by the commander of the Song-Hu guard (in the Shanghai-Jiangsu region), and as a result, the strikes begun by a number of laborers and shops in sympathy with the students were completely shut down by April 26. The movement never got off

the ground. The coup de grâce in the declining fortunes of the Student Union came on May 6 when the French Concession authorities blockaded the main offices of the Union.²⁴⁶ Under pressure, the executive of the Student Union issued pathetic circular telegrams on May 14 and 17 calling off the strike.²⁴⁷ The “final, decisive battle” into which the Student Union concentrated its strength came at a huge cost, and none of the anticipated objectives were realized, ending in a wretched defeat.

As a board member of the Student Union, Yao Zuobin was effectively a leader in the opposition movement to direct Sino-Japanese negotiations and in the second great strike. The statement cited earlier that Yu Xiusong sent to the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive attacked him: “As is well known, at the time of the second great national student strike, Yao Zuobin was a renegade already despised by Chinese students.” Insofar as he was a leader in the Student Union at all, then, his enthusiasm notwithstanding, he had to bear some of the blame for the failure of the strike, but we need not rush to conclude that there is sufficient reason for him to be called “a despised renegade.” Inasmuch as Yu Xiusong’s declaration failed to mention the content of his “despicable” behavior, we cannot say what it was, but if we were to conjecture, then perhaps the fact that the “second great student strike” was advanced in the form of participating in Guomindang factional activity that repudiated the Beijing government was seen as a problem.²⁴⁸ Perhaps, the fact that Yao Zuobin traveled to Vladivostok in the midst of the student strike and made contact with the Soviets there was seen as his forestalling behavior in which he “was showing off in an effort to rack up accomplishments.”²⁴⁹ Either way, as far as newspaper reports of the time go, one cannot identify the “despicable” behavior of Yao Zuobin and the other leaders of the National Student Union as censured by Yu Xiusong, and the report of Vilensky-Sibiryakov also offered a high assessment of the work of the Student Union executive that mobilized the student strike.

In July 1920, after the defeat of the second great student strike, Yao Zuobin stepped down from his position on the board of the National Student Union when his period of service came to an end, and his successor on the board of Chinese students in Japan took the position shortly after returning to China.²⁵⁰ Although this succession was set to take place on July 1,²⁵¹ urgent requests were received from many local student unions²⁵² not to make a selection for a successor; in fact, the second board would not convene with Li Da present until three months later.²⁵³ However, after Yao attended a farewell party on July 29 for all

former board members,²⁵⁴ he seems to have left the Student Union for a time. As a postscript, that Li Da, one of the influential promoters of the Chinese Communist Party, served as a board member during the second era of the Student Union is barely mentioned in a work resembling a biography. During the period in which he was active with the student movement, “the National Student Union was controlled by the right wing.”²⁵⁵ Given this assessment, the fact that he was a leader would not have accrued for him any honor at all. Li’s autobiography also does not mention his ties to the Student Union.²⁵⁶ Of course, there is no mention whatsoever of his predecessor, Yao Zuobin, and thereafter we have no access to information about Yao’s activities or his ties to the board of the Student Union before his return to the board in January 1921.

Although the second board of the National Student Union that Li Da chaired spent its days engaged in nothing the least bit extraordinary, oddly enough, the following January (1921), Yao enjoyed a comeback, replacing Li on the board of the Student Union and taking over as its chairman.²⁵⁷ Was Li Da disaffected with the board of the Student Union just passing its time idly? Or did Yao Zuobin have lingering regrets about the activities of the Student Union? There is no way to know, but a letter Yao sent in April to the Association of Chinese Students in Japan in Tokyo and a staff member, Gong Debai, discusses Li Da’s resignation:²⁵⁸ “The main reason for Li Da to resign his post is a number of blunders he has made. He has over the past few months exhausted his energies and enervated his mind and body; he has also been under a great deal of pressure from his environment. He had my heartfelt sympathy.” Thus, “under these circumstances, we must out of friendship come to his assistance” privately, while publicly “the board members do not relinquish their responsibilities and the students do not cooperate in the least.” In this situation, to avoid “the Union’s destruction,” Yao explained, he would “have to preserve this association for the time being with [his] departure.” From this letter, Yao’s return to prominence was a compelling selection with the aim of preserving the Student Union on the eve of its collapse.

In fact, the Student Union was on the verge of financial bankruptcy. According to Yao’s letter, if the local unions paid their membership fees as prescribed, they would have had a budget of over 12,000 yuan, but those that actually did pay were few in number—such as the Shanghai, Shandong, and Japan chapters—and the administrative costs of the National Student Union relied largely on donations and loans. These debts, he distressingly complained, “have left us today completely at

an impasse.” Having thrown himself into the student movement late, the role assigned him was like the losing pitcher in a baseball game. Nonetheless, he bore up well under these painful circumstances. Looking just at articles in the newspapers, he attended meetings here and there as representative of the Student Union and went on inspections of the local unions to come to a mutual understanding with the local unions and to “resolve the economic issues.”²⁵⁹ When a student activist was apprehended in the west, he went there to negotiate with local authorities; and when there was a dispute with students at a match factory in the east suspected of links to Japanese products, he personally went to investigate.²⁶⁰ Yao gave the appearance of an isolated fighting force, but at the same time, he was forging links with Korean Communists resident in Shanghai and making contacts with the international Communist movement. Thus, in May 1921, when he attended the meeting of the “Far Eastern Bureau of the Comintern” convened to welcome Kondō Eizō, an envoy of the “Japan Communist Party,” Yao probably was chairman of the board of the National Student Union.

As we have already noted, he traveled in June 1921 to Moscow in the company of Pak Ch'in-sun and Yi Tong-hwi. In a report dated July 11 filed by the Japanese authorities, Yao Zuobin is said to have “been sent by the National Student Union (with 1,000 yuan in gold for travel expenses provided by the organization) to investigate the state of affairs under the Bolsheviks in Siberia of late.”²⁶¹ What was dubbed here being sent on a trip to Siberia must, in fact, have been his trip to Moscow, but if he raised such a large amount of money as 1,000 yuan from the account of the Student Union, which was in dire financial straits, to make the trip to Moscow, his negotiations with the Comintern may have been an all-or-nothing effort both to have his own “Communist Party” established as legitimate and to break out of the financial difficulties confronting the Student Union.²⁶²

“The Russia I Observed” by someone who signed only as “CP” describes how Yao and others were nastily received by Chinese students in Moscow and soon thereafter returned to China. The return trip was so severe that it was rumored “Yao Zuobin was exiled to Irkutsk and died there.”²⁶³ After his plans for Moscow ended badly, he did not return to the Student Union in Shanghai.²⁶⁴ And soon his and Huang Jiemin’s “Communist Party” seemed to vanish like the mist.

As we have seen in this chapter, while the Chinese student movement from 1920 to 1921 into which Yao Zuobin threw himself had serious

problems, it was forced into retreat by virtue of organizational laxity, splits in levels of student consciousness, indifferent public opinion, and government repression. Just at this time the Student Union issued an ardent appeal in the name of the “Karakhan Declaration,” and its leader Yao Zuobin traveled to Vladivostok in an attempt to make contact with Russians of the “radical clique” (Bolsheviks). It made sense that Yao and a number of other leaders of the Student Union, who never gave up on the lackluster student movement and worked to break through the blockage, would see a bright future in revolutionary Russia. The behavior of the student movement may be understood, then, within the National Student Union of organizational splits observed broadly in the period of the movement’s ebbing and the accompanying radicalized direction of a group of its leaders.

The student movement that came together under the banner of patriotism in June 1919 with the formation of the National Student Union had to step into the political arena in 1920, which it had assiduously avoided until then, over whether or not to approve of the central government in Beijing then tightening its repressive attitude. While the means and objectives of the movement were splitting apart, it sought a concrete policy to deal with this. In response to the Beijing government, there were students who appealed for temporary support to resolve the foreign crisis, and there were anarchist students who decried any participation in politics. By the same token, numerous proposals were put forward with the reformist intention of “saving the country through education and saving the country through science” or an orientation toward social reform based on practical activity, such as the movement of Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, various “new village” movements, and the commoner education movement. One response to all of these offered by Yao and the leaders of the Student Union was to convert the student movement into a revolutionary movement through alliance with Soviet Russia. For Soviet Russia and the Comintern (despite confusion in their operations in China), the National Student Union, which was both strengthening its anti-imperialist tendencies and radicalizing its opposition to the militarist government in Beijing, was a revolutionary preparatory organization, superbly radical and coupled with its latent mobilizing capacity and thus worth extending its assistance. Although baffling at first glance, the relationship between Soviet Russia and the formation of Yao’s “Communist Party” was born amid the expectations of these two. In this sense, the formation of Yao’s “Communist Party” was either one inside story in the history of the formation

of the CCP or no more than one episode in it. That said, what we have here is a hidden history in which the May Fourth student movement seen organizationally—although not directly linked to the “orthodox” Communist Party and soon to disappear—developed into the Chinese Communist movement with Soviet Russia closely tied to it.



Toward the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party

MOVEMENT LEADING TOWARD THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN SHANGHAI

Research to Date on the Formation of the Group That Launched the Communist Party

As we saw in chapter 2, the formation of a Communist party organization by radical intellectuals in Shanghai surrounding Chen Duxiu developed largely in the latter half of 1920. In Voitinsky's report of August of that year, in introducing the activities of the Revolutionary Bureau, the work of the "publication section" and "information agitation section," for example, can be gleaned corresponding to Chen's Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe (Socialist Study Society; namely, "Xin qingnian she") and the Zhong-E tongxinshe (Russo-Chinese Information Bureau). The Shanghai Communist organization's activities clearly developed on the basis of Voitinsky's help.

As we noted briefly earlier, however, problems remain, because several points in Voitinsky's report about the scene of action and the circumstances of the Communist organization do not coincide with the memoirs of the Chinese individuals involved—material that has long been used by scholars. For example, the Marxist Study Group and Socialist League that are often mentioned as forerunners of a Communist organization do not appear in Voitinsky's report, and by the same

token, the Revolutionary Bureau and the Socialist Youth League that he mentions in his report do not appear in any Chinese memoir literature. How are we to explain the lack of agreement between these memoirs and Voitinsky's report? The Revolutionary Bureau found in Voitinsky's report—that is, the group that initiated the Communist Party—was clearly already established by August 1920, but just when and how did it take shape? Let us first take a look at the prevailing views.

The Shanghai Communist Group that Chen Duxiu formed before the CCP's first national congress is known as the “Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu” or the “Zhonggong faqi xiaozu.”¹ A Chinese monograph entitled *Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (1988) by Chen Shaokang, which concerns the former, argues that, based on the memoirs of Chen Wangdao, Shao Lizi, and Li Da, a similar group called Makesizhuyi yanjiuhui (Marxist Study Group) was formed in May 1920, and with Voitinsky's help, from July to August they also called themselves a “Communist party” or a “Socialist party.” Thus, the Shanghai Communist Group took shape with rather well-ordered party principles.² The evidence substantiating the existence of this Marxist Study Group, however, comes solely from the memoirs of Shao Lizi and Chen Wangdao, and in recent years, some have begun to doubt that the group ever existed.³ Even concerning what was called the Shanghai Communist Group, the divergences in the memoir literature are often great, making it extremely difficult to clarify what actually took place on the basis of memoirs alone.⁴

The diary from this era of Yu Xiusong (1899–1939), a member of the Shanghai Communist Group, was discovered in the early 1990s,⁵ and it included depictions that overturned the theory prevailing until then. An entry dated July 10, 1920, notes, “After organizing the Socialist-Communist Party (Shehuigongchandang), I still could not get a handle on anarchism or Bolshevism. My earlier belief in anarchism was out of blind obedience.”⁶ The phrase regarding “anarchism or Bolshevism” is a somewhat odd expression, but we do now see that before July 1920, an organization known as the “Socialist-Communist Party” existed. Yu's diary, though, does not completely elucidate the formative process of the Shanghai Communist Group. That is, the extant Yu Xiusong diary (with detailed daily entries) begins late in the night of June 17, 1920, and concludes on July 25. Aside from the July 10 entry, though, there is no other mention of this “Socialist-Communist Party.” Accordingly, it would appear to have been organized before June 17, and the precise date of its founding and who its members were remain, as before, unknown.

By the same token, the Socialist League (Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng) was formed in early 1920 by Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and other early Communists, as well as Huang Lingshuang (1897–1982), Liang Bingxian, Zheng Peigang (1890–1970), and other anarchists with the aim of forging, through the intermediacy of Polevoy, a great unity with socialists. It was the organization that was said to constitute the nucleus of the Communist party. Like the aforementioned Marxist Study Group, however, when we examine the issue closely, evidence for the existence of the Socialist League is only the memoirs of anarchists Liang Bingxian and Zheng Peigang,⁷ and there are some among the anarchists said to have been involved in its activities who deny the very existence of the Socialist League.⁸ Because the memoirs of Liang, Zheng, and others like them concerning the Socialist League are detailed with concrete examples, considerable effort has been invested in including them and attempting to explicate them within the history of the formation of the CCP.⁹ In circumstances, however, in which there is no evidence that goes beyond the memoirs, we remain within the realm of conjecture.

Documents in the Moscow archives—namely, the aforementioned reports of Voitinsky of June and August 1920—shed fresh light on the insufficiency of materials concerning the Marxist Study Group, the Socialist-Communist Party, and the Socialist League. There are numerous discrepancies among Voitinsky's reports, Yu Xiusong's diary accounts, and the memoir literature. In this sense, these materials can neither confirm nor deny one another, but in recent years, studies have begun to appear that attempt to explain these three sorts of documents in a coordinated fashion. Two authors of such works are Yang Kuisong and Jin Liren.¹⁰

On the basis of the unnatural or strained quality of the entries in Yu Xiusong's diary (such as the vague attitude toward Bolshevism), Yang Kuisong argues that the Socialist-Communist Party and the Shanghai Communist Group were not necessarily the same entity. He claims that the Revolutionary Bureau in Voitinsky's report was the Shanghai Communist Group, and the Socialist League in which anarchism and Bolshevism coexisted (according to Yang, it was formed on July 19, 1920) developed therefrom. The reason is that the activities of the Socialist League, as conveyed in Zheng Peigang's memoirs, are almost fully consistent with those of the Shanghai Communist Group. He explains that Voitinsky's report frequently mentions cooperation with anarchists and that the initial contact of the Russians sent to Guangzhou by the Revolutionary Bureau was a local anarchist, because the Revolutionary

Bureau continued the direction set by the Socialist League. On this basis, Yang conjectures that the Revolutionary Bureau—that is, the Shanghai Communist Group—was formed sometime between the founding of the Socialist League (July 19) and the penning of Voitinsky's report (early August) that mentions the Revolutionary Bureau.

Jin Liren offers an altogether different explanation. Contrary to Yang Kuisong, who considered the entries in Yu Xiusong's diary as untrue, in Jin's view, the term *Bolshevism* that appears in Yu's diary is not the same as Bolshevism as it is understood today, an organizational principle for Communist parties, but from the level of knowledge of young Chinese at the time. Neither should it necessarily be assumed that Bolshevism was something opposed to anarchism. The conclusion he draws from this is that the Socialist-Communist Party mentioned in Yu's diary corresponds to the Shanghai Communist Group, and he conjectures from the various memoirs of those involved that it was formed in June 1920, after the Marxist Study Group was founded in May 1920. Concerning the discrepancies between the Chinese memoirs and Voitinsky's reports, he offers the following unique explanation. While Voitinsky encouraged a merger of all these radical groups, including anarchists, the activities of Chen Duxiu and his associates excluded anarchists from the outset and advanced as an alliance not of groups but of individuals whom Chen personally trusted. The Revolutionary Bureau was created on the basis of Voitinsky's plan aimed at forming a party based on unifying various groups (its skeletal structure was the Socialist League). Lacking trust in anarchists and past labor groupings, Chen Duxiu would not go along with this and independently made preparations to form a party (the Socialist-Communist Party). Thus, the Shanghai Communist Group was an entity different from either the Socialist League or the Revolutionary Bureau. In fact, Jin claims, the formation of the Chinese Communist Party was not linked to the Revolutionary Bureau (which dissolved together with the Socialist League according to Jin in December 1920), but to the Socialist-Communist Party of Chen and others—namely, the Shanghai Communist Group. On the basis of this explanation, Jin concludes that “the Shanghai group of the Chinese Communist Party was established independently and autonomously by Chinese revolutionaries who advocated and pursued Marxism.”¹¹

The explanations offered by Yang and Jin are each worthy of serious consideration because both men are leading scholars of party history in China, but unfortunately both views suffer from a number of flaws. Let us look first at Yang's work. Although the attitude toward

Bolshevism expressed in his diary seems vague, it is quite clear from the diary that in this period Yu Xiusong was in frequent contact with Chen Duxiu. In addition, because he did not participate in factional organizational activities except for those associated with the Shanghai Communist Group, the fact that the so-called Socialist-Communist Party had no direct contact with the Shanghai Communist Group of Chen and others seems extremely odd. Yang not only insists that the Socialist League formed on July 19, 1920, but he even provides the agenda of that meeting. The basis for this assertion, a Russian document from 1927, states, "A meeting of 'the most active Chinese comrades' convened on July 19, 1920, in Shanghai."¹² As for the nature of this meeting or its content, not a word is mentioned. Whether the Socialist Youth League mentioned in Voitinsky's report of August 17 actually existed and what sort of organization it was unfortunately are not made clear.

I would agree with many of the points made by Jin Liren, such as the confusion in the understanding of Bolshevism at that time and the differences in the way Voitinsky and Chen Duxiu wished to proceed in forming a party (offering encouragement to radical groups versus offering inducement to trusted individuals). However, the conclusion that the Revolutionary Bureau (which Jin takes to be the guiding agency of the Socialist League) and Chen's Shanghai Communist Group (whose name, according to Jin, was the Socialist-Communist Party) were entirely separate entities seems to miss the mark somewhat. In fact, a leadership role played by Chen Duxiu's group was included in the activities of the Revolutionary Bureau mentioned in Voitinsky's August 17 report, such as in publishing the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto* and the journal *Laodong jie*. An investigation of the historical sources reveals that there are also problems with confirming on the basis of memoirs alone that the Marxist Study Group was formed in May, since there are many different viewpoints. Although he claims the so-called "thesis that Chen in the south and Li in the north planned together to form a party" (*nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiandang shuo*) as proof of an autonomous direction in the formation of a party on the part of Chen and others, as I pointed out in chapter 2, this thesis does not withstand scrutiny. Furthermore, while Jin contends that the meeting that created the Revolutionary Bureau was the very meeting of "the most active Chinese comrades" of July 19 mentioned by Yang Kuisong, we know nothing whatsoever about the nature or content of the meeting on that day. And, like Yang, Jin has nothing to say about the Socialist Youth League that appears in Voitinsky's report.

When we combine the Chinese-language documents and the Russian-language documents, despite their large number, in order to identify organizations concerned with the Shanghai Communist Group that is said to be the parent body for the launching of the CCP, we still have no satisfying, coordinated explanation of what sort of groups they were (including if they even existed) and what their mutual relationships were. Thus, in chronicling the steps taken toward the formation of a Communist party in Shanghai, we need to begin with an investigation of the reality of these organizations as well as the relationship between them.

*Images of the Founders of the Chinese Communist Party (1):
“Marxist Study Group” and “Socialist-Communist Party”*

The CCP—the organization corresponding to the so-called Shanghai Communist Group—that Chen Duxiu and other members of the group wanted to form is often referred to in Chinese documents as the Marxist Study Group or the Socialist-Communist Party and in Russian documents as the Revolutionary Bureau (*Revoliutsionnoie byuro*) or the Socialist Youth League (*Soyuz sotsialisticheskoi molodezhi*).

Of these groups, the one whose existence should be most questioned is the Marxist Study Group, which appears only in certain memoirs. Although Shao Lizi and Chen Wangdao mention the Marxist Study Group as the predecessor to the group of Communist party promoters, Shi Cuntong and Shen Yanbing (Mao Dun), who were said to have been members of it, both explicitly denied that the Marxist Study Group ever existed in Shanghai.¹³ What accounts for this discrepancy? The reminiscences of Chen Wangdao mention the Marxist Study Group several times. One such instance reads as follows:

In the spring of 1920 I received an invitation to lecture at Fudan University in Shanghai. The Marxist Study Group had just been organized at this time. At the time it was also known as the Communist Group. I handed the study group the *Communist Manifesto*, which they published.¹⁴

According to this citation, Chen’s translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was published by the Marxist Study Group, but the publisher of the *Communist Manifesto*, printed in August 1920, was the Socialist Study Society—namely, Xin qingnian she (publishers of the magazine

Xin qingnian). Chen Wangdao simply confused the Socialist Study Society with the Marxist Study Group. As noted in chapter 2, the Socialist Study Society was, in actuality, the same as the *Xin qingnian* she and, at the same time, the “publication section” of the Shanghai Revolutionary Bureau, in Voitinsky’s usage. Thus, when Chen Wangdao and others spoke of the activities of the Marxist Study Group, they were vaguely indicating not so much the name of a specific organization but more the actions undertaken by the *Xin qingnian* group and Voitinsky.

When and in what name did this group wishing to form a Communist party take shape in Shanghai? What relationship did it have to what Voitinsky called the “Revolutionary Bureau”? Let us begin with an exploration of the era in which the group of CCP promoters formed. Contemporaneous documents touching on the formative era of the CCP include the report presented at the third congress of the Comintern by Zhang Tailei (1898–1927) and the deposition given by Shi Cuntong when he was arrested in Japan (see appendix 3).

According to Zhang Tailei’s report, the “first Communist cells in China (*kommunisticheskie yacheiki*) were formed in May 1920 in Shanghai and Beijing, and thereafter Communist cells appeared in many other localities in China.”¹⁵ Because of the numerous ambiguous points in Zhang Tailei’s activities prior to his going to Russia, certain doubts exist about the extent to which this report conveys an accurate picture of the situation at the time. In any event, it was a public report on the Chinese Communist Party at the time of the party’s formation, and the reliability of a report that claims May 1920 as the starting point of the party’s formation is much stronger than memoirs.

Shi Cuntong’s deposition, by contrast, was given at the time he was arrested by the Japanese police while studying in Japan in late 1921. This statement was used as evidence at the trial of the “Gyōmin Communist Party Incident.”¹⁶ I discovered a document entitled “*Keishichō ni okeru Shi Sontō no chinjutsu yōryō*” (“Summary of Shi Cuntong’s Deposition to the Metropolitan Police Department”) in *Gaiji keisatsu hō* (vol. 10, February 1922) in a collection of materials recently published by the National Archives of Japan. The section concerning the formation of a Communist group in Shanghai is more detailed than his court testimony:

The Socialist groups in Shanghai with which I had contacts were the Communist Party, the Socialist Youth Corps, and the Socialist University. Inasmuch as these were all secret groups, they had

no specific offices, and I would communicate with comrades in various places using the address of the group's responsible person or a committee member as a contact point. . . . The Socialist Youth Corps was founded in August 1920 with the objective of launching a movement. At present, Li Da largely takes care of its business at the residence at No. 625 Fudeli, Chengdu Road South, Shanghai, and Li Renjie is in charge. Li Da is also known as Li Hongming, and Li Renjie is also called Li Hanjun. Both men have studied here [Japan]. The Socialist University is a correspondence school for ideological propaganda, founded in May 1920 by seven of us: Chen Duxiu, Yu Xiusong, Wu Ming, Li Renjie, Shen Ding [Xuanlu], Wang Zhongfu, and myself. The membership is the same as that of the Socialist Youth Corps, although the former are engaged primarily in practical action, and the latter aimed at ideological propaganda. Initially, we had contact in Shanghai with a representative of the Russian Bolsheviks [probably, Voitinsky] and received several thousand yen each month for expenses. They also compensated our officers with thirty yen monthly. The year before last [*sic*; actually 1920] contacts with them broke down, and we are now not receiving any assistance at all from those representatives. We have about sixty students now.

This document, of course, was a deposition given to the police after his arrest. Thus, it is not safe to assume that he hid nothing from the police. But considering that he recounted truthfully information that should not have been revealed, such as the Chinese Communists' alternate names and their addresses, the deposition is likely honest. In addition, until he left for Japan in June 1920, Shi Cuntong worked closely with Chen Duxiu in Shanghai, and after leaving for Japan, he had frequent contacts with Shanghai Communists. To that extent, his observations of the Shanghai Communist Group in its early period would have been more direct than those of Zhang Tailei. Shi's description of the exact amounts of money provided by the Soviets speaks to this.

While Shi Cuntong's deposition does not mention the date that the "Communist party" was formed, he did clearly mention the names of the Socialist Youth Corps and the Socialist University as organizations with ties to the party and the dates of August 1920 and May 1920, respectively, for their creation. Because he was in Japan at the time of the founding of the Socialist Youth Corps, the practical movement division of the Communist Group, he would have learned of its establishment

indirectly by communication from Shanghai. The report of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps to the second congress of the Communist International of Youth (July 1921) said, "The initial alliance was formed in Shanghai, and its principle was preparing for the Socialist revolution. . . . On August 22, 1922, the Socialist Youth Corps (*Sotsialisticheskii soyuz molodezhi*) had a formal meeting."¹⁷ Thus, the founding of the Youth Group substantiates the fact that it was August 1920.¹⁸

The Socialist University that was said to have been established in May of the same year resembled the ideology and propaganda section of the Shanghai Communist Group, though this was doubtless the Socialist Study Society mentioned above. It published Chen Wangdao's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* as well as Li Hanjun's translation, *Makesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx's *Das Kapital*; a translation of *Shop Talks on Economics*, by Mary Marcy, 1877–1922). According to Voitinsky's August 1920 report, publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in Chinese was the work of the publication section of the Revolutionary Bureau. Thus, the Socialist Study Society—corresponding to this publication section—was clearly established that May, while Shi Cuntong was still in Shanghai, by Chen Duxiu, Yu Xiusong, Chen Gongpei (Wu Ming), Li Hanjun, Shen Xuanlu, Wang Zhongfu, and Shi himself.¹⁹ Of these seven men, only the identity of Wang Zhongfu remains obscure,²⁰ but in many memoirs, the other six are often named as those connected to the creation of a Chinese Communist Party.

Zhang Taili's report and Shi Cuntong's deposition were documents of the same era, and both give May 1920 for the formation of a group promoting a Communist party. Their various and sundry activities—that is, the actions of the Shanghai Communist Group—would then have begun at this time. And, thus, the formation of the Socialist-Communist Party was the occasion at which these activities turned to "party organization."

As noted earlier, the appellation "Socialist-Communist Party" emerges in a diary entry (dated July 10, 1920) of Yu Xiusong, a member of the Shanghai Communist Group. After the Work-Study Mutual Aid movement in Beijing ended in failure, he and Shi Cuntong went to Shanghai in late March of that year.²¹ We know that he had been active as a member of Chen Duxiu's group from the deposition of Shi Cuntong. Thus, one can safely assume that the Socialist-Communist Party he mentions in his diary refers to the Shanghai Communist Group. His vague understanding of Bolshevism, which appears in the diary ("I still could not get a handle on anarchism or Bolshevism"), considering the

confusion at the time about just what Bolshevism was, as pointed out by Jin Liren, was by no means then an unnatural expression. We need to pay attention to the undeniable fact that the establishment of the Socialist-Communist Party appears in the diary of one of the members of the Shanghai Communist Group. But precisely when was this Socialist-Communist Party organized? As we have seen, Yu's diary as we have it now begins with an entry dated late in the evening of June 17, 1920, and ends on July 25, and there is absolutely no mention of the Socialist-Communist Party before the July 10 entry, when this entity already existed. Thus, to the extent that we follow the diary, we can only conjecture that it was organized before June 17.

From memoirs written by Shi Cuntong at the time, as well as memoirs by Yu Xiusong and Chen Gongpei (1901–1969), whose names appear in Shi's deposition, we know the Socialist-Communist Party's purpose and the date it was formed. In Shi's reminiscences, he states that two meetings were held in June 1920 just before he set off for Japan; at the second meeting, after Dai Jitao withdrew from their activities, preparations were made by five men—Chen Duxiu, Yu Xiusong, Li Hanjun, Chen Gongpei, and Shi Cuntong—for the creation of a Communist party (Shi claims that the Shanghai Group was called a Communist party from the start); they drew up party rules, and thereafter, he departed Shanghai (June 20) to study in Japan.²² Although this memoir was penned in the 1950s, its content (such as the names of the members in the era of its creation) basically overlaps with information from his deposition, though it does have different emphases than the memoirs of others.²³ Shi Cuntong's deposition and memoirs differ from the memoirs of others concerning the great turning point in his career when he went to study in Japan in June 1920. That is, considering that the activities of the Shanghai Communist Group that he narrates all transpired before June, when he was still in Shanghai, there can be little doubt about them.

Shi's memoirs are in agreement with those of Yu Xiusong and Chen Gongpei. In a personal narrative written while in Moscow in 1930, Yu Xiusong mentioned the process leading to the formation of the party: "Around the spring of 1920, we tried to form a Chinese Communist party. Unable at the first meeting to come to an agreement on views, however, it did not go well. After a little time had passed, we announced the existence of the party at our second meeting."²⁴ Like Shi Cuntong, he relates that a second meeting was held to form a party, and as a result of the second meeting, the creation of a party took place. Also,

despite some differences in details with Shi's memoirs, Chen Gongpei recounts that, at a preparatory meeting for the organization of a Communist party attended by himself, Chen Duxiu, Li Hanjun, Shi Cuntong, Yu Xiusong, and perhaps others, five or six simple party regulations were drawn up. Chen claims that the meeting convened in "the summer of 1920," although at the same time he recalls that "in the evening" of the day the meeting took place, "Shi Cuntong left for Japan. . . . Li Hanjun and Dao Jitao introduced Shi to Miyazaki Ryūsuke, the son of Miyazaki Torazō [Miyazaki Tōten, 1871–1922]." ²⁵ Shi's study in Japan was certainly facilitated by Dai Jitao and the Miyazakis, which lends considerable credence to his memoirs on this point.

So when did Shi Cuntong depart for Japan? According to Chen Gongpei's memoirs, Shi left Shanghai somehow or other on the very day that they formed a substantive party organization with a program, but it was actually not that simple. Shi claims that he left Shanghai for Japan on June 20, but this statement requires some supplementary explanation. Although the ship sailed on June 20 and his friends saw him off that day, he had boarded the vessel the night before. ²⁶ However, in the June 20 entry in Yu's diary, there is no mention whatsoever of the meeting to establish the Socialist-Communist Party, which he would certainly have attended. Hence, it is doubtful that the day Shi boarded ship was the day of the meeting. We may assume that the meeting took place on a different day from that of his departure from Shanghai. Proof for this conclusion includes the facts that the encouragement and farewell party for Shi Cuntong before his send-off to Japan took place on June 16 ²⁷ (there is the possibility that Chen Gongpei regarded the farewell party as Shi's departure for Japan) and that Dai Jitao, who is said to have participated in the meeting that established the "Communist party," left Shanghai for Huzhou on June 17 to recuperate from a nervous breakdown. ²⁸

Putting all this information together, then, about a year before the first national congress of the CCP, in the middle of June 1920—before the conventional theory of July or August—a party organization around the figures of Chen Duxiu, Li Hanjun, Shi Cuntong, Yu Xiusong, and others was formed in Shanghai and known as the Socialist-Communist Party. And we can now confirm that this Socialist-Communist Party was, in the language of party history, the Shanghai Communist Group. The organization of the Socialist-Community Party was, of course, rudimentary in that it seems to have had a simple platform. Thereafter, this "Party" ²⁹ added further members, such as Chen Duxiu's friends Chen

Wangdao, Shao Lizi, and Shen Xuanlu, as well as Li Da (who returned to Shanghai from Japan in August),³⁰ Zhou Fohai (who returned briefly from study in Japan in the summer of 1920),³¹ Shen Yanbing, and Yuan Zhenying (1894–1979). While they met on several occasions to draft the party platform and party rules, at the same time, they were working with Marxist propaganda and the labor movement. Their base of action was the editorial offices of *Xin qingnian*—namely, Chen Duxiu's residence at No. 2 Laoyuyang, Huanlong Road (Route Vallon), in the French Concession.

Thus, in June 1920, the Shanghai Communist Group of Chen Duxiu and others apparently had the name Socialist-Communist Party. What are we then to make of the fact that, in his August report, Voitinsky did not mention it at all? What might have been the relationship between what Voitinsky called the Revolutionary Bureau in his report and this Socialist-Communist Party? Jin Liren, whose work we introduced earlier, sees the two as separate entities, but this explanation cannot withstand scrutiny for the simple fact that Shi Cuntong clearly stated that Voitinsky participated in the meeting that led to the formation of a Communist party.³² Perhaps we have no choice but to regard the Revolutionary Bureau and the Socialist-Communist Party as different names for the same organization. There are valid points made in Jin's explanation, such as Voitinsky's and Chen Duxiu's differing views about how to form a party (i.e., encouraging radical groups or aligning with reliable individuals). The singular process that led to the formation of the Chinese Communist Party was grounded in two different cultural backgrounds: Voitinsky emphasized organizations that had attracted student and labor groups, with the Revolutionary Bureau at its core, and Chen Duxiu and other core members amassed talented people around them, mainly those colleagues associated with *Xin qingnian*.

It is well known that in the case of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, forerunner of the Bolsheviks, delegates of various regional circles concerned with an alliance for the liberation struggle of the working class, as well as the Bund (an organization of Jewish laborers), met in Minsk in 1898, and they attempted to form a party by bringing together various disparate groups. (After the meeting, however, the activists were all arrested.) Might we conjecture that Voitinsky, who knew the history of the formation of the Bolshevik Party, projected the growth of a revolutionary party based on the amalgamation of preexisting revolutionary groups in China, too? Voitinsky's reports frequently mention the integration of anarchist organizations and preexisting labor groups;

the fact that he hardly ever names individual Chinese activists may not be because of a simple linguistic barrier, but it may markedly reflect his feelings about the formation of a revolutionary party.

Chen Duxiu had already by this time made contact with emerging labor organizations, and he had distinct suspicions about these pre-existing groups. His short commentary, entitled “Zhen de gongren tuanti” (“Genuine Labor Groups”), published in August 1920 when Voitinsky wrote his report, noted, “If laborers want to improve their conditions, they have first of all to form groups. However, organizations like those of Shanghai workers, even if ten thousand of them came together, are no good.”³³ This was, without a doubt, a point of view different from Voitinsky’s. Also, Chen’s attitude toward anarchists was decidedly negative, as can clearly be seen in his essay “Tan zhengzhi” (“Discussing Politics”) from this same time period. Given these attitudes, to advance the consolidation of the Shanghai Communist Group, he would necessarily have been aiming at rallying individuals whom he felt he could trust. Thus, descriptions of the process of party formation by the Chinese involved, meaning primarily their memoirs, have almost without exception taken the view that the “party” was born of the joining together of radical elements.

*Images of the Founders of the Chinese Communist Party (2):
“Socialist League” and “Socialist Youth Corps”*

One further organization frequently mentioned as having existed in the early period of the Chinese Communist Party is the “Socialist League,” which emerges in the memoirs of such anarchists as Liang Bingxian and Zheng Peigang. Exactly what kind of organization was the Socialist League? Liang Bingxian’s memoir, the earliest concerning this organization, recounts the following:

In the spring of 1920, I received a letter written in Esperanto. The author was Polevoy (Buluwei), and it had been mailed from Tianjin. . . . He believed that we could not neglect Chinese liberal socialists and Bolshevik party members who were the leaders of the Soviet revolution, and that we could happily join forces with them. . . . At the time, Zheng Peigang, who was substituting as head of the [Huiming] Academy, sent Polevoy’s letter to Huang Chaohai [Huang Lingshuang] of Beijing University and

had them enter negotiations nearby. Together with Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, Huang had discussions on several occasions with Polevoy in Beijing and Tianjin. As a result, the “Socialist League” came into existence.³⁴

According to the reminiscences of Liang Bingxian and those of Zheng Peigang (written after receiving the former), the Socialist League was a united-front organization of socialists in which Chen Duxiu was the central figure. “At the time,” Zheng claimed, “as a rule if someone was proselytizing on behalf of socialism, irrespective of sect, he could have joined.” With the encouragement of Voitinsky, the “League” established in Shanghai a “Youxin Printers,” and not only proceeded to publish anarchist and Communist works, such as Chen Wangdao’s translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, Zheng stated, but they also published the journals *Laodong yin* (Voices of Labor) and *Laodongzhe* (Laborers) in Beijing and Guangzhou.³⁵ Thus, if these memoirs are accurate, the Socialist League, a united-front organization of socialists formed in 1920, corresponds to the Communist Groups at various sites, and the Socialist League in Shanghai was the group of those who promoted the formation of the CCP. Nuances aside, Yang Kuisong and Jin Liren both believe it actually existed; Yang adopts the view that the Socialist League, the Revolutionary Bureau, and the Shanghai Communist Group were one and the same, while Jin takes the former two to be one entity and the Shanghai Communist Group a separate body.

The name “Socialist League” as a united-front organization of anarchists and Bolsheviks appears only in anarchists’ memoirs; it is not mentioned in the reminiscences of anyone tied to the CCP. In addition, the group’s name does not appear in any newspapers or magazines of the time. Thus, although we cannot jump to the conclusion that the name of the joint organization at the time was the Socialist League, it is certain that there were broad cooperative relations of socialists in the latter half of 1920. We have already noted that Voitinsky’s reports repeatedly touched on cooperation with anarchists, and in the magazine *Laodong yin*, published by the Communist Group in Beijing in November 1920, Huang Lingshuang, who was known as an anarchist, contributed an article. So why does the name of the Socialist League, which should have existed, not appear in documents of this era?

In fact, there is mention of a “League” in an essay by Huang, who is thought to have taken part in planning the formation of the Socialist League. It is a piece entitled “Tongzhi Lingshuang de yifeng laixin”

(“Letter Received from Comrade [Huang] Lingshuang”) that was published in *Gongyu* (issue 16), a journal of Chinese anarchists in Paris, in April 1923. A portion of this letter concerning the “League” reads:

At the start of the Russian Revolution, I was unhappy at our Chinese misunderstanding of the trends in Russia, and when I translated *Yijiuyijiu lü-E liuzhou jianwenji* (Travel Narrative of a Six-Week Trip to Russia [published by Zhenbaoshe in Beijing]), I had you read the original. Do you remember? Afterward, Li Dazhao and I met with a Russian in Tianjin, and then I traveled south to Guangzhou with certain Russians and established a press agency. This marked the beginning of Soviet party activity in China.³⁶

The text entitled *Yijiuyijiu lü-E liuzhou jianwenji* mentioned in the letter is a work by Arthur Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*, which appeared in Chinese translation in April 1920 from the Zhenbaoshe in Beijing.³⁷ Before the publication of this book, Huang seems, somehow, to have gotten his comrades to read the original work. Be that as it may, the issue at hand is the passage “Afterward, Li Dazhao and I met with a Russian in Tianjin.” This description matches the memoirs of Liang and Zheng speaking of the Socialist League. In view of their reminiscences, the Russian whom Huang and Li met in Tianjin would seem to have been Polevoy. Also, it mentions “certain Russians” who came with him, and together they “established a press agency.” This is consistent with Chinese Communist Party documents³⁸ that indicate that Huang Lingshuang was enlisted by the revolutionary camp in Guangzhou and that the Russians in question were K. A. Stoyanovich and L. A. Perlin, who established a Russian press agency.³⁹ The description that Huang “with certain Russians traveled south to Guangzhou and established a press agency” is remarkably consistent with the content of Voitinsky’s report of August 1920: Stoyanovich and Polevoy were active in Beijing and Tianjin, and Stoyanovich was sent to Guangzhou from Tianjin to establish a “Revolutionary Bureau” in Guangzhou. The memoirs of Liang Bingxian and Zheng Peigang, then, were not fictitious concoctions.

Although their memoirs reflected the facts, however, it does not mean that they are completely factual. In other words, the letter of Huang Lingshuang reported only that he was working with a Russian (Polevoy) and Li Dazhao to launch Soviet activities in China. He says nothing about the name of their group, meaning that the issues of the name of the unified anarchist-Bolshevik organization at the time and

the nature of its relationship to the group promoting the formation of a Chinese Communist Party remain as before.

In this connection, Voitinsky's report offers us a clue. The August 1920 report relayed that he was attempting to establish a "unified socialist youth league." A conference "to make a final decision on the question of unification" was held in Beijing on August 17, he noted, and "at the conference the stream advocating the founding of a socialist youth league through unification was quite strong." This conference was a joint meeting of the Young China Association, the Awakening Society, and other groups convened with the participation of Li Dazhao. As a result, a Reform Alliance was created, as discussed in chapter 2. As for the people who attended the meeting of the Reform Alliance, it was noted, "Among the members of the Awakening Society who stayed in Beijing" after the meeting, "a number of them joined the workers' women's and young students' movements under the aegis of Mr. Li Dazhao. Two members, with introductions from Mr. Li Dazhao, became active in the Sino-Russian News Agency (Hua-E tongxinshe), the international news agency of the Soviet Union."⁴⁰ This suggests that the activities of the Reform Alliance were linked to the Soviet Union's news agency. Inasmuch as the aforementioned letter from Huang Lingshuang similarly mentioned the founding of the news agency as one of their group's activities, one conclusion can naturally be drawn. That is, the alleged joint activity of Huang Lingshuang, Li Dazhao, and Polevoy mentioned in Huang's letter was the Socialist League (Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng) for Liang Bingxian and other anarchists, the Socialist Youth League (Shehuizhuyi qingnian tongmeng) in Voitinsky's eyes, and dubbed the Reform Alliance (Gaizao lianhe) for Li Dazhao and others. And, adding one further conjecture, this united front group with such divergent names was apparently the same as the Socialist Youth Corps (Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan) said to have been formed in August 1920. In other words, the Russian original name for Socialist Youth League—*Soyuz sotsialisticheskoi molodezhi*) as used by Voitinsky and the Russian name *Sotsialisticheskii soyuz molodezhi* that appears in the report of the Socialist Youth Corps of China presented at the second congress of the Communist International of Youth were effectively the same with just a small change in word order.⁴¹ According to a report of the first congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps (May 1922), the group was founded in August 1920; its "only predisposition is toward socialism, with no particular socialist faction or clique determined. Thus, its composition is complex with both Marxists and anarchists among the membership."

This helps explain the situation of the Socialist League mentioned in the memoirs of anarchists. In a word, we may understand the Socialist League, the Socialist Youth League, the Socialist Youth Corps, and the Reform Alliance as all one entity. Originally a joint action with Soviet Russian allies based on a unified body of socialists, because of differences in location and language, it was simply referred to four different ways in writing.

Zheng Peigang, who called the united-front organization of socialists the “Socialist League,” recalled that its starting point (the arrival of a letter from Polevoy) came in March 1920 and that the Socialist League was formed in Shanghai in May of that year,⁴² but if we take this to be another name for the Socialist Youth League or the Socialist Youth Corps, then its formal establishment has to have been in August. In other words, the action toward which these Socialists were aiming by forging a great unity transpired with the formation of the group of promoters of the Chinese Communist Party (as we saw in the previous section), what the Chinese involved called the “Socialist-Communist Party” and what Voitinsky called the “Revolutionary Bureau.”

Given this background, which the united-front organization of socialists called the “Socialist League,” in some form or other, the Japan Socialist League—whose creation was hastened after August 1920 in Japan—probably should be mentioned here. The momentum toward the formation of the Japan Socialist League attracted attention in China (as noted in chapter 1, Li Dazhao actually joined it), and in early August, its actions were reported in the Chinese press.⁴³

The Activities of the Founders of the Chinese Communist Party

Summarizing our investigation above, the founding promoters of the Chinese Communist Party were a group of colleagues surrounding Chen Duxiu at the journal *Xin qingnian* (including Li Hanjun, Shi Cuntong, Yu Xiusong, and Chen Gongpei), who, from about May 1920 after Voitinsky came to Shanghai, began their activities as the Socialist Study Society; once they adopted the name Socialist-Communist Party in June, they extended their influence by establishing the Socialist Youth Corps in August, which took in young socialists over a broad range, and while the Shanghai group gradually increased their membership, they were also involved in publishing and propaganda work. According to Voitinsky, their activities were seen as those of the Revolutionary Bureau in

Shanghai, and the activities of the Socialist Youth Corps were referred to by a number of anarchists as those of the Socialist League.

In terms of timeframe, a string of preparatory operations toward the formation of a party proceeded in the period (May–August 1920) that *Xin qingnian* temporarily suspended publication, and in this sense when *Xin qingnian* recommenced publication with issue 8.1 that August, it unmistakably had the flavor of the organ of the CCP founding group. In addition to issuing such magazines as *Xin qingnian* and *Laodong jie* and such translations as that of the *Communist Manifesto* as the main activity of the Shanghai CCP founders, they were able to make concerted efforts with youth education (the founding of the Foreign Language Institute or Waiguoyu xueshe) and with the labor movement (in concrete terms, the establishment of the Shanghai Mechanics' Union).

The Foreign Language Institute was a foreign language school established in August 1920. According to an advertisement recruiting students to the school that appeared in the September 28 issue of *Guomin ribao*, there were three classes—English, Russian, and Japanese—with plans to set up classes in French and German. Tuition fees were two yuan monthly for each class, and a dormitory was created at No. 6 Xinyuyang, Rue Joffre in the French Concession—in other words, the very location of the Socialist Youth Corps at that time. No. 6 Xinyuyang was the residence of Dai Jitao until the previous June and a stone's throw from the editorial offices of *Xin qingnian* (the residence of Chen Duxiu). In the name of foreign-language instruction, the Foreign Language Institute gave classes in the rudiments of foreign languages with Li Hanjun, Li Da, Yang Mingzhai, and others as teachers.⁴⁴ In fact, it served as a shelter for movement students from many places, who were enamored of Chen Duxiu and others and appeared in Shanghai, and for young people who had run away from home because of old-fashioned family strictures; it also functioned as a site through which those wishing to study abroad in Soviet Russia would pass.

Examples of the former would include Luo Yinong (1902–1928), Bu Shiqi (1902–1964), and Yuan Dushi (b. 1901), members of the Shanghai Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps and the Shanghai Mutual Aid Corps whose work, after Beijing, they were attempting to implement in Shanghai as well; all subsequently became members of the CCP and all studied at the Foreign Language Institute. As examples of the latter, the Changsha Russia Study Group (Eluosi yanjiuhui; as of September 1920 with executive director Jiang Jihuan and recording secretary Mao Zedong) promoted “work-study in Russia”; Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969), Ren

Bishi (1904–1950), and Xiao Jingguang (1903–1989)—all later members of the CCP—also enrolled at the Foreign Language Institute.⁴⁵ The person actually in charge of the Russia Study Group was said to be He Minfan, a close friend of Chen Duxiu who was working at the time as principal of the Chuanshan Middle School. There is also the case of Peng Shuzhi, who came, with an introduction directly from He, to the Foreign Language Institute to be able to study in Russia.⁴⁶

At the time, the work-study movement in France had fallen into something of a decline, and now attracting attention and replacing it was a renascent Russia. It was simply that rumors circulated in Beijing and Shanghai about an agency that would facilitate observation of Russia by Chinese youths, but it was reported that young people were using a wide variety of means to enter Russia.⁴⁷ Responding to the popularity of Soviet Russia, the Foreign Language Institute of Shanghai apparently implemented a preparatory course of study for young people wishing to study in Russia. Naturally, a number of them joined the Socialist Youth Corps, and the Foreign Language Institute became an important source of talent and funding for the Shanghai Communist Group. The Foreign Language Institute had roughly sixty students in 1920, and many of them were anarchists.⁴⁸

As for foreign-language education and a means for entering Soviet Russia, in addition to the Foreign Language Institute, there was an Esperanto school in Shanghai at the time known as the New China School (Xin Hua xuexiao, also known as the Xin Hua shijieyu xuexiao or New China Esperanto School) that had close ties to the Communist Group. In his deposition, Shi Cuntong mentioned “an Esperanto school in the French Concession as a school propagating other ideologies” in the Shanghai Communist movement. The New China School was established in the winter of 1919 by the Esperantists V. Stopani (1893?–1921) and Lu Shikai in Gongyifang, North Sichuan Road.⁴⁹ It served as a focal point for anarchists who championed the cause of cosmopolitanism.⁵⁰ Among the students at the Foreign Language Institute were young people simultaneously studying Esperanto at the New China School, and there seems to have been a fair amount of human interaction.⁵¹ For example, Liao Huaping, Yuan Wenzhang, and Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), among others, received letters of introduction from Stopani, their teacher at the New China School, when they wanted to travel to Russia in March 1921.⁵²

Stopani was apparently an Italian born in Russia. He so detested his military service that he made his way from the Caucasus to Vladivostok,

and from there to Shanghai.⁵³ Although his political views are somewhat obscure, from a letter he submitted to *Minsheng*, a Chinese anarchist journal, we can discern something of his ideological stances.⁵⁴ In this letter he writes, “I completely agree with anarchism,” and he refers to himself as “a Bolshevik.” He goes on to explain what appears at first glance to be a contradiction. As an ultimate ideology, he argues, anarchism is correct, and although appropriate in arousing the masses, it cannot be realized in a single step, making it inappropriate to the immediate cause of “revolution.” In this sense, Bolshevism represents the first step toward genuine happiness and genuine freedom, both anarchist ideals, and at the present point in time, one must borrow the methods of Bolshevism. Indeed, Lenin himself was not opposed to anarchism, Stopani claimed, and believed in its implementation. Given that such a man holding such views was teaching Esperanto at the New China School, it makes perfect sense that young people of many sorts—not just anarchists but socialists and those concerned with Soviet Russia as well—would meet there, and that he would have helped those seeking to enter Russia with introductions.

While we do not know if he studied at Stopani’s New China School, Yu Xiusong, a member of the Shanghai Communist Group at the time, became interested in anarchism and studied Esperanto.⁵⁵ However, unlike Stopani, who had a clear plan in which he both firmly believed in the “truths” of anarchism and assumed that Bolshevism was a means of realizing them, Yu was still at a stage at which anarchism and Communism were both parts of the same whole. The Esperanto movement in China was inseparable from the anarchist movement, and at a time when the treatment of anarchism in Soviet Russia was still unknown, many seemed to have believed that if one studied Esperanto, it would be possible to travel to Russia and have interactions with Soviet revolutionaries there.⁵⁶ They apparently believed that Esperanto, like Russian, was the bridge to revolutionary Russia. Thus, a group of students at the Foreign Language Institute also studied at the New China School.

Stopani, who called himself “a Bolshevik,” shot himself on March 27, 1921, just after helping anarchist students Liao Huaping and Bao Pu, among others, to enter Russia. He died the next day,⁵⁷ and we have no information about his ties to the Shanghai Communist Group and to Voitinsky. From the relationship between the Foreign Language Institute and the New China School, he would seem to have had some sort of bond, as he on his own facilitated travel to Russia for young people unable to wait for the Foreign Language Institute to send them.⁵⁸ This

would lead one to believe that there was a certain distance between himself and Voitinsky.

While the Foreign Language Institute targeted young people, the founding of the Shanghai Mechanics' Union marked the launching of an initiative toward the labor movement. As we noted earlier, Chen Duxiu was suspicious of existing labor groups, and in this sense, the Shanghai Mechanics' Union was an attempt to form anew a "genuine labor group." The Shanghai Mechanics' Union was created by Li Zhong (1897–1951, originally from Hunan, a worker in the Jiangnan Shipyard in Shanghai; born Li Shengxie, a graduate of No. 1 Hunan Normal School) and Chen Wenhuan (a worker at the Yangshupu Electrical Plant in Shanghai) in response to a call issued in the journal *Laodong jie* by the Shanghai Communist Group.⁵⁹ On October 3, 1920, a meeting was held to launch this new organization. According to an article describing the contours of the meeting, it was held at "the Foreign Language Institute on Yuyang Lane, Rue Joffre," and honorary members Chen Duxiu and Yang Mingzhai addressed the seventy or eighty men and women who attended.⁶⁰ Chen and others were named "honorary members" because formal membership was limited to mechanics, and in this important sense they had responded well to Chen's intention of appealing for the formation of a "genuine labor group." The fact that the meeting was held at the Foreign Language Institute—that is, the location of the Socialist Youth Corps—speaks to the strong support given to the meeting by Chen Duxiu's group.

The Shanghai Mechanics' Union was formally established on November 21, and the meeting was attended by nearly 1,000 participants, including Chen Duxiu, Yang Mingzhai, Sun Yat-sen, Dai Jitao, Hu Hanmin, and other major figures in the Guomindang. Chen Duxiu requested that they admit no capitalists into the labor group; Sun Yat-sen delivered a two-hour speech, in which he also offered his own views on democracy; and the meeting ended successfully.⁶¹ Although a large number of people were in attendance, the actual number of laborers participating was only about 370, as the meeting itself was commemorative and celebratory in nature.⁶² What distinguished this labor union? According to a journal report, "First, it is not a labor union being controlled by capital. Second, it is not a labor union based on [traditional Chinese] concepts of native place. Third, it is not a labor union manipulated by politicians and racketeers. Fourth, it is a pure labor union. Fifth, it is not an ostentatious labor union."⁶³ Clearly, they were drawing a line between themselves and extant labor groups. Because of this reputation, it

would appear that shortly after they formed, the International Workers of the World (IWW), known as an aggressive labor union in the United States, sent their good wishes.⁶⁴ Accordingly, seeing that the Shanghai Mechanics' Union was colluding with the Bolsheviks due to the instigation of "the Socialist Chen Duxiu" and that it was stirring up socialism, the Chinese authorities naturally set off to suppress it.⁶⁵

Compared to the wariness of the authorities, however, the actual activities of the new Shanghai Mechanics' Union were rather mild, centering on workers' education and mutual aid. As far as I can tell, there is no evidence that it launched a labor movement seeking concrete amelioration of labor conditions. It similarly appears not to have offered assistance to labor struggles in other industries that erupted in this period in Shanghai. Its connections to Chen Duxiu and the Communist Group were less strictly centralized under the latter and more one of cooperation and support, and in this sense, this was a stage at which there began somewhat fumbling joint work between laborers and intellectuals. Following the Shanghai Mechanics' Union, the Shanghai Printers' Union was established on the basis of the same principles; members of the Socialist Youth Corps headed to labor sites to conduct investigations, and Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun sent encouragement to a number of striking unions.⁶⁶ The Chinese Communist Party's assumption of the main role in the formation of labor unions would have to await the founding of the "Chinese Labor Union Secretariat" after the first national congress of the CCP in 1921.

COMMUNIST GROUPS IN OTHER CHINESE CITIES

The Beijing Communist Group

Together with Shanghai, in the formative period of the Chinese Communist Party, the most active cities in the movement were Beijing in the north and Guangzhou in the south. The leader in Beijing was Li Dazhao, and in Guangzhou it was Tan Pingshan (1886–1956) and Chen Duxiu. In the party's formative era, the expressions "Chen in the south, Li in the north" and "Tan in the south, Li in the north, Chen in between" indicate that Beijing and Guangzhou were, after Shanghai, important bases of operations for Communist Groups. Following the May Fourth Movement, students at Beijing University and elsewhere in Beijing actively organized movements to educate commoners and for work-study and

mutual aid, while the political situation in Guangzhou—where the direct control of the Beijing government did not extend—labor and anarchist movements developed early on, given the second largest number of workers in the country after Shanghai. The activities of Communist Groups in Beijing and Guangzhou were carried out with encouragement from Shanghai, although the distinctive conditions pertaining to the party formation activities in both cities followed patterns of development rather different from those of Shanghai. We begin with Beijing.

The most detailed and trustworthy material concerning the process leading to the formation of the Communist Group in Beijing is the “Report of the Beijing Communist Organization” (“Beijing Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de baogao”), which is included in documents related to the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party.⁶⁷ The report, written by the Beijing delegate to the first national congress (probably Zhang Guotao), concerns the formation of a party organization in the capital city. As it explains:

The Beijing Communist organization was at last born only a mere ten months ago. . . . When it was founded in October of last year [1920], several bogus Communists slipped into the organization. These people were in fact anarchists, and they caused us a great deal of trouble, but after a ferocious debate they seceded from the organization completely. After leaving, our situation has proceeded nicely.

Among the activities of the organization, this report mentioned the publication of the magazine *Laodong yin*⁶⁸ and the pamphlets, *Gongren de shengli* (Victory of the Workingman) and *Wuyijie* (May Day); the distribution of *Gongchandang xuanyan* (Communist Manifesto) and *Makesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx’s *Das Kapital*),⁶⁹ which were printed in Shanghai; and the translation of *Eguo geming he jieji douzheng* (The Russian Revolution and the Class Struggle) and *Gongchandang gangling* (Platform of the Communist Party, as yet unpublished at the time of this report).⁷⁰ It also introduced a journal entitled *Shuguang* (Morning Light) published by “our comrade.”⁷¹ The report described in great detail that appeals were being made to laborers, which were not going smoothly, and that it was important to encourage intellectuals who were unable to rid themselves of a bias with respect to laborers.

To date, the tendency has been strong when examining the formation of the Beijing Communist Group to point to the Marxist Study

Society (Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui), which began at Beijing University in March 1920. From the fact that this report makes no mention whatsoever of it, it is probably best to conclude that this Society was not the direct progenitor of the Communist organization in Beijing and that it was a general study group whose formation was organized in response to student interest in Marxism, which was sprouting at the time. A proposal for the Study Society (not its actual creation) dates to March 1920 according to an announcement issued in November of the following year by the Society itself.⁷² It was formally launched in November 1921 after the convening of the first national congress of the CCP. Only later did it commence activities, such as study groups and lectures for Communist-oriented students. This report makes it perfectly clear that the Communist organization in Beijing formed in October 1920 after efforts to create the party had begun in earnest in Shanghai.⁷³ While there was some activity toward organization that preceded its formation, this was either the Reform Alliance of Li Dazhao and others formed in August 1920 or the Revolutionary Bureau in Beijing mentioned in Voitinsky's report of August 1920 as being led by Polevoy.

The report of the Beijing organization noted that a number of anarchists had joined at the time of its founding and that they had all now withdrawn. We have seen the participation of anarchists in the early Communist organization in Shanghai and Guangzhou as well, and it was not especially different here, but the fact that they were expelled as a group from the Beijing organization meant that there had been a split between anarchists and Bolsheviks, and we shall need to look into relations between the two at this time as well as subsequently. The background to the anarchist-Bolshevik opposition in the Beijing organization and why they split up are often mentioned in Communist memoirs, but in the final analysis, they consider Bolshevism the legitimate position, and one cannot avoid being a little irritated by the treatment of this period. Let us, then, look first at the documents and materials of the time.

On the activities of the Beijing Communist organization, we are fortunate to still have reports of undercover intelligence operatives working for the authorities. One spy named Guan Qian worked undercover from February through July 1921, donned the accoutrements of a comrade, and joined ordinary Communist groupings in Beijing (an anarchist mutual aid team and the Socialist Youth Corps), leaving behind a string of intelligence reports.⁷⁴ According to his first report (dated February 12, 1921), "The Communist [*sic*] Youth Group advocated

Communism and considers class autocracy a basic principle, but it has already separated itself from the anarchist party, and there is no cooperation between them.” We thus know that by this point in time the anarchists and Communist Group had already split. A few people showed up at the meetings of the two groups, and Guan Qian managed to mix in and gain intelligence on both organizations.

Reading Guan Qian’s reports on the anarchists, we see that from February through March “anarchist mutual aid teams” separated from the Communists, tried to establish a united organization of anarchists on a national scale, and tried to raise money to help their comrades get to Russia. At the anarchist meeting, reports were made about putative activities of anarchists from various places in China, and the participants engaged in a vigorous exchange of information on a nationwide scale. Especially interesting in this regard were frequent reports of an anarchist–Bolshevik opposition in Guangzhou, conveyed in a communication from there, and the discord between Chen Duxiu and Qu Shengbai (b. 1893), as well as Chen’s autocratic attitude. According to a report from Guan Qian (dated March 17), Chen was taking a dual posture, vehemently quarreling with anarchists in Guangzhou on the one hand and appealing for solidarity in a letter to Beijing with Huang Liangshuang and the other anarchists on the other. In an effort to clarify their true intentions, the Beijing anarchists replied by letter to Chen. As we shall see, the anarchist–Bolshevik opposition in Guangzhou had reached a peak as a result of the debate between Chen Duxiu and Qu Shengbai early in the year, but this was the last attempt to repair relations between the two groups. Chen’s disposition had become the main issue, for the Beijing Communist Group was scarcely even mentioned at the anarchist meeting; for Qu Shengbai, the anarchist–Bolshevik discord was a result solely of the attitude of Chen Duxiu, leader of the Communists.

Concerning the Communists (the Socialist Youth Corps),⁷⁵ Guan Qian first reported on a meeting from March 16 that he attended where approaches were made by personnel from the Communist International of Youth. At the meeting, a letter was read aloud from “a young Russian Communist named Gelin [English: Green; Russian: Grin]” seeking delegates to be sent to a coming “congress of the international youth Communist party.” His report states that this Green, who was then living in Tianjin, was about twenty years of age, occasionally visited Beijing (where he stayed at No. 12 Dengshikou), and was on this occasion staying in Beijing for some two weeks. On this very day, though, he could not be in attendance at the meeting of the Socialist Youth Corps

because of pressing business in Tianjin, so he sent a letter to be read at the meeting. The letter urged the immediate selection of delegates to attend the second congress of the Communist International of Youth, scheduled to commence on April 25,⁷⁶ and he explained that he would cover travel expenses for delegates.

Beyond this report, we know nothing about the career of this Mr. Green who emerges here, nor about when he came to China and his experiences there.⁷⁷ An invitational letter signed by one “Gulin” (Green) seeking delegates to be sent to the second congress of the Communist International of Youth was sent as well to the Socialist Youth Corps in Shanghai, and his affiliation on this occasion was given as the Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of Youth.⁷⁸ There can be little doubt that Green was the liaison sent by the contact bureau of the Communist International of Youth. Delegates were directly elected at the meeting of the Socialist Youth Corps of Beijing at which Green’s letter was read aloud, and as a result, He Mengxiong (1898–1931) was chosen and soon left with Green for Russia. Guan Qian also copied out in his report a letter addressed to the congress of the Communist International of Youth from the Beijing student group to which He Mengxiong was attached.⁷⁹ The letter reported that “the youth group [in Beijing] was founded only four months ago, and at present already has over fifty members. . . . There is not as yet a general organization for young Socialists in China.” At the coming congress of the Communist International of Youth, “our representative will only have the right to speak but not the right to vote.” Calculating backward from the portion of this letter (written in March 1921) that reads that “the youth group was founded only four months ago,” the Socialist Youth Corps of Beijing would have been formed in November 1920, shortly after the establishment of the “Beijing Communist organization” (corresponding to the party).

He Mengxiong, who was selected to be a delegate to the Communist International of Youth, did indeed later try to visit Russia, but he was arrested and imprisoned with a group of thirteen Chinese from Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai in the Russo-Chinese border city of Manzhouli.⁸⁰ Guan Qian’s report relayed the details by quoting from a letter written by He from jail in Heilongjiang seeking help. According to this letter, because He was carrying a letter of introduction from Green, his plans to enter Russia were discovered and he was apprehended, but because the identity papers provided by the Communist International of Youth and Green’s letter to the Communist International of Youth congress

were sewn into Green's overcoat, he avoided arrest and, He felt, should have carried their papers as well. When the Beijing Socialist Youth Corps learned of He Mengxiong's arrest, it discussed ways to provide assistance on April 25, and it was decided that Li Dazhao, using connections in the government bureaucracy, would plan for his rescue, to which end funds were collected. Li's efforts seem to have borne fruit, for in May all thirteen youths, including He Mengxiong, were released, although they were unable to achieve their anticipated objective of visiting Russia.⁸¹

Particularly interesting in Guan Qian's report conveying the internal state of affairs amid the activities of anarchists and Communists in Beijing is the fact that Polevoy, who one would have expected to be working as Voitinsky's right-hand man, took part in the anarchists' meeting, helped them arrange travel to Russia, and provided financial assistance (reports of February 19 and February 28). By contrast, there is no trace of him participating in the activities of the Communists (namely, the Socialist Youth Corps). Was he completely oblivious to the anarchist-Bolshevik fissure becoming ever more prominent among Chinese? Or was he behaving in an arbitrary manner with the authority of Soviet Russia behind him, something that was noted at the time? The answer is probably both. Either way, though, in the eyes of the Russians, the anarchist-Bolshevik rivalry among a handful of radical Chinese intellectuals was no more than a tempest in a teacup. Drawing a sharp line between anarchists and Bolsheviks and aiding only the latter was a completely meaningless classification for Communists, who at this early date were but a drop in the bucket. The composition of the Beijing Communist Group—made up of Chinese Communists who were only just becoming conscious of a difference between anarchism and Bolshevism and people connected to Soviet Russia who tended not to make such rigorous distinctions—can be seen as well in the Guangzhou Communist Group, which we shall examine next.

Various theses have been proposed on the actual number of members involved in the Beijing Communist organization—anywhere from ten to fifteen⁸²—but these are all based on memoirs of subsequent years, and the numbers vary. As a written document from a relatively early period, we have "A Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party," which was compiled in 1927 based on information the Russian S. N. Naumov had learned. He describes the early organization in Beijing as follows:

Of the eight comrades in the organization, six were anarchists and two were Communists. The anarchists were led by Huang

Lingshuang, and the two Communists were Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao. . . . Three anarchists soon withdrew from the Beijing organization, but the addition of four new members—Deng Zhongxia, Luo Zhanglong, Liu Renjing, and the fourth person's name is unknown—strengthened the organization.⁸³

This source indicates that the membership of the organization was about eight. Central figures as Communists were Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao, who joined at the very start, and Deng Zhongxia (1894–1933), Liu Renjing (1902–1987), and Luo Zhanglong, all of whom joined somewhat later.⁸⁴

The Guangzhou Communist Group

After the group proposing the establishment of a Communist party formed in Shanghai, at about the same time as the formation of the Beijing Communist Group, organization of a Communist group in Guangzhou proceeded as well. Because Guangzhou had been a stronghold of anarchism ever since the era of Liu Shifu (1884–1915), organizing a Communist group followed a more complex path there than it did in either Shanghai or Beijing. Regarding the route to party formation in Guangzhou, we have the memoirs of some anarchists who participated in it for a time, but their accounts are filled with inconsistencies, making it extremely difficult to use them as a basis on which to build a coherent record.⁸⁵ We have no choice but to return to original documents.

Among the documents that convey something of this story, let us begin with the most dependable, “Report on the Guangzhou Communist Party” (Guangzhou Gongchandang de baogao).⁸⁶ This report, like the aforementioned “Report of the Beijing Communist Organization,” is in the form of a letter prepared for the first national congress of the CCP by the Guangzhou delegate (probably Chen Gongbo [1890–1946]) to it:

Last year [1920] there was no organization at all here, and we were unable to locate anyone in Guangzhou able to carry out organized actions. When we returned to Guangzhou, we began publishing the daily newspaper *Shehuizhuyizhe* (*Sotsialist* [The Socialist]), but we could not say *Shehuizhuyizhe* represented any sort of organization. It was a propaganda organ. . . . At the end of last year, B and Peslin came to Guangzhou, set up a Russian news

agency, and took steps toward organizing a labor union; they also published essays in the weekly *Laodong shijie* (*Mir truda* [World of Labor])). Comrade Huang Lingshuang brought them around to the revolutionary camp in Guangzhou, and they were thus introduced to the anarchists. While a Communist party was organized, it ought to be called an anarcho-Communist party rather than a Communist party. Of the nine members of its executive committee, seven are anarchists, with only Minor and Peslin being Communists. Because of discrepancies in viewpoint, Tan Pingshan, Tan Zhitang, and myself have refused to join the group. The newspaper they publish is called *Laodong shijie*, and they print about 3,000 copies of each issue. . . . Comrade Chen Duxiu came to Guangzhou in December. Among the others who came at the same time was Comrade B. They launched an utterly ferocious debate, arguing that we had to rid ourselves of anarchists. And, at that time, the anarchists withdrew from the party. Thus, we began to form a genuine Communist party, and we announced that the daily *Shehuizhuyizhe* would be our formal organ serving the party's propaganda activities. All told, there were nine members of the party, including Chen Duxiu, Minor, and Peslin.

This report describes in detail the formative process of the Communist organization in Guangzhou, although it does contain a number of mistranscriptions and altered names that require explanation. First, the newspaper *Shehuizhuyizhe* would, in fact, have been *Guangdong qunbao* (inaugurated October 20, 1920), published by Chen Gongbo, who had returned from Beijing University, and Tan Pingshan, among others. Its English name was *The Social*, which when translated into Russian became *Sotsialist*. By the same token, the newspaper *Laodong shijie*, said to have been published by the anarchists, is an error for *Laodongzhe* (inaugurated October 3, 1920) as a weekly magazine. Also, the report dates Chen Duxiu's coming to Guangzhou to January 1921, but it was actually in late December 1920.⁸⁷

As for personal names, the person named "B" who was said to have arrived in Guangzhou at the end of 1920 was Voitinsky. We have already noted that Voitinsky visited Guangzhou late in that year. He returned to Shanghai from Guangzhou on January 12, 1921. The person who accompanied "B" by the name of "Peslin" was actually L. A. Perlin.⁸⁸ Although little is known of Perlin's background or his relationship with Voitinsky, as far as one can tell from this report, he appears to have

visited Guangzhou at about the same time as both Voitinsky and Minor and was active in either the Rosta News Agency or the Dalta News Agency; with the guidance of Huang Lingshuang, who was known as an anarchist, he came into contact with local socialists. We know that Huang Lingshuang was in Guangzhou for a time in this period from an essay he contributed to *Laodongzhe*.⁸⁹ Also, Tan Zuyin, an anarchist active in Guangzhou at this time, relates in his memoirs that roughly in October 1920 a Russian named “Perkin” (Bojin) came to Guangzhou in the company of Huang Lingshuang.⁹⁰ Timing in this instance aside, this does correspond to the report’s mention of Perlin’s visit. Finally, “Minor,” similarly said to have been active in Guangzhou, was, as introduced in chapter 2, an alias used by Stoyanovich who was sent to Tianjin from Harbin at about the same time as Voitinsky’s party arrived in China. In roughly August 1920, Stoyanovich was sent by Voitinsky from Tianjin to Guangzhou to establish a Revolutionary Bureau.⁹¹ In late September, he sent a report from Guangzhou concerning the activities of the Cosmo News Agency,⁹² meaning that he was certainly in Guangzhou since September. Arriving in Guangzhou with his wife, Stoyanovich not only worked for the Rosta News Agency but also established a Russian-language school with the name “Minor” (*Minuo* in Chinese),⁹³ while looking for talent for the Revolutionary Bureau. Active early on in Guangzhou, Stoyanovich also had the title of representative of the Rosta News Agency, which meant that, even if not officially recognized, he was working as the “national representative” of Soviet Russia in Guangzhou.⁹⁴

Integrating the careers of these Russians with the “Report on the Guangzhou Communist Party,” the process of the formation of a Communist organization in Guangzhou can be sketched out in the following manner. From the fall of 1920, Stoyanovich, Perlin, and others who had gone to the city of Guangzhou on orders from Voitinsky first made contact with anarchists there (Qu Shengbai, Liang Bingxian, and Zheng Peigang, among others) at the wish of their introducer Huang Lingshuang; organized a “Communist party” organization primarily comprised of anarchists; and published a magazine entitled *Laodongzhe*. Tan Pingshan, Chen Gongbo, Tan Zhitang (1893–1953), and others who were then publishing *Guangdong qunbao*—every one of whom would later become a member of the CCP—would not join because of a difference of principles. Later, toward the end of 1920, when Chen Duxiu came to Guangzhou about the same time as Voitinsky, they became embroiled in a debate with the anarchists and launched the formation of a new

party organization, and soon thereafter the Communist organization took shape after having expelled the anarchists from their midst. Thus, while the Beijing Communist organization set off working together with the anarchists, in Guangzhou the “Communist party” was initially structured largely by anarchists and then was formed with the cooperation of Russians. Corresponding to this would be Tan Pingshan’s 1922 speech on the formation of the Socialist Youth Corps in Guangzhou:

[The Socialist Youth Corps] was established in Guangzhou, too, in August of the year before last [1920]. I was a member of it at the time. The Youth Corps that year, however, did not offer any sort of ideology and, without settling on any concrete plans, was unable to provide consistency for the views of its members. We thus announced in March or April of last year that we were disbanding.⁹⁵

We have here an organization set up temporarily in the latter part of 1920 and dissolving in early 1921. While this is, of course, in reference to the Socialist Youth Corps, it and the Communist party were effectively inseparable,⁹⁶ thus making what Tan says generally applicable to the Communist party as well.

Stoyanovich and Perlin, who came to Guangzhou to set up a Revolutionary Bureau, initially worked primarily with anarchists; putting aside the all too self-evident fact that they were altogether ignorant of the society there, these Russians did not feel from the start that they needed to strictly differentiate Chinese socialist trends. In addition, given local conditions in Guangzhou, they had to take into account the fact that Guangzhou was the greatest stronghold in the Chinese anarchist movement. The “Communist party” that was formed by the anarchists and Stoyanovich and Perlin was merely, in the eyes of Communist Chen Gongbo, better “called an anarcho-Communist party than a Communist party.” And, although it soon thereafter dissolved, somehow or other, it had an “executive committee” and published a magazine, making its activities worthy of investigation.

Few documents exist on the work of this anarchist-linked “Communist party” aside from its magazine, *Laodongzhe*. However, the leaflets they distributed, the simple set of regulations of the Socialist Youth Corps affiliated with them, and the minutes from meetings of the Youth Corps remain extant, enabling us to gain insight into their movements. Starting with their leaflets, we know from an article in *Guangzhou*

chenbao, a daily newspaper published in Guangzhou, that on December 23, 1920, leaflets printed under the name of the Guangzhou Branch of the Communist Party (Gongchandang Guangzhou bu) were distributed within the city of Guangzhou.⁹⁷ Their content extolled the “anarcho-Communism” advocated by Bakunin, Proudhon, and Kropotkin as the “purest, most harmonious, and most just,” and it urged people to rise up because the moment for “social revolution” conforming to this ideology had arrived. They mention the “collectivist group” (*jichan-zhuyipai*) of Marx and others, but only as one group among various socialist theories, with the advocacy of anarchism clearly at the forefront. This anarchist trend can be seen in various editorials published in *Laodongzhe* as well. Chen Gongbo’s note in his report that it was better “called an anarcho-Communist party than a Communist party” was an effective evaluation of this trend. Its activities were carried out under the name of the Guangzhou Branch of the Communist Party.

About the same time, the rules of the Guangzhou Socialist Youth Corps were carried in *Guangzhou chenbao*.⁹⁸ These rules extolled the principles of the group as “study of socialism and implementation of social reform,” and they fixed the protocol for the group. It is worthy of note, though, that it gave as the contact information “Shilong of the Chenguang Editorial Department of the *Chenbao* Office, Guangzhou.” Shilong refers to Zhao Shilong (dates unknown), a well-known anarchist at the time. Taking into consideration the fact that the aforementioned leaflets with appeals from the Guangzhou Branch of the Communist Party were also introduced in full in the pages of *Guangzhou chenbao*, we may conjecture that this same newspaper office was in fact the base of operations for this anarchist-tinged “Communist party.” *Guangzhou chenbao* was simultaneously the organ of the Guomindang and a champion of anarchism.⁹⁹ Memoirs by people thought to have been members of this anarchist-tinged “Communist party” make no mention whatsoever of the nature of their relationship with Zhao Shilong, but together with the unfolding of the “anarchist–Bolshevik” dispute between Chen Duxiu and Qu Shengbai in February and March 1921, Zhao’s *Guangzhou chenbao* issued a ferocious attack on Chen (described below), leading to the conclusion that Zhao Shilong, for one, was a member of this anarchistic “Communist party.”

The rules of the Socialist Youth Corps of Guangzhou appeared in *Guangdong qunbao* in January 1921.¹⁰⁰ They were effectively the same in content as those carried in *Guangzhou chenbao*. According to the appended explanation, though, the Guangzhou Corps had been set up

“two months earlier,” meaning that it was formed in November of the previous year. Tan Pingshan’s speech, cited above, noted that it was formed in August, but given how close the times are, we should probably adopt the view expressed in *Guangdong qunbao* (namely, the later date of November 1920). Thus, the Guangzhou Branch of the Communist Party—that is, the anarchist-laden “Communist party”—was formed about the same time.

The general contours of the meeting of the Guangzhou Socialist Youth Corps, the majority of whose membership was comprised of anarchists, was described in part in an essay by Boris Shumyatsky, “*Iunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzor otchetov o rabote)*” (“The Revolutionary Movement of Youth in China, Review of Reports on Work”), which was carried in a Russian-language journal in Irkutsk.¹⁰¹ As this piece reports, at the meeting of the Socialist Youth Corps in Guangzhou on December 5, 1920, progress was made on labor organizing in Foshan and Guangzhou, and the sixth issue of *Laodongzhe* was published, but in order to increase the number of copies printed from the seventh issue to 4,000 and to provide reference works to members, a library was being planned. The names of two Chinese given in Russian—Guan’guan’ and Chzhan De—cannot be identified, but issue 6 of the journal *Laodongzhe* was indeed published on December 5 at the same time as the meeting. We can thus ascertain that Shumyatsky’s essay was based on appropriate records. Although Tan Pingshan’s speech noted that there appeared to be little activity evident within the Youth Corps, the anarchists who had early on been looking for a way to forge a bond with laborers were moving their base of operations to the Socialist Youth Corps and had launched an initiative all its own.

Summarizing what we have seen thus far, the Guangzhou “Communist Party” formed by anarchists with prompting from Stoyanovich and Perlin developed its own activities centering on propaganda work from roughly November to December 1920. This “Communist Party,” which at first glance was oddly the sole terrain of anarchists, underwent a complete transformation, as relayed in Chen Gongbo’s “Report on the Guangzhou Communist Party,” after Chen Duxiu traveled to Guangzhou in late 1920. Chen’s visit to Guangzhou was greeted by the chairman of the Guangdong Educational Committee, the base for educational reform in Guangdong, under Chen Jiongmeng (Guangdong governor and military governor) of the Guomindang, who had recovered Guangdong in the fall of 1920.¹⁰² To a certain extent, the formation of the Communist Party in Shanghai was on track, and for Chen Duxiu, who was

looking for an arena in which to extend his influence, the policies of Chen Jiongmeng, which he deemed “progressive” and “enlightened,” embodied a certain time period. According to Zhang Guotao’s memoirs, upon taking up his task in Guangzhou, Chen Duxiu sent letters to Communist groups in various places seeking their opinions. Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao in Beijing approved of his spreading the new culture and new ideology of socialism to Guangdong and his being able to establish a Communist organization there.¹⁰³

After arriving in Guangzhou, Chen Duxiu energetically threw himself into giving speeches and other activities. Particularly well known among them was his talk entitled “Critique of Socialism” (“Shehuizhuyi piping”), given at the School of Law and Government on January 16, 1921. While introducing a number of patterns of socialism, his speech sharply criticized both anarchism and the “national socialism” (*guojia shehuizhuyi*) of the German Social-Democratic Party, and he expressed maximum praise for the Bolshevism of Soviet Russia. Two days later, his main points were carried in *Guangdong qunbao*,¹⁰⁴ and Qu Shengbai, the effective representative of the anarchists in Guangdong and a member of the anarchist-oriented “Communist party,” issued a stinging rebuttal. Thus began the “anarchist dispute” of 1921.

In his earlier essay, “Discussing Politics” of May 1920, Chen had criticized Chinese anarchism for being “fundamentally opposed to politics.” In response, rebuttals against the Soviet Russian dictatorship were forthcoming from Zhu Qianzhi, Huang Lingshuang, and Zheng Xianzong (Taipu), among others, who had gained renown as anarchists (all published in *Xin qingnian*). The latent opposition between anarchists and Bolsheviks, starting with Chen’s “Critique of Socialism,” became manifest via the give and take of six public letters given by Qu Shengbai and Chen Duxiu between January and April.¹⁰⁵ With Chen’s recognition that Qu “was not some base . . . Chinese-style anarchist,” this debate used emotional commentary in an effort to be restrained, but it had the contrary result, spawning an even sharper divide over basic principles between anarchists and Bolsheviks. Thus, while they actively approved of a centralized organization and leadership in the social reform movement, the basic opposition was over the ultimate principles that the anarchists extolled of “freedom of organization” and “freedom of coordination.”

We do not have the space to go into the detailed content of the Chen-Qu debate that extended to over 25,000 characters,¹⁰⁶ but in terms of the Communist organization in Guangzhou, this “anarchist

dispute” was nothing short of the “development of a ferocious debate,” as noted in the “Report on the Guangzhou Communist Party,” that “I believe we shall have to be rid of the anarchists.”

Precisely when, then, did the anarchists leave the Communist organization in Guangzhou, denoting what Chen Gongbo had referred to as “forming a genuine Communist party”? Chen’s report makes no explicit mention of when, but from peripheral materials we can estimate that it took place between February and March 1921. The slanderous battle between the anarchists and Chen Duxiu’s group that developed in the pages of *Guangzhou chenbao* and *Guangdong qunbao* in early March offers one indication. As noted above, *Guangzhou chenbao* was one of the bases of the local anarchists, and suddenly on March 2, it commenced a personal attack on Chen Duxiu’s group (Chen’s people had tried to privatize the public school and even to commandeer the *Guangzhou chenbao*). In response, Chen Duxiu, Chen Gongbo, Shen Xuanlu, Yuan Zhenying, and others targeted for criticism launched a vehement rebuttal, including an exposé of the private life of Zhao Shilong of *Guangzhou chenbao* in the pages of *Guangdong qunbao* over the next two days.¹⁰⁷ The give and take between the two sides in the midst of the “anarchist dispute” revealed not only a theoretical dimension to the anarchist–Bolshevik antagonism but also an escalation of the emotional level.

The revival of the anarchist journal *Minsheng* effectively embodied a decisive anarchist–Bolshevik break. Starting in 1916, *Minsheng* had been on hiatus, but on March 15, 1921, Qu Shengbai, Liang Lingxian, and Zheng Peigang, among others, revived it in Guangzhou.¹⁰⁸ Whether it was the time of reissue or the place, fully two-thirds of the editorials of the revived *Minsheng* were critiques of Marxism and Bolshevism.¹⁰⁹ This would leave no room for doubt that the revival of *Minsheng* was effected following the rift between anarchists and Bolsheviks in Guangzhou—namely, the departure of the anarchists from the party organization. *Laodongzhe*, the journal published with Russian financial support by the anarchist-oriented “Communist party,” ceased publication in January of that year, and with their decisive break with Chen Duxiu and his colleagues, the anarchists once again returned to their roots in *Minsheng* that went back to Liu Shifu. This point would provide support for the notion that the formation of a “genuine Communist party” under the leadership of Chen Duxiu took place roughly in February or March 1921.

We have memoir literature on the anarchist–Bolshevik split that reveals that Chen Duxiu wished until the very end to forge a united front

and avoid a rift.¹¹⁰ In a letter from Guangzhou sent to the anarchist group in Beijing at the time, it is claimed that Chen brazenly coerced the Guangzhou anarchists who advocated cooperation to thoroughly follow “centralization” under his faction.¹¹¹ From the essays he wrote at about this time, Chen’s inclination to sense in the Chinese anarchists’ disposition “laziness, self-indulgence, vapidness, and dereliction of duty” cast an immense shadow.¹¹² In his report, Chen Gongbo had stated concerning the membership of the “genuine Communist party” of Guangzhou, formed after the anarchist–Bolshevik split, that “all told there were nine members, . . . including Chen Duxiu, Minor, and Peslin.” As for the remaining six, three names given in the report—Tan Pingshan, Chen Gongbo, and Tan Zhitang—were all of Guangdong origins, while Yuan Zhenying, Shen Xuanlu, and Li Ji (1894–1967) were all connected to the Shanghai Communist Group and had come to Guangzhou, it appears, at about the same as Chen Duxiu.

After this reshuffling, the Guangzhou Communist organization was not conspicuously active in efforts to come to grips with the labor movement and thus be rid of the anarchists who had experience with the labor movement, but in the propaganda and publication fields, it was highly active in pushing the movement forward. *Guangdong qunbao*, effectively their “formal organ,” from the very beginning of 1921 began to reprint articles from the Shanghai journal *Gongchandang* (Communist Party) and to introduce articles from Soviet Russia in increasing numbers, and this acted to solidify the position of influential propaganda for the Communists in the south. Their leader, Chen Duxiu, remained active in Guangzhou through September 1921, while exposed to criticism from the anarchists and to slanderous attacks from conservatives opposed to the educational reform in Guangzhou that he was advancing.

Communist Groups in Wuhan, Changsha, and Jinan

Wuhan, Changsha, and Jinan were cities that sent delegates to the first national congress of the CCP, and they certainly had Communist groups to some extent prior to this. Their activities, beginning with encouragement from Chen Duxiu and others, were on a smaller scale than in Shanghai, Beijing, or Guangzhou, and as one would expect, extant materials are few and far between. Also, relations between the Party

and the Socialist Youth Corps were initially harmonious as in Shanghai, Beijing, and Guangzhou, but in the more regional cities, there are numerous vestiges solely of the Youth Corps' activities. It is doubtful how far the clear organizational scope of the Youth Corps actually went. To capture this point, we have studies, for example, illustrating how Changsha had a Socialist Youth Corps prior to the first national congress of the CCP but no "Communist group" or any organization linked to a Party.¹¹³ To be sure, if we could strictly distinguish organizations to shed light on subsequent Party–Youth Corps relations, perhaps such an argument could be made. If we consider the Communist Group (even if it was only three or four people) early on when the contours and names of the Party and Youth Corps were vague but harmoniously linked, investigating whether it was a Party or a Youth Corps that existed in Changsha would have scarcely any meaning at all. Thus, even if the term used in materials on the Communist groupings in Wuhan and Changsha was *Corps* (*tuan*), it would surely have the same meaning as *Party* (*dang*).

WUHAN. The Communist organization in Wuhan was formed with encouragement from Shanghai around the fall of 1920. It is believed that Li Hanjun in Shanghai approached his old friend Dong Biwu about using his personal connections, and it is also believed that Liu Bochui (d. 1928), returning to Wuhan from Guangdong, stopped in Shanghai en route, joined the Party there, and was encouraged to carry on the work in Wuhan. The bases for these beliefs are both memoirs written afterward,¹¹⁴ although there is now no way to verify them. Also, as we noted in chapter 2, we have the memoirs of the Soviet Russian emissary Mamaev, who visited Wuhan for a short period in the fall of 1920,¹¹⁵ but there are no written sources substantiating this work, making its veracity unclear.

We can see from contemporaneous Russian-language materials that in November 1920, a Communist organization was formed in Wuhan (Wuchang). Included in the aforementioned work by B. Shumyatsky, "Tunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzor otchetov o rabote)," are the minutes of the founding meeting of the Socialist Youth Corps of Wuhan as well as a number of meetings that followed it. According to the record of proceedings introduced by Shumyatsky, the meeting at which the Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps was established convened on November 7 and was attended by eighteen people. It started with speeches by "Lyuchui" (Liu Bochui) and "Dun" (Dong Biwu), and then "Bo" (Bao Huiseng) announced the rules of the Youth Group:

1. Name: Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps (Ukhan'skaia Kruzhok Sotsialisticheskoi Molodezhi)
2. Group's objectives: Study of socialism and realization of socialist ideals
3. Meetings of the Group to be called weekly
4. Anyone may become a member if one present member recommends him
5. Temporary location of the Socialist Youth Corps: Wuchang

The minutes indicate that Liu Bochui, Zhang Guoen (1880–1940), Dong Biwu, Bao Huiseng, and Zheng Kaiqing (1888–1966), among others, proposed the creation the Socialist Youth Corps of Wuhan with the task of “studying scientific theories, realizing liberty and equality, eliminating capitalists, and removing all obstacles of any sort that may block the way to expanding our influence.” Liu Bochui noted that “put most simply, the task before us in forming this group is the realization of socialism.” A look through all of the speeches delivered at the meeting reveals that no one explained what was meant by “socialism.” For example, in his own speech, Dong Biwu said:

From the point in time when the Great War ended, major changes began to emerge in the scientific fields. . . . There was a constant flow of new ideas coming toward us. Today, what sort of action is incumbent upon us? Needless to say, it is to join the movement bringing about a new civilization to the world. The duty of Chinese intellectuals in particular is to join in with this movement.

Just as Isaac Newton and Christopher Columbus made discoveries, one had to acknowledge, according to Dong, the scientific correctness of socialism. To break down educational circles in Hubei that were mired in “loyalty and filiality,” Bao Huiseng in his own speech claimed that they “had to concentrate all energies on the study of socialism.” In later years, Dong and Bao looked back at the “socialism” of that era as something extremely vague.¹¹⁶ What is conveyed throughout these speeches recorded in the minutes is a call for “socialism” by pointing to the destruction of the old society and sweeping social reform, an intellectual stance at the time that affirmed this as scientific truth. For these men, the success of the Russian Revolution provided scientific support for the truthfulness of socialism, just like Newton’s discovery of the law of gravity.

Gradually, the general contours of Marxism were introduced, however, and efforts were made to understand the Russian Revolution as linked to Marxism. At the second and third meeting of the Youth Corps, convened on November 14 and 21, speeches were made explaining the causes of workers' poverty while invoking the theory of surplus value, and explanations were forthcoming about the history of the Bolsheviks with charts of the changes in political parties in Russia. Shumyatsky, who introduced all this, had something of a condescending view of the theoretical level of "Communists" in the distant Far East, purposefully adding question marks and exclamation points at places in his speech explaining, for example, the causes of worker impoverishment using surplus value theory and advocating at the same time British-style labor union organizations. While indicating a superior sensibility of Bolshevik leadership that had succeeded in the revolution, he seems to have been genuinely surprised at the understanding of "socialism" in this distant, regional city in China.

At a meeting of the Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps, he repeatedly urged that they change their intellectual elite consciousness and attempt to draw nearer to "workers." A speech given by Bao Huiseng at the seventh meeting of the group is interesting as an indication of what solidarity between intellectuals and "workers" meant to them. As Bao put it, "Whether in school or in the family, oneself and one's employees must be treated as equals. All work that can be accomplished without the help of others must be carried out by oneself alone and without relying on anyone else."

The initial image of the term *worker* (*laodongzhe*) held by Chinese intellectuals at this time would have been the domestic servants in the homes of most intellectuals and the rickshaw pullers with whom they often would have come into contact. Bao Huiseng's speech reflects this image of a "worker" from that era. To be sure, the fact that "those who work with their minds rule others and those who perform physical labor are ruled by others" had long been a "universally recognized principle" (*Mencius* 3.1.4.6) in Chinese intellectual society. When they called for the "sanctity of labor," the antithesis of this perspective, they were expressing an awareness more of "those who performed physical labor" near them than "workers" in a factory, for instance; and the transformation of their own consciousness as "those who worked with their minds" was clearly taken to be solidarity with such laborers. In this sense, this marks a revolutionary change in consciousness. Ever since the anarchists had been advocating as a philosophy of life "not

using servants” and “not riding in rickshaws and sedan chairs,”¹¹⁷ abstemious practice had captured the minds of young people who were intent on the fundamental reform of society.

This discovery of “workers” rapidly led to approaching actual factory workers. With the introduction from a man employed as an engineer, on December 19, the Wuhan Youth Corps (and Bao Huiseng) carried out an inspection of the Yangzi Machine Tool Factory in Wuhan, thus taking the first step in approaching factory laborers. In fact, this inspection was simply an interview with the engineer at the factory, but considering the distance in trust between intellectuals and factory workers at the time, it was a commemorative event insofar as the former stepped inside an actual factory.¹¹⁸

Memoirs of those connected to the Communist group in Wuhan generally consider the formation of this group to have taken place in the fall of 1920. Looking over all the minutes describing the activities of the Socialist Youth Corps, it appears to have been founded around November, and the principal figures in it—Liu Bochui, Dong Biwu, Zhang Guoen, Bao Huiseng, and Zheng Kaiqing—do not appear in the minutes, although we do find the name of Chen Tanqiu (1896–1943), later the Wuhan representative who attended the first national congress of the CCP. In his memoirs, Bao Huiseng recounts that when the Wuhan organization was formed, 100 to 200 yuan were supplied by the “provisional center” in Shanghai, and two or three months after the branch was formed, it received 200 yuan monthly from Shanghai for living expenses, all funds contributed by the Comintern.¹¹⁹ His is the only record that mentions the issue of funding the local Communist group. Because it is a memoir, it is impossible to verify concrete numbers, but we can still see that there was a certain degree of contact between the Wuhan organization and Shanghai.

CHANGSHA. Like Wuhan, few documents exist on the Communist Group in Changsha in which the term *party* (*dang*) appears. We have only scattered references to a “Socialist Youth Corps.”

Mao Zedong, the central figure in the Changsha Communist Group, visited Shanghai from May to June 1920 and met Chen Duxiu. According to Mao’s memory, “I had discussed with Chen, on my second trip to Shanghai, the Marxist works that I had read, and Chen’s own assertions of belief had deeply impressed me at what was probably a critical period of my life.”¹²⁰ As for the “Marxist works” Mao had read, he mentions in his interviews with Edgar Snow “the *Communist Manifesto* translated by Ch’en Wangdao; *Class Struggle* by Kautsky; and a *History of*

Socialism by Kirkup.”¹²¹ At the time of his trip to Shanghai, these three books had not as yet all been published, and for that matter, there were still scarcely any single volumes concerned with socialism in print. Thus, at the time of his meeting with Chen, Mao probably exchanged views with Chen on the basis of articles and essays in newspapers and magazines he had read by that point.

In terms of time frame, at the time of his meeting with Chen, there appears to have been no concrete mention of the formation of the Communist Party. Mao returned to Changsha in July, and from summer through autumn, he worked there with the Hunanese independence movement. While engaged in cultural efforts to establish the Culture Book Society (Wenhua shushe) and the Russia Research Group (Eluosi yanjiuhui), he kept up his contacts with Chen Duxiu and others in Shanghai. Among the works handled by the Culture Book Society (in October 1920) were two journals of the Shanghai Communist Group: *Xin qingnian* (over 150 copies) and *Laodong jie* (130 copies); these numbers of copies sold on commission far exceeded any other printed works.¹²² As agent for these journals, Mao was able to keep up periodic contact with Chen and others in Shanghai.

The diary of Zhang Wenliang, a friend of Mao's, notes that Mao sent Zhang ten copies of the rules of the Socialist Youth Corps on November 17 and that he relied on him to pass them out to the appropriate comrades; on November 27, he sent Zhang nine copies of the magazine *Gongchandang* published in Shanghai.¹²³ Working on commission in these instances as well, Mao had a communications window to the Shanghai Communist Group. In January of the following year, a letter from Mao to Cai Hesun (1895–1931) reported, “Chen Zhongfu [Duxiu] and others have already begun organizing the party. As for published material, they are putting out *Gongchandang* in Shanghai. I think you, too, can get a copy; do not balk at the four characters ‘qizhi xianming’ [our clear stand] (the declaration is the work of Zhongfu).”¹²⁴ Clearly he was aware of developments in the formation of the Communist Party in Shanghai and was sympathetic.

As is evident from Zhang Wenliang's diary, regulations for the Socialist Youth Corps were sent to Mao Zedong in November 1920. Zhang noted that the “objectives” of the Group were “study and effecting social reform.” In fact, this language is exactly the same as that of the Guangzhou and Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps. It would thus seem that a letter must have been sent out to Communist Groups here and there with a directive encouraging all to form Socialist Youth Corps. Initially,

Mao seemed to have sought a visit from Chen Duxiu to Changsha and then to convene a conference at which the Group was established; in the December 2 entry in Zhang's diary, it reads, "Zedong arrived, and he said . . . the Youth Corps will await the arrival of Zhongfu to convene a founding meeting. I have been ordered to find a good number of true comrades." Ultimately, though, Chen's trip to Hunan never materialized, and at a meeting of the "New People's Study Association" (an organization founded in April 1918 by Mao and others) on January 3, 1921, a proposal was passed to establish the Youth Corps, and on January 13, its founding meeting was convened.¹²⁵

Beyond those cited above, we know of no original documents on the process leading to the establishment of the Changsha Communist Group, although clearly Mao Zedong's individual role was enormous. As for the organization of a "Party," as can be seen from Mao's letter to Cai Hesen, Mao saw himself as a link to the party organization in Shanghai, although the extent to which the Communist group in Changsha was organized remains unclear. When Cai Hesen wrote to Mao from France in August–September 1920 appealing for the need to establish a "Communist party,"¹²⁶ he noted the need to maintain secrecy, and Mao may accordingly have been active in secret. As a Party member from the early period in Changsha, we should also mention (in addition to Mao) Peng Huang (1896–1921) and He Shuheng (1876–1935), who attended the first national congress of the CCP.¹²⁷ In any event, rather than dubbing it a group or an organization, the Changsha Communists seem to more closely resemble a small band of two or three dedicated sympathizers who were particularly close to Mao Zedong.

JINAN. Two men, Wang Jinmei (1898–1925) and Deng Enming (1901–1931), attended the first national congress of the CCP from Jinan. As for original materials recording what sort of Communist organization existed prior to this in Jinan or when it was founded, we unfortunately have nothing whatsoever. We know somewhat better the prevailing situation in Wuhan and Changsha because we have the memoirs of interested parties, but in the case of Jinan, both Wang Jinmei and Deng Enming died young, nothing resembling a memoir remains extant, and we only have the reminiscences of people with whom they had ties at the time. Of all the Communist Groups known to have existed domestically, the Jinan Group is thus the most difficult to get a handle on. Research to date on the Jinan Communist Group (or Shandong Communist Group) has virtually all been based on indirect memoir materials.¹²⁸ Scattered through these memoirs is information

that is quickly dispelled by a bit of research,¹²⁹ making it difficult to reconstruct the facts no matter how much “data” we are able to amass.

At present we can confirm only two members of the Jinan Communist organization prior to the first national congress of the CCP: Wang Jinmei, a student at the Number One Shandong Provincial Normal School, and Deng Enming, a student at the Number One Shandong Provincial Middle School.¹³⁰ As for how they came into contact with the Shanghai Communist Group, we have only one source, the reminiscence of Li Da who was in Shanghai at the time:

[The Shanghai Communist Group] recommended Chen Duxiu to be secretary, and in a letter encouraged socialist elements in various locales to organize branches. . . . In a letter . . . Chen asked Li Dazhao to organize in Beiping [Beijing] and Wang Leping to organize in Jinan (Wang did not himself participate but introduced three students from the Number Five Jinan Middle School [*sic*] and had them organize).¹³¹

Wang Leping (1884–1930), whom Chen Duxiu asked to organize in Jinan, was well known as a member of the Shandong provincial assembly, as affiliated with the Guomindang, and as a leader active during the May Fourth period in the local Shandong movement. He had in October 1919 established the Qi-Lu News Agency, which acted as an agency for progressive publications at various sites.¹³² It seems to have been linked to Chen Duxiu’s New Youth Agency, as advertisements of the Qi-Lu News Agency were carried in *Xin qingnian*,¹³³ and it became the distributor of *Xin qingnian* in Jinan.¹³⁴ Also, Wang Leping and Wang Jinmei were from the same local area and may even have been distant relations. Given such a close relationship with *Xin qingnian*, it seems entirely conceivable that Chen Duxiu would have asked Wang Leping to assemble a Communist organization in Jinan. For some reason, Wang did not himself participate directly in the launch of a Jinan Communist organization, but as we can see in the case of Changsha, Chen’s influence and popularity, as well as his personal connections, seem to have contributed greatly to the formation of Communist Groups in many places in China.

In November 1920, Wang Jinmei and others formed “Encourage the New Learning Society” with the objective of “studying scientific principles and promoting culture,” and they launched the group’s journal, *Lixin* (Encourage the New).¹³⁵ It was effectively the only real activity

carried out by the Jinan Communist Group. Many of the articles in *Lixin*, however, concerned reform of education in Shandong, family questions, and women's issues, with no trace of particularly Marxist or socialist study moving forward. And we find no evidence of activities leading toward the formation of a Socialist Youth Corps as in Changsha, Hunan. In sum, then, it might be more appropriate to say that Wang Jinmei and Deng Enming attended the first national congress of the CCP as men of Jinan with ties to the Shanghai Communist Group rather than that they appeared at the congress as representatives of the Jinan "organization."

THE FORMATION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY:
"CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO"
AND "REPORT TO THE COMINTERN"

*Intelligence on China at the Far Eastern Secretariat of the
Executive Committee of the Comintern (Irkutsk)*

As we saw in the previous section, the formation of the Chinese Communist Party with its base in Shanghai moved ahead tentatively in the latter half of 1920; from October of that year until early the next, in Beijing, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Changsha, and Jinan—to differing degrees—Communists responding to the call came together, with varying levels of understanding of Marxism. Communists from various places in China and representatives of sympathizers from among the students in Japan later greeted the arrival of Comintern delegates, met in Shanghai in July 1921, and celebrated the first national congress of the CCP. In the interim, from late 1920 through the first half of 1921—the period corresponding to the gap between the return to Russia of Voitinsky, who guided the group advocating a Communist party in Shanghai, and the arrival in China of his successor as Comintern representative, Maring, in June 1921—we have no reliable reports. The number of original Chinese documents of any kind is sufficiently small that we have here a sort of "blank era." After Voitinsky left China, activities toward the formation of the Chinese Communist Party were underfunded and, as we have seen, ceased for a time, but in the midst of this situation there was some sort of development leading toward the formation of the Party, as can easily be imagined.

For documents on this "blank era," we have the "Zhongguo Gongchandang xuanyan" ("Chinese Communist Party Manifesto"), which may

be called the earliest public document of the CCP. After World War I, Communist parties in many countries, born one after the next under the influence of Soviet Russia, framed their own national “Communist Manifestos” in imitation of the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels to state clearly the inevitability of their birth and the objectives of their actions. The “Zhongguo Gongchandang xuanyan” was the Chinese version of this. However, not only does the Chinese Manifesto as we have it in Chinese now have the distinctive trait of being translated from an English original, but it remains a document shrouded in mystery because we do not know when or where it was originally composed, nor anything of its background.

One of the mysteries of this “blank era” is the meeting said to have convened in March 1921, before the first national congress in July, to liquidate ties with the anarchists, popularly known as the “March meeting of the CCP.” The existence of this “March meeting” was mentioned in a report that Zhang Tailei, the first Chinese Communist Party member to visit Russia, wrote and sent to the third Comintern congress, but at present there is no accepted thesis on whether the meeting actually transpired or not. Thus, the first public document and report of the CCP is filled with mystery.

In this section, I would like to focus on these mysteries and offer my own thesis concerning the era of the formal founding of the Chinese Communist Party. To that end, we need first to look at the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Irkutsk and its publications, because the mysterious documents were composed not in China but in Irkutsk. The period shortly after Voitinsky departed from China, if we can shift our focus, overlaps with the period (January 1921) when the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern was established in Irkutsk as a result of the unification one way or another of Soviet Russian and Comintern operations in China. The Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk was to lead the Communist movement in China at this time. What level of intelligence on conditions in China did it have?

There are a number of confusing points about the personnel structure of the Far Eastern Secretariat, established in January 1921, and the period in which these individuals took up their posts, but the central figure initially was clearly Boris Z. Shumyatsky (1886–1938), Comintern representative for the Far East. Others included assistant representatives Minsker, Bukaty, Slepak, Bogritsky, and Gapon;¹³⁶ at the start, there were no Chinese (Zhang Tailei would later join it). In February



FIGURE 3.1 Bulletin of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern

1921, the Far Eastern Secretariat began publishing *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* (Bulletin of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern),¹³⁷ and around May of that year it launched *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* (Peoples of the Far East).¹³⁸ From articles in these two serials, we can catch a glimpse of something of the Chinese intelligence acquired by the Far Eastern Secretariat. The former is a rather better source and is scarcely ever used in scholarship on the history of the formation of the CCP.

To get a sense of the time lag and the extent to which CCP-related materials published in China reached Irkutsk, let us first take a look at two pieces that appeared in the first issue of *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern*: V. Vlasovskii, “Zabastovochnoie dvizheniie v Kitaie (Obzor Kitaiskoi rabochei pressy)” (“The Strike Movement in China, Overview from the Chinese Labor Press”), and A Il'ich, “Bibliografiia (Obzor izdanii Kitaiskoi kompartii)” (“Bibliography, Overview of Chinese Communist Party Publications”). The former described a number of back issues on hand of Chinese labor journals published between July and December 1920, among them quoting from and introducing essays from issues of *Laodong jie*.¹³⁹ A report dated December 1920 of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the forerunner of the Far Eastern Secretariat,¹⁴⁰ conveyed the news that journals, including *Laodong jie*, and pamphlets had been sent by Voitinsky in Shanghai. We can thus see that at the beginning of 1921, publications through December 1920 of the group in Shanghai planning to form the CCP had reached Irkutsk.

By the same token, the latter piece—in addition to the Chinese translation of the *Communist Manifesto* (which this essay took erroneously to have been published in Beijing)—mentioned and summarized the pamphlet *Suweiai Eluosi* (Soviet Russia) and the periodicals *Gongchandang* and *Laodong jie*, both from Shanghai, as well as *Laodong yin* from Beijing. Of these publications, it not only offered bibliographic information on the pamphlet *Suweiai Eluosi* (published in Beijing in 1920, thirty-one pages, with a portrait of Lenin), but also included considerable detail in content. Although this pamphlet is completely unknown among Chinese materials (no copies of it remain extant), judging from the summary given in this essay, it appears to be an edited version of articles that appeared in the “Russian studies” column of *Xin qingnian*. The documentary source for the “Russian studies” column, as we found in chapter 1, was the American publication *Soviet Russia*, and when

turned into a pamphlet, it seems to have acquired the same title. As for the serial publications, although *Laodongzhe*, as we saw in the previous section, was published by a group of anarchists in Guangzhou before the anarchist-Bolshevik split, in this essay it is interestingly recognized unmistakably as a Communist publication. The essay notes with respect to journals, including *Gongchandang*, that it covers through December 1920, and we can see that in general these serial publications would be delivered to Irkutsk every one or two months, as was the case in “Zabastovochnoie dvizheniie v Kitaie.” This then is the time it took for people and things to be transported between Irkutsk and Shanghai.

The same issue of *Biulleteni* carried an essay entitled “Rabochiie v Kitaie” (“Laborers in China”), and this piece was reprinted in the English-language, Shanghai newspaper *North China Daily News*. This, too, was probably something that Voitinsky, working as a putative “journalist,” sent to them, along with other Chinese Communist publications.

In addition, three letters from Chinese comrades were carried in the same issue of *Biulleteni*: from Qu Qiubai, Yu Songhua, and Yan Sion’. Qu Qiubai (1899–1936) and Yu Songhua (1893–1947) were both journalists at the time who had visited Soviet Russia as resident correspondents, respectively, for *Chenbao* of Beijing and *Shishi xinbao* of Shanghai. Qu Qiubai would later become a leading figure in the CCP, but in this period, he was still not directly taking part in the Communist movement in China. Qu’s letter was entitled “The Situation of Chinese Laborers and Their Hopes for Russia”; Yu Songhua’s (dated January 29, 1921) was entitled “Why I Came to Soviet Russia.”¹⁴¹ They had left Beijing on October 16, 1920; entered Russia together with diplomats of the Beijing government via Harbin, Manzhouli, and Chita; and arrived in Irkutsk on January 7, 1921; two days later, on January 9, they left Irkutsk and reached Moscow on January 25.¹⁴² Given the path they took, Yu’s letter would have been written after they arrived in Moscow and by some route been conveyed to Irkutsk, where it was then published in *Biulleteni*. Although Qu’s letter bore no date, it is difficult to imagine that he composed it in the two or three days they spent in Irkutsk; rather, it was probably either sent, as with Yu’s, after reaching Moscow or in the roughly half month they spent en route to Chita and from there sent on to Irkutsk.

After a lengthy description of the prevailing situation in Chinese society, Qu Qiubai’s piece mentions the direction being taken by the socialist movement. He cited as newspapers and magazines that worked to introduce socialist theory *Chenbao*, *Shishi xinbao*, *Xin qingnian*, and

Jiefang yu gaizao (Liberation and Reform). In the end, he concludes, “Recently a socialist youth party (*Partiia sotsialisticheskoi molodezhi*) was formed in Shanghai. Although it has few members, the formation of a party organization is the germ of a socialist movement in China.” Before arriving in Russia, Qu had been a student at the government Russian-language school in Beijing and wrote many essays, primarily in the Beijing journal *Xin shehui* (New Society), appealing for a resolution to social issues. Also, the Humanitarian Society to which he belonged joined the group that led to the formation of the “Reform Alliance” in August 1920, which was in fact the Socialist Youth Corps (it is unclear if Qu himself attended the committee meeting that proposed this). Thus, we can see to a certain extent the movement of the Socialist Youth Corps, even though he was not a member of the Communist Group.

Yu Songhua’s letter, in which he called himself a “socialist,” described industry in China and the conditions of labor, and he expressed his hopes for the Russian Revolution, but he included no direct information concerning the socialist movement in China. The letter from Yan-Sion’, entitled “The Labor Issue in China,” used statistical tables to explain the circumstances in which Chinese laborers found themselves.¹⁴³ This letter was dated January 1920 and was sent from Nanjing; while Yan-Sion’ was working under the title of a journalist, he was not someone connected to the Communist Group, and we unfortunately do not know his identity. Looking over the full run of *Biulleteni*, these three letters are the only ones submitted by Chinese, and there are no contributions from anyone tied to the Communist Group. Even in the report submitted by Voitinsky in Shanghai directly to Irkutsk, there is only one letter through the end of 1920.¹⁴⁴ Thus, it appears that the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk published the inaugural issue of *Biulleteni*, seeking any information on China that was available, including essays by Chinese journalists.

The second issue of *Biulleteni*, published about a month later and dated March 20, 1921, carried an essay introducing in concrete terms the activities of revolutionary organizations in China. Shumyatsky, who reported to the Far Eastern Secretariat, authored a piece entitled “Tunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzor otchetov o rabote).”¹⁴⁵ As its title indicates, this essay provides an introduction to the activities of the revolutionary youth movement in China and, in particular, the Socialist Youth Corps in a number of places. Especially interesting are the minutes of the Socialist Youth Corps in Wuhan, Guangzhou, and Tianjin, which are cited in some detail. These

minutes cover altogether six sessions held in these three cities between early November and early December 1920. We have already seen one session when we discussed the activities of the Communist Groups in Guangzhou and Wuhan. These are the living accounts of the meetings, including the Youth Corps' rules, and as such, their documentary value is extremely high.

In his essay, Shumyatsky does not explain how he came into possession of these minutes, but in a eulogy for Zhang Tailei, published seven years later, he noted that Zhang brought them with him when he came to Irkutsk in early 1921.¹⁴⁶ We shall shortly examine Zhang's travels to Russia, but in early 1921, he clearly arrived in Irkutsk, and it is entirely possible that he brought these minutes with him. At the end of the essay by Shumyatsky, the author notes the place and time of composition: "Irkutsk, February 1921." If, in fact, Zhang brought the minutes of these meetings with him, he would indeed have reached Irkutsk in this period. It seems likely that information in the hands of the Far Eastern Secretariat about the Chinese Communist movement would have been based, in addition to published materials sent from China, on documents brought directly to Irkutsk by Chinese activists who began arriving there in early 1921 and would thus have been an especially rich source.

Further support for this supposition comes from an anonymous essay, "Socialist Writings in China," carried in the second issue of *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* (dated June 23, 1921), published by the Far Eastern Secretariat after *Biulleteni*.¹⁴⁷ This bibliography lists forty-two Chinese-language publications on socialism (books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers), and the list itself is extremely valuable. Particularly interesting is the fact that the titles of the works are given both in Russian and Chinese (Russian transcriptions of Chinese pronunciations).¹⁴⁸ Without the assistance of a Chinese collaborator who was thoroughly knowledgeable of the circumstances surrounding socialism in China—probably Zhang Tailei—this method would have been impossible.

In summary, the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk under the leadership of Shumyatsky acquired a fragmentary hold on Chinese social conditions by means of information sent at different times from within and without China roughly through the end of February 1921. After February, Chinese activists visiting Russia brought reports concerning Communism, and on this basis, the quantity of information increased greatly. From the articles concerning China that appeared in *Biulleteni* and *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka*, which vouched for this information, one

can see a progression in the activities of the Communist organization in China between the end of 1920 and the first half of 1921. The truest indication of this progression is the first public document of the CCP, “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto.”

*The “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” and the Formation
of the “Chinese Communist Party”*

The “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” as we have it is a document in Chinese included in *Zhonggong zhu-Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang’an* (Archive of the Delegation of the CCP Resident at the Comintern) that was returned to the Chinese Communist Party by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party between 1956 and 1957.¹⁴⁹ The “Manifesto” is comprised of an opening dated December 10, 1920, by a person named “Chang” (given in Roman letters) and the main body of the “Manifesto” text. The latter is comprised of three sections: “Communists’ Ideals,” “Communists’ Objectives,” and “Recent Conditions in the Class Struggle.” The main text is not long, running to just over 2,000 characters in length. The existence and content of this document were first brought to light in June 1958, the year after the archive was returned to China, and it was reported in the first issue of *Dang shi ziliao huibao* (Reports on Materials Concerning the History of the Party), edited by the Secretariat of the General Office of the Central Committee of the CCP.¹⁵⁰ Because this journal was exclusively for internal consumption by high-level cadres, its existence was not widely known until the 1980s.

Let us move now directly to the main body of the “Manifesto.” In the first section titled “Communists’ Ideals,” there is a description of how the means of production—factories, raw materials, land, transportation facilities, and the like—would revert to joint ownership by society. Also, because the ruling structure of government and the military protected the advantages of a minority and oppressed the great majority of workers, it was slated for abolition. The “Ideals” here were not to be realized in a single step, and in the section entitled “Communists’ Objectives,” there is a graduated guide provided. What is stressed here is the class struggle to put an end to the capitalist system and in the political realm to seize political power from the capitalists, just as occurred in the Russian Revolution, and for the workers and peasants to acquire political power. Especially interesting here is the assertion that is the great role assigned to a general strike by labor unions as a

means of struggling against capitalism. In other words, it was believed that industrial unions organized by the revolutionary proletariat would undermine the capitalist state through continual strikes, and with a call by the Communist Party, a general strike would be undertaken to land the final blow at the decisive stage of the seizure of political power. After the revolution, it was thought, these industrial labor unions would become the institutions through which to administer the economic life of society. The image of revolution conceived here is closer to that of anarcho-syndicalism than to that of Bolshevism. Yet, despite this, it was proclaimed as the natural process in the general development of human society and possessed activist meaning as the transition to Communist society, within the limits posed by the residues of capitalism and the existence of antirevolutionary forces. In a word, this Manifesto began with a discussion of the ultimate ideal of Communism and the general process toward its realization, and then in its second half, it explained things in more concrete terms concerning the way to realize such a goal in the era they were facing.

Thus, the body of the Manifesto contained material appropriate to such an important document for the CCP at its formation as it was about to commence activities. However, we have no information at all about the document's background, when it was written, where, or by whom.¹⁵¹ Perhaps for this reason, the Manifesto, although included in *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected Documents of CCP Central), a collection of public CCP documents published in 1989, is treated as an appended text and not as a main text. We need to explain the background of the composition of the Manifesto on the basis of the opening words of one "Chang," whose name accompanies the Manifesto. What follows is an excerpt concerning the Manifesto's composition taken from these opening remarks:

This Manifesto was decided upon by the Chinese Communist Party in November of last year [1920]. Because the content of this Manifesto is merely one part concerned with the principles of Communism, it is not being released externally, but only as the standard for recruiting party members. The Chinese-language manuscript of this Manifesto could not be found here, and I have thus translated it from an English-language text. . . . [This Manifesto] is submitted for discussion to the Communist group in the Chinese delegation to the Far Eastern Peoples' Congress.

CHANG, DECEMBER 10, 1921

From this account of things, this “Manifesto” (the Chinese edition) was not the original document, but was translated back into Chinese from English by Chang.¹⁵² And, although not prepared for external consumption, it was apparently decided upon by the Chinese Communist Party in November 1920. This is all we know of the composition of the Manifesto, but these introductory remarks offer a certain amount of information about the background of the document that was translated. Chang remarks only that the “Chinese-language manuscript of this Manifesto could not be found here,” but he does not explicitly state where “here” refers to. It is not, however, difficult to conjecture about the name Chang and the place referred to as “here.” The clues appear in the text: the “Far Eastern Peoples’ Congress” and the date given with the introductory remarks. Judging by the December 1921 date, the “Far Eastern Peoples’ Congress” would doubtless point to the Congress of the Toilers of the East (the CCP also sent a delegation), held in Moscow and Petrograd in February 1922, to which revolutionary groups and individuals from the Far East were invited.¹⁵³ Then Chang would have been someone in the Communist group within the Chinese delegation sent to the Congress of the Toilers of the East—namely, Zhang Guotao.¹⁵⁴ The “here” in the text would have been Irkutsk in Siberia, where the Chinese delegation to the Congress of the Toilers of the East, Zhang Guotao among them, spent a fair amount of time en route.¹⁵⁵ He was thus unable to find the original Chinese text of the Manifesto “here” and probably had to retranslate it into Chinese from an English-language version of it held by the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk.

We have reliable evidence that in late 1921, Zhang Guotao could have seen the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” in Irkutsk. This is Shumyatsky’s “The Communist International in the Far East,”¹⁵⁶ which appeared in the inaugural issue of *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* (May 1921), a Russian-language journal from Irkutsk that we introduced earlier.¹⁵⁷ In the midst of this essay, Shumyatsky points out that Chinese Communists had demonstrated a fair degree of cohesion:

The Chinese Communists existed not as a small group of propagandists but already as a distinct social stratum and have brought together progressive Chinese proletarians and revolutionary intellectuals within the framework of a Communist organization. At the present point in time, the Chinese Communists already have seven regional organizations and are divided into regional branches in industrial areas. The foundation for the Communists’

activities is . . . the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps. . . . *Recently, a meeting of Communist organizations was held at a central site in China*, and it set the following as tasks for Communist activities in China: “Our mission is to organize and concentrate on a mass struggle to strengthen and enhance the might of our blow. This will enable us to succeed in organizing our propaganda, Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers, teachers, and students, establishing a powerful union of industrial laborers with a unified center, and creating the only party of the revolutionary proletariat, the party of Communists.”¹⁵⁸

Thus, not only does the italicized portion convey the information that a meeting of Chinese Communist organizations was held, but it even introduces a piece of a document regarded as adopted at the meeting. The two sentences beginning with “Our mission” cited as adopted at the meeting appear in the text of “Communists’ Objectives,” the second section of the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto.” The appropriate section of the Manifesto read as follows:

The mission of the Communist Party is to organize and concentrate the force of the class struggle, enabling it to strengthen and enhance the might of the blow against capitalism. This will surely enable us to succeed in propaganda work with workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, and students; our goal is to organize several large industrial unions and join forces to form a federation of industrial unions. We also want to organize a political party of the revolutionary proletariat—the Communist Party.

It should be amply clear that the text cited in Shumyatsky’s essay and the Manifesto are the same,¹⁵⁹ which leads to two conclusions. First, not only is the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” a document of the time it purports to be and not, as some have suggested, a later forgery, but prior to the time at which Shumyatsky wrote his essay (probably late April–early May 1921),¹⁶⁰ the Manifesto would without a doubt have reached Irkutsk. And, as we have seen, Zhang Guotao was thus able to retranslate the Manifesto back into Chinese in Irkutsk in December of that year.

The second conclusion would be that the Manifesto, according to Shumyatsky’s essay, was proposed at “a meeting of Communist organizations” convened at a “central site in China”—probably Shanghai, and

we know that it was a regular document decided upon at some sort of meeting. Zhang Guotao recounts that the Manifesto was “something decided upon” by the “Chinese Communist Party,” and this, too, is supported by Shumyatsky’s piece. Zhang won fame as a student activist from his years at Beijing University, and he contributed to work leading to the formation of the CCP from 1920 as a representative, together with Li Dazhao, in Beijing. As he makes crystal clear, “This Manifesto was decided on by the Chinese Communist Party in November of last year.” Thus, one can only think that his words have considerable reliability. If, as Zhang states, the Manifesto was decided on in November 1920, even if it was not made public, it then became “the standard for recruiting party members.” Hence, not only was it the first public document of the early CCP, but it also marks the launch of the organization known by the name of the “Chinese Communist Party.”

There is further evidence that points to November 1920 as the date the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” officially launched the organization known as the “Chinese Communist Party.” It is the inaugural issue of the magazine *Gongchandang* (November 7, 1920). From the title of the magazine, as well as from the date of the inaugural issue (the anniversary of the Russian Revolution), the launching of this journal was a proclamation by Chinese Communists of the substantive initiation of their Communist Party. *Gongchandang* (Communist Party) was a monthly journal aimed at Communist Party members and issued by the Shanghai Group that was launching the party. As noted in chapter 1, its style followed *The Communist*, the organ of the British Communist Party published at the time in London. The fact that a journal launched by the Communist organization in Shanghai aimed at the formation of a Communist party boldly bearing the title “Communist Party,” together with the commemorative date of the Bolshevik Revolution (November 7), marked a clear expression that the Communist Group in Shanghai was embarking on the formal establishment of a Communist Party. An article in the inaugural issue of *Gongchandang*, entitled “Shijie xiaoxi” (“World News”), explicitly used the words “our Chinese Communist Party.” This is the first example of the CCP using the expression “Communist Party” in reference to itself in a publication. Thus, it is entirely conceivable that the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” was composed with the goal of clarifying the objectives of the Communist movement in China. In fact, the key to the anonymous “Duanyan” (“A Few Words”) that graced the head of the first page of the inaugural *Gongchandang*—by means of the “class struggle” we shall

overthrow the entire capitalist class, seize political power, protect the political authority of workers with a system of Russian-style “dictatorship of the proletariat,” build a workers’ state, and will culminate in no states—is fully consistent with the text of the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto.” This tells us that the two were written in close temporal proximity. Thus, the Manifesto was probably enacted by the group in Shanghai promoting a party, and we may surmise—though there is no direct evidence—that Voitinsky, who was in Shanghai at the time, contributed in some form to its composition.¹⁶¹

As we have now seen, from the middle of 1920, the group surrounding Chen Duxiu in Shanghai set out, with the encouragement of Soviet Russia and the Comintern, to form a Communist Party; depending on the time frame, it may have been called the Socialist Party or the Communist Party. This was not something determined by a formal decision of one specific conference, but in general terms there was an unfixed gradation. The critical events that put an end to this uncertain gradient and marked the clear formation of a Chinese Communist Party would have been the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” and the publication of the magazine *Gongchandang*, both in November 1920. Not only was this true for Chinese Communists who put out the Manifesto and *Gongchandang*, but we can clearly see it as well in the essays in the journals of the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk, which received these materials and called the Communist organization in China the “Chinese Communist Party.” From all these points, I would therefore assign the date of the CCP’s formation to November 1920.¹⁶²

*Report of the Chinese Communist Party to the Third Congress
of the Comintern*

The “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” was the first official document of the CCP intended for “within the party.” As for the founding declaration of the Chinese Communist Party, what should be considered the first official document for consumption outside the party would be the written report (bearing the date June 10, 1921) of the Chinese delegate (Zhang Tailei) to the third Comintern congress (held June 22–July 12, 1921). This report was initially dubbed “(Report of the Chinese Participant) of the Chinese Communist Party at the Third Comintern Congress” and was carried in the third issue (August 1921) of *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*, published in Irkutsk.¹⁶³ Although Shumyatsky

quoted from it later in his eulogy for Zhang Tailei in 1928, it had been long forgotten. In 1971, the Soviet scholar Moisei A. Persits discovered the typewritten Russian draft with the title “Report of Comrade Zhang Tailei, Delegate of the Chinese Communist Party to the Third Comintern Congress” with essentially the same content in documents of the “Far Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks),” which were then in the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. After publishing a study comparing this to the text as it appeared in *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*,¹⁶⁴ this report became more widely known. Later still, a typewritten Russian-language draft with the same content was discovered in the Central Archives in China and translated into Chinese, as we have it today.¹⁶⁵

Zhang Tailei’s report on the whole has much summary, introductory material on Chinese society, and comparatively little of concrete detail (for example, the number of party members is not given), but it does contain some important information on the formative process of the CCP. Particularly worthy of attention is a section entitled “Chinese Communist Movement,” which includes the passage that “a meeting” was called in March 1921 “comprised of delegates from various Communist organizations” in China. We excerpt the portion of interest here:

There was no unified Communist organization prior to March 1921. We had to work together everywhere with anarchists. . . . To clarify our objectives, principles, and strategy, and to eliminate the anarchist elements from the organization, we felt the need to call a meeting in March 1921 of representatives from various organizations. A manifesto was issued on our objectives and principles in the name of the meeting, and a provisional program was conceived at that session. This program fixed the structure of our organization and our plan of action; we expressed our attitudes vis-à-vis the Socialist Youth Corps, trade unions, cultural and educational groups, and the military; and we asserted the attitude of a Communist Party toward labor unions.¹⁶⁶

Reading this report with an open mind, it appears that the meeting of Communist Party representatives was convened in March 1921 with the goal of getting rid of the anarchists, and a declaration and provisional program were enacted. The first national congress of the CCP met late that July, which means that an actual party meeting was

convened four months earlier. In fact, Persits, who unearthed Zhang Tailei's report, came to the conclusion, on the basis of a comparative analysis of the contents of the proceedings of the "March meeting" as seen in the report and the items listed for discussion at the first national congress, that the first national congress deliberated fundamentally on questions that the "March meeting" prepared beforehand.¹⁶⁷ Persits's view that the "March meeting" was held as a preparatory session before the first national congress set off waves in party history circles in China, and with the publication of a Chinese translation of Zhang Tailei's report, numerous studies centered on the "March meeting" ensued.¹⁶⁸ These studies, though, were all based on the one document, Zhang's report, to assess if the "March meeting" actually transpired. It is difficult to say, however, that a comparison with other documents or a thorough investigation of the documentary value of Zhang's report was carried out. Let us then move directly to investigate other materials concerning the "March meeting."

Zhang Tailei's report is, in fact, not the only document that mentions the "March meeting"; two pieces left by Qu Qiubai, who was in Moscow with Zhang at the time in 1921, also mention it: a 1921 Russian-language, typewritten draft entitled "The Socialist Movement in China" and a handwritten, Chinese-language draft from 1929 to 1930 entitled "General Remarks on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," both included in the more recent collection of archival materials, *Zhonggong zhu-Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang'an*, cited above.¹⁶⁹ The former is, for all intents and purposes, the same in content and style as the section of Zhang's report, entitled "Chinese Communist Movement," which we excerpted and introduced above. At a glance, this would seem to support Zhang's account of the "March meeting" in his report (at least, it affords the impression that he and Qu Qiubai wrote it together), but there is a portion added to the original draft of "The Socialist Movement in China" as a headnote entitled "Digest from the Report (1921) of the Chinese Communist Party Delegation at the Third Comintern Congress."¹⁷⁰

This would mean that reference to the "March meeting" in Qu Qiubai's piece was due solely to its having been referred to in Zhang's report upon which it was based. Furthermore, because Qu left China in late 1920,¹⁷¹ he would not likely have known of the meeting that was to be held in March 1921. By the same token, his "General Remarks on the History of the Chinese Communist Party" mentioned that "the first congress (according to Qiubai's report) of March 1921 was to be rid of

the anarchists, and this was the first decision adopted.”¹⁷² This clearly refers to the “March meeting” as the first representative congress of the CCP, a point no different in the least from his article of several years earlier on which it was based—namely, an adaptation of Zhang’s report. Qu Qiubai did not attend the “March meeting” and added a certain amount of speculation to it. Thus, the “March meeting” is an event based solely on Zhang Tailei’s report to the Comintern. In other words, whether a “March meeting” did take place at which “representatives from various organizations” met and expelled the anarchists from their midst hangs on the reliability of Zhang’s report.

In addition to the “March meeting,” we also learn from Zhang Tailei’s report information about other local organizations of the Chinese Communist Party:

By May 1 of this year, the Chinese Communist Party had seven local-level Party organizations. They were: 1. Beijing organization; 2. Tianjin organization and a branch at Tangshan; 3. Hankou organization; 4. Shanghai organization; 5. Guangzhou organization; 6. Hong Kong organization; [and] 7. Nanjing organization.

We should first point out that the number of local organizations as of May 1921—seven—is consistent with Shumyatsky’s “The Communist International in the Far East.” Data on the CCP’s local party organizations were only conjecture based on what Zhang Tailei brought with him to Irkutsk. Inasmuch as Shumyatsky had introduced a section in this piece, entitled “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto,” the possibility emerges that it was Zhang Tailei who brought the Manifesto to Irkutsk. In any event, this is the only document of the period that reports on the party organization at concrete times with the inclusion of individual place names. Zhang’s report not only informs us of the party’s activities, but it also conveyed this information to the Comintern, making it a document of enormous importance.

Zhang Tailei, “Envoy of the Chinese Communist Party”

As we have now seen, all scholars recognize Zhang Tailei’s report to the Comintern as an extremely important document for the investigation of the formative process of the CCP and the “March meeting.” Because he was the first Communist Party member sent to participate in the

Comintern's work and came to his heroic end in the Guangzhou uprising at the end of 1927, Zhang has acquired an unshakable place in CCP history. Surprisingly, though, at what position and with what background he appeared in Irkutsk in early 1921 are completely unknown. It cannot be denied as one possibility that his report to the Comintern congress was a fiction manufactured to make the claim that the organization of Communists in China, including the "March meeting," was proceeding. We need to examine in much greater detail the circumstances surrounding Zhang's coming to Russia. This involves the inescapable question of the reliability of the report to the Comintern, a document that occupies the most important position in early CCP history, an era with few extant documents.

First, let us look at Zhang's ties to the CCP and the period of his trip to Russia. While Zhang's activities as a Communist Party member from the latter half of 1921 (that is, after he attended the third congress of the Comintern and returned to China) are striking, we know next to nothing about his activities before his voyage to Russia in 1921. Documents reporting Zhang's participation in the May Fourth Movement and the Communist movement as a student at Beiyang University in Tianjin from 1919 to 1920 are all memoirs dating from after his death. Indeed, the majority were written after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.¹⁷³ Original documents indicating that he was a central figure in the Tianjin student movement and that he was connected to the group linked to Zhou Enlai that moved to the CCP later, not unexpectedly, do not exist. When he joined the party, who ordered him to go to Russia and what his status was at the time all remain unclear.¹⁷⁴ It is ultimately not that unusual that few accounts remain, inasmuch as the formation of the CCP was carried out under cover of secrecy. What is difficult to comprehend, however, is the fact that, since the founding of the People's Republic, many original documents on the Chinese side concerned with the founding of the CCP have been unearthed, and aside from Comintern documents, there are scarcely any that indicate Zhang's relationship to the early CCP. Before early 1921, there is no mention of him, and it is no exaggeration to say that he entered the stage of history with his appearance in Irkutsk.

Amid the memoir literature concerning Zhang, the only piece that is really rich in information about his activities after going to Russia is a long eulogy by Shumyatsky, entitled "From the History of the Communist Youth Corps and Communist Party of China (In Memory of Zhang Tailei, One of the Organizers of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps

and Chinese Communist Party),” which appeared in the journal *Revoliutsionnyi Vostok* in 1928.¹⁷⁵ Studies of the history of the formation of the CCP and, of course, biographies of Zhang are without exception completely based on this memoir, particularly when discussing this first CCP envoy to the Comintern. There are certainly good reasons why Shumyatsky’s memoir is so prized. For one thing, it is the only source we have on Zhang’s life in Russia; for another, as the person responsible for the Far Eastern Secretariat, Shumyatsky not only had direct contact with Zhang Tailei in Russia, but he also quotes at length from original documents in his memoir. His memoir is thus more than a simple reminiscence, but it has acquired a level of esteem for reliability close to that of original documentation.¹⁷⁶

This memoir, though, is only that: a memoir. When we look critically at the documents he quotes, the method used to cite them is extremely sloppy, and their arbitrariness is immediately clear. Let us take these in order. For original documents, Shumyatsky cites articles from the journals we examined earlier—*Biulleteni Dal’ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* and *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*—and specifically two articles we examined: V. Vlasovskii, “The Strike Movement in China, Overview from the Chinese Labor Press,” and his own “The Revolutionary Movement of Youth in China (Review of Reports on Work).” As we saw earlier, the former essay introduced pieces from the Shanghai journal *Laodong jie*, and despite the fact that none of Zhang Tailei’s were among them, they are cited in Shumyatsky’s memoir as items Zhang published before coming to Russia.¹⁷⁷ For example, what is cited as an article by Zhang Tailei in the October issue of *Laodong jie* is actually a piece by Chen Duxiu.¹⁷⁸ The latter was the edited version of minutes from the meetings of the Socialist Youth Corps in various cities that Shumyatsky himself originally obtained, although in his memoir one portion of the minutes from the Guangzhou Group is introduced as a meeting of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps to which Zhang Tailei contributed. This was clearly an intentional falsification.

Perhaps when he was writing this eulogy for Zhang in 1928, Shumyatsky read back through the magazines he had edited a few years earlier in Irkutsk, hunting for material about Zhang, but unable to find anything appropriate, he attributed anything with revolutionary content to Zhang’s personal accomplishments. Perhaps because it was a eulogy for Zhang Tailei the martyr, he had to describe Zhang as a revolutionary from this early period forward. Because such calculated distortions are scattered throughout Shumyatsky’s memoir, while one might not be

able to go so far as to say that investigating the background to Zhang's travels to Russia and his activities in Irkutsk on the basis of this memoir is impossible, one has to say that it certainly would be hazardous. We have one view that estimates, on the basis of this memoir, that Zhang reached Irkutsk between late March and early April 1921,¹⁷⁹ but this position needs to be reexamined.

So just when and in what capacity did Zhang Tailei appear at the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk? One reliable document that can be confirmed at present concerning Zhang's coming to Russia are the minutes of the meeting of the Far Eastern Secretariat for March 22, 1921; he was appointed secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat at that meeting.¹⁸⁰ At that time, however, a condition concerning his term of service was attached: "until the congress of the Chinese Communist organization selects a new secretary." Thus, he was being treated as a temporary Chinese delegate until the arrival of a formal representative of the CCP. Seen the other way, one cannot necessarily say that he was the representative formally recognized by the CCP. In any event, Zhang must at least have arrived in Irkutsk prior to the date of this meeting. Also, his arrival there probably took place in January or February 1921. The bases for this assertion are the documents of the Socialist Youth Corps in China, which Zhang apparently brought with him to Irkutsk (including minutes from the meetings of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps), that appear in Shumyatsky's "The Revolutionary Movement of Youth in China (Review of Reports on Work)," written in February 1921.

Summarizing the above, sometime in January or February, Zhang Tailei would have arrived in Irkutsk with several types of information, including minutes from the meetings of the Socialist Youth Corps in a number of Chinese cities. He gained a certain degree of trust by virtue of handing these materials over to the Far Eastern Secretariat, and although not the formal representative of the Chinese Communist Party, he was appointed in March as temporary secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat. Taking into account travel conditions between Tianjin and Irkutsk at that time and calculating backward, he probably left Tianjin in December 1920 or January 1921.¹⁸¹ Under the strict control exercised by the Chinese authorities in the northeast, if arrest and incarceration of one entering Russia did not end one's life, then extreme food shortages awaited in Siberia. In an important sense, the intense cold of Russia in winter meant that one risked one's life traveling there, and it was certainly an itinerary filled with hardships.

In what capacity did Zhang go to Russia, and which organization was responsible for sending him? We have no documentation to answer these questions, and Shumyatsky's memoir lacks credence on this front, as we have already noted. Because he was carrying the minutes from the meetings of various Socialist Youth Corps in China, though, at a glance this would leave one with the impression that it was the Socialist Youth Corps that sent him to Irkutsk. In point of fact, he attended not only the third congress of the Comintern but also the second congress of Communist International of Youth as a Chinese delegate, which convened at the same time.¹⁸²

Before he left for Russia, Zhang was active in the Socialist Youth Corps in Tianjin, and we have a memoir of Chen Xiaocen (b. 1896), who worked with him in the Youth Group there. This material is unique as a detailed account conveying information of Zhang's activities while still in Tianjin. Chen described Zhang's involvement with the student movement while at Beiyang University and how he mastered English, working as an interpreter or translator for the English-language Tianjin newspaper *North China Star* and for the Russian Polevoy. He was in communication with Li Dazhao in Beijing and with Polevoy and established roughly in November 1920 the Socialist Youth Corps of Tianjin, effectively becoming the person responsible for it.¹⁸³

Among the Socialist Youth Corps materials he brought with him to Irkutsk, the regulations and minutes of meetings of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps would surely have been included. Looking at these documents in detail reveals several interesting facts. First, the regulations are completely consistent with the simple set of regulations (published in *Guangzhou chenbao*) of the anarchist-tinged Socialist Youth Corps established in Guangzhou¹⁸⁴ and similar in structure to those of the Wuhan Group. Although they all had the same name, many different types of Socialist Youth Corps cropped up around China in the fall and winter of 1920, with the Guangzhou group led by anarchists to the Beijing and the Wuhan groups in which anarchists and Communists managed to cohabit. At least on the surface, these groups at various sites developed their activities in coordinated fashion based on a unified agreement. The regulations of the Socialist Youth Corps that Mao Zedong received in November 1920 were probably the same as these. If we put aside for the moment whether the fact that the regulations of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps were the same as those of Guangzhou was due to both groups' affinity for anarchism, the similarities in regulations indicate without a doubt that these groups were in contact with one another.

Looking next at the minutes of the Tianjin Group, it is reported that at its sixth meeting attended by fourteen members (December 9, 1920), the group secretary “Chzhan” had gone off to Beijing and in his stead “U” had been appointed secretary. “Shen” then offered an explanation about the publication of *Lai-bao*, a daily newspaper aimed at workers: the name of this newspaper was meant to express the arrival of the future (*lai* meaning “coming” or “future”) and used the sound of the English word “labor,” and it was decided that publication would commence on January 2 of the following year (1921).¹⁸⁵

Comparing the names “Chzhan,” “U,” and “Shen,” which appear here, with Chen Xiaocen’s memoir, one can see that they match, respectively, Zhang Tailai, Wu Nanru, and Chen Xiaocen (Wu and Chen later had no connection to the Communist Party). And *Lai-bao* was the newspaper *Laibao* said to have been published for a short time by Zhang Tailai and a group of Tianjin socialists; Chen Xiaocen mentions it in his memoir as one of the principal activities of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps.¹⁸⁶ Actual copies of *Laibao*, however, have thus far never been found, and it was mentioned in no other newspaper, magazine, or official document of the time, making it entirely unclear if it was actually ever published. Supposing that it was, its circulation was undoubtedly extremely limited. Be that as it may, to the extent that we can believe the meeting minutes, we can confirm that Zhang Tailai and his colleagues organized as the Socialist Youth Corps in Tianjin at the end of 1920. Also, if the trip to Beijing of “Chzhan” (namely, Zhang Tailai) was to make contact with the Communist group there, then coupled with the existence of a unified set of regulations for the Socialist Youth Corps, we can further surmise that their activities were in step with those of the Beijing group.¹⁸⁷

From these facts, entering Russia in early 1921, whether or not he was the official representative of the Communist Party, it is highly possible that Zhang Tailai was sent on orders from the Socialist Youth Corps. Among the memoirs of those actually involved, one reports, “At the time Zhang Tailai was a member of the Socialist Youth Corps. After its formation, he was selected as its representative and traveled to Moscow, where he took part in a meeting of the Communist International of Youth.”¹⁸⁸ One cannot jump to the conclusion that at the time of his arrival in Russia, he already had the status of representative sent by the Socialist Youth Corps to the Communist International of Youth. One reason for this is that invitations to the second congress of the Communist International of Youth were brought to China in mid-March

1921,¹⁸⁹ and Zhang had already reached Irkutsk by this point in time. Second, the two official representatives to the Communist International of Youth, He Mengxiong of Beijing and Yu Xiusong of Shanghai, attempted to enter Russia in April (as he later reported, He Mengxiong was apprehended en route and failed to get there). In a letter written by Yu Xiusong en route to Russia, he notes clearly that he and He Mengxiong were the two Chinese delegates to the Communist International of Youth,¹⁹⁰ and there is no trace of any other Chinese representatives being sent to it (at least, in Yu Xiusong's view, Zhang Tailei was not one of them). In addition, even Polevoy, who was thought to have had contact with Zhang in Tianjin, had received instructions from Voitinsky to engage in certain actions and, as we saw in chapter 2, also aided Beijing anarchists who had broken away from the Communist group in getting to Russia (and were branded as renegades for it). We thus cannot affirm Zhang's status by virtue of Polevoy's intervention.

If we might add one thing further, among the documents held in the Moscow archives from the third Comintern congress are the credentials issued by one's own country's organization that each of the representatives from various lands brought with them to the congress. Zhang Tailei's was not issued by a Chinese organization but by the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Irkutsk.¹⁹¹ Thus, Zhang's status upon entering Russia becomes all the more elusive.

Chinese Representatives at the Third Congress of the Comintern

Based on the inexplicable situation surrounding Zhang Tailei's trip to Russia, when we reread his written report to the Comintern—the content is not that of the Socialist Youth Corps but of the Communist Party—several dubious points come floating to the surface. The first is the putative seven local organizations of the CCP as of May 1921. Zhang lists the seven as Beijing, Tianjin, Hankou, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, and Nanjing, but three of these cities—Tianjin, Hong Kong, and Nanjing—did not as yet have party organizations. Even if we understand him to have included Socialist Youth Corps here, what he reported as the situation prevailing in May 1921 is clearly artificial. As we have seen, he left China at the latest in January 1921, and in May he attended a congress of the Korean Communist Party held on May 4 in Irkutsk, as a guest member of the CCP, where he delivered a congratulatory address while residing, one presumes, in Irkutsk.¹⁹²

Something similar applies to the “March meeting” of the CCP. Zhang’s report claims that a meeting of the Chinese Communist Party was held in China in March 1921 to liquidate the relationship with the anarchists. But he was not in China at the time and would have had no direct knowledge of such an event. As we have seen, this “March meeting” is an event based solely on Zhang’s report, and we cannot jump to the conclusion on this basis that the March meeting was the meeting at which the party unfurled its banner prior to the first national congress in July. We must first reexamine the background to Zhang’s writing of the report and to its reliability.

This does not, however, mean that Zhang’s report was purely fiction. Aside from a number of specific matters, the report does offer a detailed description of the Communist movement in China at the time, which would have been unattainable by someone unconnected to the events. For example, at one point Zhang writes that “the earliest Communist cells in China were formed in Shanghai and Beijing in May 1920”; this informs us that the author of the report had learned in some form (the details are unclear) of the activities toward the formation of a CCP prior to his departure for Russia. Why then did he include in his report the “March meeting” and the local organizations of the party as of May 1921 about which he could not have known directly? Two possibilities come to mind.

One is that it is a fabrication in which he manufactured a fictional meeting and appropriate local organizations so as to bolster the impression that the Communist movement in China was moving forward. As we noted earlier in this chapter, all manner of organizations and people were raising the banner of “Communism” in China in the years 1920–1921, and the Communist organization later linked to the CCP was not at that time the only Communist Party representing China. Considering this last fact, we cannot efface the possibility that mention of the “March meeting” and the concrete account given of the local Communist organizations in Zhang’s report were concocted for form’s sake to add prominence to the existence of his own Communist Party and to win in the battle for legitimacy with other Communist cliques and groups. In fact, in addition to the Communist Party that Zhang represented, in Moscow around the time of the third Comintern congress were gathered delegates from four “Communist Parties,” including the “Youth Communist Party,” which did not recognize Zhang’s right to represent them; each of these groups claimed distinctive legitimacy and fought with one another furiously.¹⁹³ Zhang had repeatedly requested

of the Comintern that it not recognize these other groups.¹⁹⁴ In order for Communist organizations from many countries to qualify as “genuine” Communist parties, more than anything else, Comintern recognition was utterly essential. It was thus not at all rare to add drama in the direction of exaggeration and plausible numbers in reports to the Comintern.¹⁹⁵ Nor can it be said that Zhang Tailei’s was the only exception. In this instance, Zhang’s status when he entered Russia remained vague, and unfortunately his report loses its reliability.

Another possibility is that after Zhang arrived in Russia in early 1921, he received new information. In connection with this eventuality, Shumyatsky’s memoir notes, “*After Comrade Zhang Tailei reached Irkutsk, he received the commission of the Communist Party to assume the position of secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat and responsibility for preparing a report of the CCP to the third Comintern congress.*”¹⁹⁶ As we have already noted, his memoir goes to dramatic lengths to praise Zhang; even if the memoir is accurate, though, Zhang only got the new information from China after he had reached Russia. Considering the state of communications between Russia and China at that time, this is difficult to believe, and it further reveals unexpectedly that before arriving in Russia, Zhang had been given no station by the CCP whatsoever.

There is also the possibility that Zhang drafted his report with the cooperation of another CCP contact. Until that point, discussion of Chinese representation at the third Comintern congress has focused solely on Zhang Tailei, but in fact there was another Chinese delegate in addition to Zhang at the congress.

The configuration of the Chinese delegation to the third Comintern congress was, actually, a bit complicated. Data from the stenographic report—effectively the official account of the congress—are not fully consistent. Thus, the heading of the German-language stenographic report notes that the Chinese delegation was that of “*Kommunistische Gruppen*” (“Communist Groups”) and a “*Linke Sozialistische Partei*” (“Leftwing Socialist Party”), but in the list at the end it reads, “K.P. [Communist Party], one person; Jugend [Youth Group], one person.”¹⁹⁷ Of these two representatives, it states clearly that “K.P, one person” was Zhang Tailei (“Chang Tai-lai”) who delivered a speech as a Chinese delegate, and the name of the other delegate from the “Jugend” is not made clear. Thus, in surmising who might have offered his cooperation to Zhang in preparing his report, we have no choice but to reexamine the roster of Chinese representatives in sequence.

The “Linke Sozialistische Partei” would point to the Socialist Party of Jiang Kanghu, who was in Moscow at the time. Jiang attended the third Comintern congress as a “Socialist Party member” and was afforded speaking privileges. The fact that he had delegate credentials indicates that he clearly attended the congress.¹⁹⁸ Why would this “Linke Sozialistische Partei” have been omitted at the tail end of the stenographic report? Beyond a simple typographic error, it is possible that this reflects a struggle for legitimacy among the Chinese representatives at the Comintern congress. Indeed, during the congress itself, Jiang Kanghu sent the following letter to the Comintern:

On the opening day of the third congress [June 22], I received my mandate as a delegate with a consultative vote. After I had attended the Congress for four days, Com. Kabasky demanded the return of my mandate, depriving me of my right even as a visitor and giving no reason for this action whatsoever. I regard this as an insult and protest against it.¹⁹⁹

Comrade “Kabasky” who took his “mandate” (delegate credentials) away was Mikhail Kobetsky (1881–1937), secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The matter of the return of his credentials was explained by Jiang as follows:

[I] planned to attend the Comintern congress as a representative of the Socialist Party and made preparations accordingly. However, when a certain Zhang [Tailei], representative of a certain group, got wind of this, he said that he was the representative of the Chinese Communist Party and had come at the introduction of Shumyatsky, head of the Far Eastern Secretariat. . . . When I met him, Zhang prevaricated and did not declare that he was a delegate. I thought this strange and when I attended [the congress], I was happy to see that both Zhang and Shumyatsky were in attendance, and I asked if he had delegate credentials or visitor credentials. Zhang rejected the question and tried once again to inspect my papers. I showed them to him, and only then did Zhang finally show me his, which were delegate credentials. After attending for two or three days, the Comintern abruptly withdrew my papers. . . . I learned more details later, as this Zhang produced various pieces of evidence and wrote a letter to the Comintern in which he identified me as a spy for the Chinese government.²⁰⁰

Zhang's letter to Grigory Zinoviev (1883–1936), chairman of the Comintern Executive, during the congress supports the fact that, after Zhang's nervous interaction with Jiang at the Comintern, he tried to obstruct Jiang. The letter called Jiang a "personal spy of the president of the reactionary Beijing government" and a "pure politician," and the credential examination committee of the Comintern congress protested strongly against the recognition of Jiang's status as a delegate.²⁰¹ A number of representatives of the Chinese "Communist Party" appeared in Moscow around the time of the third Comintern congress and secretly feuded over who should receive Comintern recognition, as we noted in the previous chapter. If such were the case with Zhang Tailei, then we would expect that, like Yao Zuobin's "Communist Party," Jiang Kanghu's Socialist Party would have to have been expelled. As Zhang's protest proved successful, the status under which Jiang participated was no longer as an official delegate, and his name was stricken from the list of Chinese delegates written up at the end.²⁰² Thus, although he initially attended as a Chinese delegate, due to a protest from the legitimate "Chinese Communist Party," Jiang Kanghu's name was excised from the official Chinese delegation in the middle of the congress. The fact that the "Linke Sozialistische Partei" appears at the beginning of the stenographic report and does not at the end reflects this changed situation.

Of the remaining two delegates (one being Zhang Tailei) on the list after Jiang Kanghu was excluded, who was the representative of the "Jugend"? The fact that there was a representative beside Zhang at the third Comintern congress has been known for some time, and his name has usually been given as "Yang Ho-te."²⁰³ The basis for the theory that this "Yang" was in attendance was, at its root, the 1928 memoir by Shumyatsky (his eulogy for Zhang Tailei). In it Shumyatsky recounts that after Zhang Tailei reached Irkutsk, "Yan-Khou-De" (elsewhere, he Cyrillicizes the name as "Yan-Khau-De") arrived from China as well, and the two of them attended the congress. Furthermore, in Zhang's report to the Comintern, he not only mentions "Khou-De" as "a member of the Communist Party with the finest of reputations in China," but the signature of "Yan-Khou-De" is even attached to the original draft.²⁰⁴ Clearly, this "Yan" (or "Yang") was a delegate to this Comintern congress and contributed to the composition of Zhang Tailei's report.

One view about this mysterious Yan identifies him as Yang Mingzhai.²⁰⁵ This stance is principally supported by the fact that Yang Mingzhai used the alias Yang Haode. The thesis that Yang Mingzhai was

delegate Yan at the Comintern congress, however, unfortunately does not withstand scrutiny. At this time, Yang Mingzhai does indeed seem to have gone to Siberia, but he remained in Irkutsk at the time that the third congress of the Comintern was held.²⁰⁶

The question of the Chinese delegate to the third Comintern congress was finally solved recently when a Comintern document was made public. On the basis of the delegate credentials issued by the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive, we can now confirm that the Chinese delegates were Zhang Tailei (Chzhan Tai Lei) and Yu Xiusong (Siu Sun), and Chen Weiren (Chen Vun In') and Qu Qiubai (Tsiui Tsube) attended as observers.²⁰⁷ Thus, Yan must have been Yu Xiusong. As noted earlier, Yu left China to attend the Communist International of Youth as a representative of the Socialist Youth Corps, and the stenographic report of the Comintern congress lists one name as a representative of "Jugend," which is consistent.

Drafters of the "Report to the Third Congress of the Comintern"

As we saw in the first section of this chapter, Yu Xiusong came to Shanghai in late March 1920 and was thereafter directly involved with Chen Duxiu and others in efforts to form a Chinese Communist Party. He later left Shanghai on March 29, 1921, to attend the second congress of the Communist International of Youth as the official representative of the Socialist Youth Corps, traveling through Beijing and Harbin before entering Russia by himself by land.²⁰⁸ He would thus have arrived in Russia three or four months after Zhang Tailei. Although it is not certain precisely when he arrived in Irkutsk, he received the necessary documents to attend the Comintern congress in Moscow on June 4 (along with Zhang Tailei and Chen Weiren, he checked into the lodgings set aside for congress delegates on June 14),²⁰⁹ and he clearly linked up with Zhang after reaching Russia. The date on Zhang Tailei's report is June 10, after both men had arrived in Russia. It thus becomes conceivable that Yu Xiusong cooperated in the composition of the report. The section in the text of the report that stated "the earliest Communist cells in China were formed in Shanghai and Beijing in May 1920" and the mention of the Shanghai Mechanics' Union are perfectly understandable if seen as information provided by Yu Xiusong, who was in Shanghai at that time, more than if we take them to be information that Zhang Tailei somehow happened to know.

The background and dating of Chen Weiren's (1899–1937) arrival in Russia are not well known, but Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), who arrived in Moscow after them on August 5, notes that Chen was already acting as a representative of the Socialist Youth Corps together with Yu Xiusong.²¹⁰ We know for certain that before leaving for Russia, Chen was a student at the Foreign Language Institute, established in Shanghai in the fall of 1920. From the fact that he repeatedly published appeals to workers in *Laodong jie*, the magazine of the group working to form a Communist party in Shanghai, from November of that year through January of the following one, he would appear to have been a member of that group.²¹¹ He went to Moscow together with Zhang and Yu, and apparently the three men linked up after crossing into Siberia, putting him also in a position to have provided information for Zhang Tailei's report.

In addition to these men, the Far Eastern Secretariat, which had access to scattered data from China, provided information for Zhang's report. This is immediately apparent from a comparative analysis of Zhang's report with a December 1920 report of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (forerunner of the Far Eastern Secretariat). Namely, the organizational structure (information section, publication section, organization section) and each section's activities, as seen in Zhang's report, closely follow the December 1920 report that was written on the basis of an August 1920 report by Voitinsky. The publications of the Communist Party given in Zhang's report have overlapping items with the December 1920 report as well.

In this way, we can explain to a certain extent how information that Zhang would not have known of was incorporated into his report to the Comintern. To wit, the report bears the signature of Zhang Tailei and is often referred to as "Zhang Tailei's report," but it would be more accurate to say that the circumstances surrounding the CCP recorded therein processed information that he acquired after arriving in Irkutsk than that it was information that he himself actually knew. For example, the data on the "March meeting of the CCP" would probably have been known to Yu Xiusong because he left Shanghai on March 29, 1921.

Even if the information provided by Yu Xiusong and Chen Weiren was incorporated into the written report to the Comintern, this does not clear up all the doubts about the "report." Given that the toponyms of the local party organizations are not consistent with the locations of Communist groups at the time, if these are not out-and-out falsehoods, we must assume a certain amount of contrived exaggeration. Even with

respect to the “March meeting,” the fact that the expulsion of anarchists from the Communist Groups in Beijing and Guangzhou in early 1921 took place can be gleaned from many other sources. Convened in “March” in the form of “a meeting comprised of delegates from various Communist organizations,” it decided on a “Manifesto” and a “provisional program.” The very fact that no other document agrees with these items should lead us to be dubious about their veracity.

In the Chinese scholarly community, Zhang’s report is regarded as reflecting more the circumstances of the Socialist Youth Corps than the party, and there are studies that explain the existence of the “March meeting” and the place names of the local organizations.²¹² The explanation that Yu, a representative of the Socialist Youth Corps, contributed to the composition of the “report” would seem to work, but there are still points of doubt. In the report of the representative of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps submitted to the congress of the Communist International of Youth (July 9–23, 1921),²¹³ which was held along with the Comintern congress, there is a rather detailed description of the formative process of the group, but there is no mention at all of a “March meeting.”

A plausible accounting of the “March meeting” and the distribution of local organizations in Zhang’s report might be that by appealing to advances in their own party activities and to win out in the struggle for legitimacy among the various cliques calling themselves “Communist Parties,” they offered an expedient explanation. While one might not call this a definite case of fabrication, it is at least quite clear that one cannot take Zhang’s report at face value.

The Third Congress of the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party

Given the details of the composition of the report to the third Comintern congress, as we have just seen, it was neither necessary that Zhang Tailei be a member of the Chinese Communist Party before he reached Russia nor that he be the formal representative of an organization. If we might conjecture on this basis the process of the participation of the Chinese delegates (Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong) to the third Comintern congress, it would go as follows.

First, let us look at Zhang Tailei. Before traveling to Russia, he had made contact with Bolshevik sympathizers in Tianjin and thus acquired positive feelings for Soviet Russia. He then learned of the Socialist Youth

Corps and rallied a group of close friends to form a group in Tianjin. After later acquiring information about the groups in Guangzhou and Wuhan, he took the next bold step of traveling on his own to Russia as a representative of the Tianjin Socialist Youth Corps. The goal of this trip was less to link up with the Comintern organization and more, like the majority of young Chinese eyeing Soviet Russia at the time, to observe the reborn Russia or to study there. In fact, the early Socialist Youth Corps was seen as a mediating agency for those interested in studying in Russia, as is apparent from the numbers of young people in the Shanghai Group who sought to go study there. Among them were even young men and women who “joined the Youth Group solely because they wanted to obtain access to study in Russia.”²¹⁴ In a letter to his wife sent just before he entered Russia, Zhang Tailei wrote, “I set my desires on an independent life, to go abroad and acquire a depth of knowledge.”²¹⁵ These words were not a superficial reason covering over some special task but undoubtedly his real intentions. Even Yu Xiusong, the formal delegate of the Socialist Youth Corps to the Communist International of Youth, offered overseas study to acquire knowledge, together with attending the congress, as his motivation in going to Russia.²¹⁶

Coming to Russia as the action of a CCP member and professional revolutionary entrusted with a task to perform would only somewhat later come to have a distinctive meaning. The motivation in this period for young Chinese to travel to Russia was the desire, first, to see the actual conditions prevailing in revolutionary Russia and, if possible, to study there and acquire new knowledge. There is thus no need for us to imagine that Zhang Tailei’s going to Russia alone was geared from the outset with a specific aim. If his trip there did have a particular meaning, it would have been first and foremost to successfully get there. For the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk, which sought information from China, coming from China with a fair amount of language training and information concerning the Socialist movement, he was a talent they had not expected. The assignment of Zhang Tailei to serve as secretary of the Chinese section by the Far Eastern Secretariat under Shumyatsky, who was embarrassed by Liu Zerong and Pak Chin-sun with their problematic dispositions, was no problem whatsoever—particularly as this was a temporary decision pending the arrival of a formal representative of the Chinese Communist Party.

Yu Xiusong came to Irkutsk later than Zhang, and it remains unknown if they had ever met before then.²¹⁷ For Yu, who had been under the impression that two Chinese were representing the Socialist Youth

Corps—himself and He Mengxiong—Zhang’s earlier arrival in Irkutsk must have been unexpected. Also, Zhang had already been installed as secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat. At the same time, for the Far Eastern Secretariat as well, Zhang’s position was temporary “until such time as a representative conference of the Chinese Communist organization sent a new secretary.” The new one who came from China would be a Communist Party member, but because it was Yu Xiusong who formally only bore qualifications as a representative of the Socialist Youth Corps, he did not replace Zhang. Thus, Zhang as secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat and Yu as delegate originally to the Communist International of Youth both attended the Comintern congress in Moscow as representatives of the Chinese Communist Party on the recommendation of the Far Eastern Secretariat. Together with Chen Weiren, with whom they linked up en route, they composed the report to the Comintern congress.

In any event, Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong probably had a fair amount of material for their report on the Socialist Youth Corps to the Communist International of Youth, which they were originally supposed to participate in, but they would surely not have prepared materials for a report on the party to be submitted to the Comintern. It would most likely have been at best memories of the steps taken in the formation of a Communist Party in Shanghai in which Yu had been involved and of the circumstances surrounding the party before his departure from Shanghai. Chen Weiren would have known to a certain extent the situation facing the Socialist Youth Corps, and compared to Zhang, he would have known something about the party in Shanghai, but he certainly could not compare to Yu Xiusong who was involved in the very activities leading to the formation of the Communist Party from the start. On the whole, the report to the Comintern has a largely general introductory quality; that it is lacking in concrete discussion reflects the fact that these three men had not come to Russia prepared initially to attend the Comintern congress.²¹⁸ Despite recollections about socialist publications and a rough depiction of the formation of the party, they were in no position to present concrete figures and dates because they had not prepared anything before the event. The party report naturally lacked numerical data (such as the number of party members), and the general scattering of data through the introduction of the activities of various local organizations was a consequence less of the party’s activities being inept than of the fact that they could not supplement with memory based on their individual experiences. Reports from China left

with the Far Eastern Secretariat, despite being rather old, were used, it seems, in an effort to supplement in some fashion the insufficiencies in their memories.

On the final day of the third Comintern congress, July 12, in Moscow, Zhang Tailei delivered an address as a Chinese representative. Not Yu Xiusong but Zhang presented the speech as representative, probably both because of his credentials as secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat and because of his linguistic abilities.²¹⁹ Discussion of East Asian issues scheduled to take place on the last day of the congress was not fully undertaken because of lack of time, and Zhang's speech was made much shorter (five minutes) than the "Report to the Comintern" which he had earlier prepared.²²⁰ All of the portions in the "Report" concerned with the process of the CCP's formation and its present state of affairs were cut from the speech, and as a result, the draft of the "Report" was carried in the Irkutsk journal *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* after the congress concluded. The original draft had long been sleeping in the Moscow archives.

Although probably neither Zhang nor Yu were, strictly speaking, representative of the "Party" properly sent from China, they attended the Comintern congress in the larger sense on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party. First, this was the first Comintern congress at which Communist organizations created on Chinese soil participated. At the first and second Comintern congresses, Communist organizations created in Russia were comprised of Chinese residents there and they attended as representatives of China, but the circumstances of those times no longer held. In name and fact both, this was the debut for Chinese Communist organizations on the stage of the international Communist movement.

Second, setting Zhang Tailei aside, Yu Xiusong, who was clearly linked to the CCP in Shanghai, attended this congress, and the Communist Party he represented had gone through legitimacy battles with all manner of "Communist parties" gathered in Moscow and had now become the sole Chinese Communist Party recognized by Comintern Central. At a glance, perhaps this is perfectly natural, but as in the cases of Korea and the United States, for example, multiple Communist political parties could represent the same country (or region), struggling for a period of time on the Comintern's stage over legitimacy and unity. In light of this, it was fortunate that the CCP handled these issues during the period of its emergence as a party in a relatively simple and straightforward manner. Had there not been a CCP representative

at the congress, it is entirely possible that Yao Zuobin's "Communist Party" or Jiang Kanghu's "Socialist Party" organizations might have established firm ties with the Comintern; and in the worst-case scenario, the possibility was strong that, as was the case with the Korean Communist Party, the time and energy that would have been directed at the revolutionary movement might have been completely spent in internal struggles and their arbitration. Over the long history of the CCP thereafter, efforts to establish a "second central [committee]" were seen only in one limited period, but no legitimacy struggles engulfing the Comintern emerged, and the party did not split apart. In terms of relations with the Comintern, the CCP was for the time being coming into existence smoothly and beginning to grow.

Convening at about the same time as the third Comintern congress and in the same city of Moscow, the Communist International of Youth held its second congress. Yu Xiusong, Zhang Tailei, and Chen Weiren all attended. According to documents of the Communist International of Youth congress, Yu held the status of a delegate with voting rights, while Zhang and Chen were delegates with speaking rights.²²¹ Yu and the others had prepared the report for this congress, but ultimately they did not speak there; thus, their report was not presented at the congress.²²²

Details on the formation of the Socialist Youth Corps in China have usually been narrated in its relationship to the Communist Party, which we shall not repeat here, but one thing must be pointed out in this connection—a portion of a document published at the time of the first national congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps (convened in Guangzhou in May 1922). Because the Socialist Youth Corps, formed at various sites in the latter half of 1920, was a motley collection of young people of different inclinations, after noting a stagnation in their activities, the essay went on to state, "We could no longer in fact operate through May 1921, and we had no choice but to announce a temporary disbanding" at that time.²²³ In other words, the Socialist Youth Corps, as of March 1921 when Yu Xiusong set off from Shanghai, no longer existed at the very time that he was struggling to make his way to Moscow. Thus, strictly speaking, Yu Xiusong and his colleagues took part in the Communist International of Youth congress as representative of an organization that formally did not exist. Because of the time required to move people and materials between Shanghai and Moscow, a gap between reality and perception caused this humorous episode. Subsequent relations between the CCP and the Comintern more or less developed continually in conjunction with this gap.



The First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

PREPARATIONS FOR CONVENING A NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

The Arrival of Maring and Nikolsky

About the time that Zhang Tailei was appointed secretary of the Chinese section of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive in Irkutsk and Yu Xiusong had gone to Russia as Chinese delegate to the Communist International of Youth, the Comintern was taking steps to encourage the convening of a party congress of the Chinese Communist Party. At that time, new Comintern representatives Maring (Hendricus J. F. M. Sneevliet, 1883–1942) and Vladimir Abramovich Neiman-Nikolsky (1898–1943) were sent to China to replace Voitinsky.

In name and deed, the Chinese Communist Party announced its formation with the composition of the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” and its publication in the inaugural issue of *Gongchandang* in November 1920. As we saw in chapter 3, however, soon thereafter, Voitinsky returned home, and due to lack of funds, party activities were curtailed and the journals *Xin qingnian* and *Gongchandang* ceased publication. The final blow took place on April 29, 1921, just before May Day, when the French Concession authorities in Shanghai investigated the Foreign Language Institute and barred entrance to it.¹ In addition, the Socialist Youth Corps, an auxiliary organization of the Communist

Party and a loose amalgam of young people of various and sundry intellectual dispositions, “could no longer in fact operate until May 1921 and had no choice but to announce a temporary disbanding.”² What changed this chaotic state of affairs were Maring’s and Nikolsky’s arrivals in Shanghai in early June from Comintern Central and the Far Eastern Secretariat, respectively. Once there, they immediately suggested that a party congress should convene, and they attended the first national congress held in July.

To fully understand this, we should first examine the reason the Far Eastern Secretariat sent Nikolsky to Shanghai. On the basis of information Voitinsky sent to Zhang Tailei, who traveled to Irkutsk, the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive apparently decided around March 1921 that it was a good time to convene a CCP congress. According to Shumyatsky’s report, which the Comintern Executive in Moscow received on March 27, the Far Eastern Secretariat had already compiled reports on Communist activities in China, and these had come under scrutiny “by a meeting of Chinese Communists assembled with the participation and under the leadership of our representative in Shanghai in May.”³ At this point, not only had the Far Eastern Secretariat composed a list of suggestions for the CCP congress, but it sent its own representative to lead the congress; this meant that it had already been determined that the congress would be held in May. Although the Far Eastern Secretariat’s documents regarding the congress have never been found, we know the CCP congress had been scheduled for May from Shumyatsky’s essay “Kommunisticheskie Internatsional na Dal’nem Vostoke” (“Communist International in the Far East”), which was written in late April or early May.⁴ After citing a portion of the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” proposed at a “meeting of Communist organizations” in China, Shumyatsky wrote the following:

Now as this essay is being written, a congress of Chinese Communist organizations has probably already concluded in China. The words of the meeting concerning the “sole Chinese Communist Party” will provide its flesh and blood; that is, it will concretize in systematic organizational form. Thus, there is emerging a Chinese branch of the Third International.

Because “now as this essay is being written” means late April or early May, Shumyatsky must have believed that “a congress of Communist organizations” was, just as he reported to Moscow in March,

taking place in China. He also sketched out how the spirit of the “words of the meeting” (meaning the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto,” written the previous November) would be embodied firmly in the organization: “a Chinese branch of the Third International.” It was to be Nikolsky who was sent to participate in the coming CCP congress and offer it guidance.

Nikolsky (also known as Viktor Aleksandrovich Borg), who attended the CCP’s first national congress with Maring, was said to have done so as a long-time representative of the Profintern (Red International of Labor Unions) in China. The Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern in Irkutsk had sent Nikolsky to China.⁵ What we know of his background comes from the work of a Russian scholar named Anastasiia Ivanovna Kartunova.⁶ Nikolsky attended a commercial school in Chita, and from 1919 to 1920, he was in military service with the revolutionaries. In 1921, he joined the Russian Communist Party and was active with the Comintern that same year. We cannot say for certain what types of activities he performed for the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk or when he left for China, but judging from the aforementioned report and Shumyatsky’s article, he must have left Irkutsk in April. Furthermore, as Kartunova points out, he was a representative of both the Far Eastern Secretariat and the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Council of Trade Unions.⁷ In addition to preparing the arrangements for the CCP’s national congress and taking part in it, he was also responsible for supplying funds for the Communist movement in China and arranging for a Chinese representative to be sent to the upcoming Congress of the Toilers of the East.⁸ Details on his route of travel to China are unknown, but he arrived in Shanghai about June 3, roughly the same time as Maring.⁹

According to Maring, with whom he had virtually daily contact in Shanghai, “it was decided in instructions that Comrade Nikolsky received from Irkutsk that he would have to attend the meeting of the leadership of the Party [CCP].”¹⁰ CCP members were apparently opposed to this inspectorate-like method, but they had their orders, so Nikolsky’s attendance made perfect sense. He would stay in Shanghai until October or November of 1921.¹¹

On the other hand, Maring is comparatively well known as the proponent of the Nationalist-Communist United Front. Detailed biographies and document collections about his activities in China have been published,¹² so we know something of his background and career. Maring was born in the Netherlands, and while working in an

office for the railway, he joined the workers' movement and the Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij). He also became active in the Dutch Social-Democratic Party (Sociaal-Democratische Partij; later the Communist Party). In 1913, he traveled to the Dutch East Indies (present-day Indonesia). Well known for his work on the island of Java, he helped found the (East) Indies Social Democratic Association (Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging) in 1914, and through its cooperation with the Islamic Union (Sarekat Islam), he helped in the formation of the Indonesian Communist Party (May 1920). In December 1918, he was exiled from the Dutch East Indies, and shortly after returning to his native Holland, he participated in the second Comintern congress as a delegate from the Dutch East Indies. Because of his experience in activities in the colonies, he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. In chapter 2 we discussed his negotiations in July 1920, while the congress was in session, with Pak Chin-sun and Liu Zerong over the establishment of a Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.¹³ In August, the Executive Committee decided to place agents at important sites around the world, and Maring was chosen to be one of them in Shanghai.

On the basis of Maring's own account, we know that he left Moscow in March 1921, and at that time, the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern apparently existed in Irkutsk.¹⁴ In March 1921, Shumyatsky reported to the Comintern Executive Committee that a CCP congress was to be held in Shanghai in May. It is doubtful that Maring got this information before he left Moscow, and he says only that his tasks were "to study movements in the countries of the Far East and establish relations with them, and to investigate the necessity and the possibility of establishing a Comintern bureau in the Far East."¹⁵ He makes no direct mention of the CCP congress, and thus we can assume that he did not have particularly detailed knowledge of the situation in the Communist movement in China at the time of his departure from Moscow. In his memoirs written some years later, Maring noted, "I had no special orders at all. . . . Although the Comintern bureau in Irkutsk had communication with the Far East and had been active there, I had thought that Moscow wanted to place direct agents of the Comintern in China."¹⁶ Thus, although they belonged to the Comintern line of command, the Executive Committee in Moscow and the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk each seem to have sent their own agents to China.

Maring headed for China via Vienna and Venice and then by sea through the Suez Canal.¹⁷ He was arrested in Vienna and deported, and despite attempts by several countries to prevent him from getting to China,¹⁸ the ship on which he was a passenger (the *Acquila*) successfully reached Shanghai on June 3.¹⁹ For a short time, he lived in a hotel, and from June 14, he was residing at 32 Markham Road (now Huian Road) in the Joint Concession; he later moved to 6 Wayside Road (now Huoshan Road) for a time.²⁰ He immediately contacted Nikolsky, who had arrived in Shanghai at about the same time, and they commenced activities with, among others, M. Fromberg, who had been sent by the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Council of Trade Unions in Chita and had been active in Shanghai for some time.²¹

On the surface, Maring's credentials in Shanghai were, as with Voitinsky earlier, as a journalist. A document from the Dutch authorities written just after his arrival in Shanghai notes that he not only used the name "Andresen" but that he had claimed to be a reporter for a Japanese magazine, the *Oriental Economist*.²² The *Oriental Economist* is a reference to *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, published in Tokyo, and the fact that he claimed to be on the staff is not, as it might first appear, a complete fabrication. Before traveling to China, he received a letter of introduction from one "Miura" of *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, and with it he secured a visa to reside in Japan. A letter he sent to "Miura" (dated November 4, 1920) contained the following:

With your letter of introduction, I have gone through the visa process without incident at the Japanese Legation. I had originally thought I would head directly to Japan, but I heard in Russia something to the effect that that route would present difficulties. I thus returned to the Netherlands. Now, I shall get there [Japan] as quickly as possible and am looking for a ship to take me. I thank you from my heart for your help. If possible I should like to start work at your magazine in January or February [1921].²³

"Miura" was very likely Miura Tetsutarō (1874–1972), managing editor of *Tōyō keizai shinpō* and known as an advocate of "lesser Japanese" (*shō Nihonshugi*).²⁴ The person who acted as middleman between Maring and Miura was probably either Katayama Sen (1859–1933), who had worked for a time on the *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, or S. J. Rutgers (1879–1961), a close friend of Maring's.²⁵ We do not know the extent to

which Miura was aware of Maring's background, but from this letter, Maring had clearly sought to collaborate with him on work at *Tōyō keizai shinpō*. Maring initially tried to make his way to East Asia via Siberia, but he later decided to go to Shanghai and arrived there about six months later than he originally planned. By obtaining a Japanese visa, he was surely thinking about activities in Japan and Korea, but because of his arrest in Vienna, the authorities in all the countries he would pass through were alerted, and he was ultimately unable to enter Japan or Korea.²⁶ On top of this, his movements in Shanghai came under the close scrutiny of the consulate-general of the Netherlands and the Concession authorities.

As Maring recounts it,²⁷ there was something strange about his relationship with the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk, as we shall soon see. After arriving in Shanghai, he was a representative of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, and at first he worked almost daily with Nikolsky, but "I had no organizational link to the Secretariat in Irkutsk." Soon after his arrival, "a messenger came from Irkutsk to convey the following news: The Comintern [Executive] had appointed me a member of the [Far Eastern] Secretariat, and the Secretariat in Irkutsk decided that I would remain in Shanghai. In fact, however, I was a member in name only." Somehow or other, while he was en route there, his position seems to have been demoted from representative of the Comintern Executive to representative of the Far Eastern Secretariat. He further stressed that he did not work actively as a member of the Far Eastern Secretariat because, while he was residing in Shanghai, "no documents of any sort were sent from Irkutsk." As a result, he "did not participate in the direction or activities of the Far Eastern Secretariat. . . . While in Shanghai my duties were limited to offering practical assistance to orders received by Nikolsky and to abstain altogether from independent actions so as not to invite organizational confusion."

Distrust of the Far Eastern Secretariat surfaces here and there in Maring's report to the Comintern Executive. In addition to the change in his status enacted without any consultation, behind this suspicion lay the internal dissension in the Korean Communist Party and the participation of the Far Eastern Secretariat. He pointed out that the direct cause of the rift between the two wings of the Korean Communist Party—the Irkutsk wing and the Shanghai wing—was the leadership struggle between the Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk (Shumyatsky) and the foreign affairs apparatus of the Far Eastern Republic in Chita (A. M. Krasnoshchekov), and he criticized both sides' factional posture.

The links between internal strife in the Korean Communist Party and the various organizations in Irkutsk and Chita were enormously complicated. While we do not have the space to explain it in detail, one thing that is amply clear is, as Maring put it, “although the Comintern’s Far Eastern Secretariat has been installed in Irkutsk, it is of no use whatsoever. It is too far away and cannot maintain communication across Manchuria to the East at fixed intervals.” The Comintern should set up, he argued, a guiding organ not in the middle of Siberia but right in China. And it was he who should have been sent by the Comintern Executive to set up that guiding organ in Shanghai.

We do not know precisely when the messenger from Irkutsk who was said to have brought the news of Maring’s change of status arrived. When Maring dispatched his report from Shanghai on July 9,²⁸ it was addressed not to the Far Eastern Secretariat but to the Executive Committee of the Comintern in Moscow. Does this mean something happened before his change in status or that, after the change, he took it upon himself to assume the task of a representative of the Executive Committee? We do not know the answer, but there is something noteworthy concerning this in the report: “We anticipate that the congress we convene at the end of July will reap great benefits in our work. Various groups with small numbers of comrades will come together as one. From then on, it will be possible to start centralized work.” In other words, he was reporting that the congress was shortly to be convened.

Assembling the Congress

Looking back in subsequent years on the time of his arrival in Shanghai, Maring knew nothing about the Chinese Communist movement: “In Shanghai I had to start everything from the very beginning.”²⁹ Before then, he had no idea of what stage the Chinese Communist organization had reached. However, the Far Eastern Secretariat had given his colleague in Shanghai, Nikolsky, the task of attending and leading a CCP congress. So Maring went along with Nikolsky and urged the Shanghai Communist Party leadership to call a congress.

The CCP’s first national congress was called more at the prompting of Maring, who had been sent to Shanghai, than as a spontaneous decision by Chinese Communist Party members. As Li Da, who had at the time replaced Chen Duxiu in taking on practical responsibility for the Shanghai Communist Party, put it:

Maring (Malin) and Nikolov (Nikeluofu [*sic*]) were sent by the Comintern to Shanghai in June. After they met and spoke with us, they learned the circumstances surrounding our Party, and they requested that I immediately convene a representative conference of the Party and announce the formal founding of the Chinese Communist Party. At the time there were seven Party organizations. I sent out seven letters in which I requested each local Party group to select delegates to be sent to Shanghai and participate [in the Party congress].³⁰

That the CCP congress was hurriedly called at the prompting of the Comintern representatives seems to be supported by the fact that ultimately neither of the two most important figures in China, “Chen in the South and Li in the North”—namely, Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao—attended. The reason neither Chen nor Li attended was ascribed to their both being extremely busy,³¹ but Chen planned to return to Shanghai in September after the congress,³² so both he and Li might indeed have attended had the opening of the congress been postponed slightly. Thus, the meeting was convened without them, which we must assume strongly reflects the intentions of the Comintern representatives. Between Guangzhou and Shanghai, Chen Duxiu did communicate with the meeting by letter concerning party activities.³³ Thus, after Maring’s arrival, they may indeed have gotten Chen’s consent to go ahead with the congress.

The local organizations who were in communication with Shanghai had no particularly unified rules or stipulated organizational regulations. In addition, they each lived under an assortment of divergent political and work conditions. Thus, the methods used to select delegates were many and sundry. In Beijing, they called a meeting and decided on delegates, and in Changsha and Jinan, people with links to the Communist Party in Shanghai voluntarily attended, representing these locales. Based on materials from the time, the individuals whose routes to Shanghai can be determined are Mao Zedong and He Shuheng (delegates from Changsha), Chen Gongbo (delegate from Guangzhou), and Liu Renjing (delegate from Beijing).

According to the diary of Xie Juezai (1884–1971), Mao and He set out from Changsha on June 29. His diary for that day reads, “6:00 P.M., Shuheng departed for Shanghai. His traveling companion is Runzhi [Mao Zedong]. Nationwide XXXXX invitees will be going there.”³⁴ The missing five characters are probably “Zhongguo Gongchandang”

(Chinese Communist Party) or “Gongchanzhuyizhe” (Communists). In any event, prior to this, Changsha representatives Mao and He definitely were informed of a congress to take place in Shanghai. Considering the transportation conditions between Changsha and Shanghai at the time, it probably took about five days to get there, so they should have arrived in July. By the same token, the Guangzhou representative Chen Gongbo set out for Shanghai by sea with his wife on July 14, arriving about July 22.³⁵ In the case of Beijing delegate Liu Renjing, we know that he participated in the annual general meeting of the “Young China Association” (held July 1–4) in Nanjing.³⁶ After this general meeting, he attended the national congress of the CCP in Shanghai, but in his case, we know that he received notice from Shanghai about the congress before the end of June.

Looking at all the routes taken by the congress participants together, we may hypothesize that Li Da and Li Hanjun in Shanghai decided in mid-June that they would convene the congress in Shanghai and notified the local organizations of their decision. Then the representatives from these locales who were notified set out for Shanghai beginning in late June and began assembling in Shanghai in the beginning of July.³⁷ In his July 9 report, Maring noted, “We anticipate that the congress we convene at the end of July will reap great benefits in our work.” Thus, the report was written at the very time that the delegates were in the midst of coming together.

One document recording the events of the CCP’s first national congress is the Russian-language text “Kongress Kommunisticheskoi Partii v Kitaie” (“Congress of the Chinese Communist Party”). At the close of the congress, or shortly thereafter, this document, which appears to be a formal written report to the Comintern, offers certain information concerning details of the convening and timing of the congress. This document was part of a collection of materials that the Soviet Communist Party Central had sent to the Chinese Communist Party in the 1950s, and a Chinese translation appeared in 1958 in the journal *Dang shi ziliao huibao*.³⁸ Because this was an internal document that was directed at only a few high-level personnel, it was scarcely known outside this group.³⁹ A Soviet scholar named E. F. Kovalev later discovered the same document from materials of the same era in the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, and he published them with detailed annotations in 1972.⁴⁰ Thus, slowly but surely, scholars learned of the existence of this document. This text, “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” states, “The congress was

called for June 20, but it was July 23 before [all of] the representatives to it finally arrived in Shanghai from Beijing, Guangzhou, Changsha, Jinan, and various places in Japan. . . . And, thus, the congress was convened at that point.”⁴¹

The report indicates that originally the congress was scheduled to be called on June 20, but because the assembling of delegates was late, the meeting was delayed over a month until July 23. This is a somewhat strange explanation. Even if Maring and Nikolsky arrived in Shanghai about June 3, and Shanghai Party members Li Da, Li Hanjun, and others immediately sent out notification of the congress to the various sites, considering the communication and transportation situations at the time, it would have been impossible to convene a congress by June 20. One theory is that the report noted “June 20” as the scheduled date that did not materialize because of the propriety of sending a CCP representative to the third Comintern congress, which commenced on June 22,⁴² which is entirely possible. Having sent his report from Shanghai on June 9, Maring noted “the end of July” for the convening of the congress, but he made no mention whatsoever of delicately balancing a postponement with the Comintern congress. His manner of writing appears to indicate that the congress was scheduled for late July from the start.

In Chen Gongbo’s master’s thesis, “The Communist Movement in China,” which he submitted to Columbia University two and a half years later, he noted that the congress “was convened on July 20.”⁴³ Assuming as much, one possibility is that the “June 20” (*na 20 iunia*) in the Russian report should have been “July 20” (*na 20 iulia*).⁴⁴ “June” and “July” in Russian-language documents are often confused, so that is a likely explanation.⁴⁵ If the date was in fact July 20, then everything falls into place nicely, since Maring and Nikolsky arrived in Shanghai about six weeks before, and there would have been plenty of time for notices to go out and for delegates to get to Shanghai. Also, considering that Mao Zedong (in Changsha) and Liu Renjing (in Beijing), among others, didn’t set out for Shanghai until late June, July 20 makes more sense.

The Russian-language text of “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” offers as a reason for postponing the congress until July 23 that “it was July 23 before [the representatives] finally arrived in Shanghai.” We must also keep in mind Guangzhou representative Chen Gongbo’s travel route. As noted above, he arrived in Shanghai about July 22. If the scheduled date to start the congress was July 20, its three-day

postponement must be due to the late arrival of the delegates who were due to participate (it is unclear if there were any other late arrivals). So putting all this information together, the assembling of the CCP's first national congress can be summarized as follows: Around June 3, Maring and Nikolsky, who arrived in Shanghai at roughly the same time, contacted Li Da, Li Hanjun, and others and requested the convening of a party congress; in the middle of June, Li Da and others communicated with the various local organizations that July 20 was the scheduled date for the start of the congress. Various local representatives received these notifications in late June and began traveling to Shanghai at the end of June. One group of delegates was unable to make it by the commencement date, so the meeting was held several days late.

One source claims that along with the notices, each delegate received one hundred yuan for traveling expenses.⁴⁶ Those coming from outside Shanghai numbered about ten, meaning that travel expenses on the whole would have been about 1,000 yuan. Considering that the average monthly salary of a Chinese worker at this time was between ten and fifteen yuan and that the railway fare for Beijing to Shanghai was about fifty yuan for first class and about fifteen yuan for third class,⁴⁷ this was an extraordinarily generous allowance. Having to raise 1,000 yuan in a short period of time was altogether unthinkable for the CCP, which could not even publish its journal *Gongchandang* because of financial woes. Among Nikolsky's duties was to supply funds to the Communist movement in China, and such expenditures would naturally have been supplied by the Comintern. Also, about a year after the first congress in June 1922, over 94 percent of the CCP's total operating expenditures (over 17,000 yuan) was provided by the Comintern. Being able to raise only 1,000 yuan, the early CCP had no choice but to rely on the Comintern.⁴⁸

What sort of organization did the regional delegates who planned to attend the first national congress think the "Communist Party" was? To what extent did they already have the consciousness of professional revolutionaries? Unfortunately, we have no literature that answers these questions. Yet, having been given the means to travel to Shanghai, these men certainly believed that the organization they were joining was of an altogether different nature from past groups that relied on work performed gratis or voluntary campaigns or, for that matter, the extant political parties that repeatedly came together and then quickly fell apart without any firm principles ever being established.

THE OPENING OF THE PARTY'S NATIONAL CONGRESS

Number of Participants at the Congress

Most of the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party is devoted to the participants at the first national congress and the activities that took place during that first meeting. In particular, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, most of the literature about the CCP, which ruled China as of October 1, 1949, concentrates on this first national congress, especially the epochal event of the CCP's official formation. In terms of the CCP's formation, designating the first national congress for 1921 transpired in the main after 1949.⁴⁹ In addition, the party-formation activities prior to the first congress (as pointed out in chapter 3, the party was actually formed around November 1920) were treated as a preparatory process leading to the party's actual (official) formation. As background to this, by raising the position of the congress attended by Mao Zedong and dubbing the previous organization of Chen Duxiu and others the "Communist Group," it was the intention of those connected to the CCP from 1949 to try to diminish the relative importance of the latter.⁵⁰ Taking this to the logical extreme, the first national congress later acquired a symbolic importance well beyond its reality. In other words, once the CCP became the political party in power, it had to confirm its own history publicly; because the outside world expected as much, the period of the first national congress and the attendees became particularly important historical issues.

Because the extant primary documentation on the delegates and timing of the first national congress is exceedingly small and the existence of a fair number of discrepancies among the memoirs of those connected to the events, all manner of explanation has been put forth. This complex situation for research is even more complicated because after 1949, Chinese research materials have long been closed to the public both externally, of course, but domestically as well, and research done abroad and documents discovered outside China (such as in the Soviet Union, the United States, and Japan) have not been made available and utilized in research done within China. Given this complexity, even just compiling the history of research on the first national congress both inside and outside China and the history of scholarly interactions would easily fill an entire volume.⁵¹

The process of publishing memoirs and documents about the first national congress and the volatile political situation at the time is closely tied to the confirmation of the delegates and the timing of the first congress, and it is impossible to separate the two for discussion. In other words, the question is less one of the delegates (or their statuses) and timing and more one of the link between changing memories and a “definitive thesis.” In this sense, then, what we must first examine is the process of writing the memoirs of those connected to the CCP, which occupy a major place in research on the first congress since 1949, and the changes in “definitive theses.” For example, like Bao Huiseng and Li Da, Dong Biwu wrote a great deal about his experiences at the first congress, and among those who attended, he was an important figure who never left the party after 1949; thus, his memoirs are considered highly important. His many accounts, however, are contradictory when it comes to who was in attendance. While the delegates and timing are certainly important issues, by examining the process of the composition of memoirs and the changes in the “definitive theses” they profess, these issues may best be understood as functions of a “consciousness” that regards the first CCP congress as distinctly special and often the “political position” of the author of the memoir.

The most reliable documents concerning the number of Chinese attendees are the Russian-language “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” and Chen Gongbo’s “The Communist Movement in China”—both introduced earlier in our examination of the process by which the congress was convened—and both give the number as twelve (without listing any names). Inasmuch as these two documents, though, were long not made public, they did not exert any influence on the pre-1949 memoirs of those concerned.⁵² By the same token, two essays by men connected to the CCP published in January 1927, both of which mention “eleven men” present, may be thought of as the earliest citation of this view in China.⁵³ Before the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the first memoir to list the names of the attendees at the first national congress was Zhou Fohai’s memoir “Taochu le chidu Wuhan” (“Escape from the Red Capital of Wuhan”), published in 1927.⁵⁴ Zhou names as attendees “Guangzhou representatives Chen Gongbo and Bao Huiseng, Shanghai representatives Li Hanjun and Li Da, Beijing representatives Zhang Guotao and Liu Renjing, Wuhan representatives Dong Biwu and Chen Tanqiu, Changsha representatives Mao Zedong and He Shuheng, and two student representatives from Jinan, whose names were

subsequently never heard, and I have forgotten them. The representative from Japan was myself.” So with the two students, the total comes to thirteen attendees.⁵⁵ Chen Tanqiu, a Wuhan delegate, however, does supply the names of the two students from Jinan. In his “Diyici daibiao dahui de huiyi” (“Memories of the First Delegate Congress”), written in Moscow in 1936, he mentions the names of Wang Jinmei and Deng Enming as delegates from Jinan.⁵⁶ The eleven names, aside from Wang and Deng, and places represented are precisely the same as Zhou Fohai’s list, so we can be certain of the number of attendees and their identities.

During the Yan’an period, this “thirteen men thesis” became virtually definitive within the CCP, but just before the conclusion of the anti-Japanese war, the “twelve men thesis” was put forward, and in 1951 (the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the CCP), after the founding of the People’s Republic, the “twelve men thesis” became the established view.⁵⁷ The reason the “twelve men thesis” became the accepted figure was because in the fall of 1936, Mao Zedong gave an account of his life up to that point to Edgar Snow. He stated that at the meeting, “altogether there were twelve of us.”⁵⁸ Snow’s interview catapulted Mao’s name to international attention, and not only was the Chinese translation of Snow’s *Red Star Over China* as *Xixing manji* (Travels to the West) published in Shanghai in 1938, but in Yan’an the previous year, several translations of *Mao Zedong zizhuan* (The Autobiography of Mao Zedong) had been released. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Xiao San (1896–1983), who wrote “Mao Zedong tongzhi de chuqi geming huodong” (“The Early Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Mao Zedong”) and “Mao Zedong tongzhi zhuanlüe” (“Brief Biography of Comrade Mao Zedong”) in the 1940s and pioneered the “twelve men thesis,” translated Snow’s book.⁵⁹

Why would Mao at this time have remembered twelve men being at the meeting? One clue to this is the biographies of Mao authored by Xiao San. Although Xiao San was well known as a cultural work cadre for the Chinese Communist Party, in studies of party history he is known as the author of the first biography of Mao Zedong written by a member of the CCP: *Mao Zedong tongzhi de shaonian shidai* (The Youth of Comrade Mao Zedong).⁶⁰ The basis for this volume was an article he had published in 1944 to commemorate the founding of the CCP, “Mao Zedong tongzhi de chuqi geming huodong” (*Jiefang ribao*, July 1–2, 1944); in this piece, Xiao San noted that the attendees at the first national congress numbered “twelve men” and gave their names: Mao Zedong,

Dong Biwu, He Shuheng, Chen Tanqiu, Wang Hanjin (not Wang Jinmei), Zhang Guotao, Zhou Fohai, Chen Gongbo, Li Da, Li Hanjun, Bao Huiseng, and Yu Xiusong; of these men, Wang Hanjin and Yu Xiusong did not actually attend the congress. This would appear to be the very first piece by someone connected to the CCP that clearly presented the “twelve men thesis.” The list of attendees proposed by Xiao San seems to have increased the list Mao offered to Edgar Snow by names conjectured by Xiao San. At the time he would have been writing this essay, Xiao was gathering his data directly from Mao, making the probability high indeed that Mao told Xiao the names of the twelve men.⁶¹ Thus, we may surmise that Mao remembered a somewhat different group from the one Zhou Fohai and Chen Tanqiu had indicated earlier.

This “twelve men thesis” became the party’s official view by virtue of Mao Zedong’s own statement that the delegates to the first national congress numbered “twelve men” just before the seventh party congress in 1945.⁶² In the Yan’an period, particularly after the seventh party congress, Mao Zedong solidified and absolutized his leadership and authority within the party, so much weight would have been placed on his assertion that twelve men attended the first national congress. And because no new information on the congress was published in the 1940s, it was accepted that twelve was the correct number just on the basis of Mao’s words.⁶³ Scholarship in the field of party history within China from the 1950s long continued to hold to the “twelve men thesis.”⁶⁴ And a reverse phenomenon emerged in which memoirs by those connected to the events in question written after the founding of the People’s Republic, to a greater or lesser extent, were influenced by the “twelve men thesis,” which had become definitive.

Among these memoirs, that of Dong Biwu occupies an especially important place, as noted earlier. Dong commented on who attended the congress in the late 1920s. In response to a letter from He Shuheng, who appears to have asked about the first CCP congress, he named eleven individuals (the same people Zhou Fohai had listed) and “a Shandong delegate (whose name I have forgotten).”⁶⁵ At that point in time, we do not know if he was thinking of someone who was “a Shandong delegate” or if he had previously seen Zhou’s list, but when he met with Nym Wales (1907–1997) in 1937, he named thirteen men, including two Shandong delegates.⁶⁶ Dong Biwu’s memory that thirteen men attended the congress is further strengthened by Chen Tanqiu’s memoir, and even in 1949, Dong repeated the “thirteen men thesis.”⁶⁷ After the founding of the People’s Republic, as we have seen, the “twelve men

thesis” was widely accepted, and still Dong wrote, “Until now everyone who has published on the number of delegates [to the first party congress] has stated twelve men attended, but as I remember it, there were thirteen men there.” Thus, even as late as 1956, he was not about to change his own thesis.⁶⁸

The impetus for dispensing with his own “thirteen men thesis” came when he was shown the Chinese translation of documents relating to the first national congress, first and foremost being the Russian-language “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party”—which put the number of attendees at twelve—by scholars at the Central Archives in 1959. Asked for his opinion of the reliability of these documents, he wrote, “Before the discovery of records in Chinese-language documents, these appear to be relatively reliable materials,” and thus “questions such as . . . the number of delegates to the first congress are answered clearly in the document entitled ‘Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.’ On the issue of the number of delegates who attended the first congress, I have until now agreed with the thesis in Comrade Chen Tanqiu’s memoir [of thirteen men], but I would like now to renounce that view.”⁶⁹ So, he withdrew the “thirteen men thesis” and switched to the “twelve men thesis.” In 1963, when someone from Renmin University asked him about the number of attendees, he gave the number as twelve based on “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” and Li Da’s memoirs (which also adopted the “twelve men thesis”).⁷⁰ Thus, his memory about the first congress came from other people’s memoirs and newly discovered documents.

Dong Biwu was by no means the only person who took a fresh look at past events in light of other people’s memoirs and documents from the time in question; in fact, he shared this with all other writers. In this sense, a memoir is always a product of some “research,” but in Dong’s case, the problem with the documents he saw in 1959 was that they were combined with materials that were not purely original. This includes the CCP Central Committee’s registry of names following the first party congress, which included Mao Zedong and that the Central Archives had compiled itself. When he saw this list, Dong Biwu responded to the Central Archives:

I do not recall who was selected for the Central Committee at the first congress, but according to your letter there is a register of the Central Committee members from this first period in the archive returned from the Soviet Union, and it lists the following

nine people. . . . If we put this document together with the aforementioned three documents [“Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui,” “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige jueyi,” and “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling”], it would seem to be equally reliable.⁷¹

Dong Biwu vouched for the reliability of this list with the restriction “if we put this document together with the aforementioned three documents.” But this is simply not the case. Originally, although the Central Archives was supposed to convey directly to him that this list of names was not an original document, it never did so. Therefore, Dong used the list in his memoir. This came to light in an interview with Dong that appeared in *People’s Daily* in 1961.⁷² Dong not only offers a high evaluation of the contribution of Mao Zedong, but he says, “Chairman Mao was not only a member of the Party’s first national congress, but he was also selected to be a member of the Central Committee at that time.” As for documentation concerning the first national congress, he notes that “it was later all lost,” and “there are no written materials substantiating the program adopted at the ‘first national congress.’” By the same token, he comments that, based on his own memories, other issues that were discussed were “opposition to imperialism” and “opposition to the warlords.” The existence of documents about the first congress that he himself did see was kept secret, and “opposition to imperialism,” which did not come up in any of these documents, was part of the party program. Thus, due to both the carelessness of the Central Archives and Dong Biwu’s perfunctory “research,” this conversation became a curious entity that is neither an original document nor a memoir.

At a time when the publication of a memoir was itself rare, the importance of this interview being published in *People’s Daily*, the largest Chinese media outlet, is apparent. Just as Dong himself used Li Da’s memoir as a reference, others also connected to the first party congress used Dong’s interview as a reference. In other words, it is not that the memoirs written in the 1960s and 1970s by those linked to the congress are not reliable, but they do not deserve the weight they have been given.

When a group of scholars working on party history read Dong’s interview, they wrote to the Central Archives, asking about it. Eventually, the Central Archives clumsily paid heed and sent a letter to Dong Biwu in July 1964. They explained that the Central Committee’s “register

of names” sent five years earlier “was not put together with the three documents of the first party congress,” and the list “was not necessarily accurate.”⁷³ The lateness of this explanation after the event, however, could not make up for the misstatements. Dong Biwu was shocked by the letter, and he quickly responded that there were errors in his “conversation” and that he was working on a clarification.⁷⁴ A memoir he wrote in 1971, entitled “Dong Biwu Discusses the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the Hubei Communist Group,”⁷⁵ was probably part of that clarification. In it he mentions the Russian-language documents concerned with the first party congress:

I do not remember clearly if there was a Central Committee or not. When I was asked in 1961 by Shen Dechun and Tian Haiyan [Dong’s secretary, who published the “conversation” in the *People’s Daily* in 1961], I said that the chairman [Mao Zedong] had been selected for the Central Committee, but that memory was incorrect. At the time I was speaking on the basis of two documents that had come from the Soviet Union after liberation, and in one of them it stated that Chairman Mao was a Central Committee member. However, that is not reliable. These two documents are in the archives, and of the two archival documents, the party program is relatively trustworthy. . . . [Yet,] the other document is not. I claimed that Chairman Mao had been selected for the Central Committee because I was convinced at the time that originally these two documents were together and written by the same person. . . . This issue does not merit revision. Both are secret documents, top secrets of state.

Unfortunately, this disclaimer was not published in Dong Biwu’s lifetime. There is a possibility that some scholars of party history and people connected to the first national congress knew of it, but it occurred in the middle of the Cultural Revolution when the final touches to Mao’s deification were taking place, and removing Mao from the Central Committee of the first CCP national congress was impossible for anyone, including Dong Biwu. Even after the deaths of Mao and Dong, instead of revising his 1961 “conversation,” it continued to be quoted until 1977,⁷⁶ and thereafter cast a shadow on studies of the first party congress and other memoirs. Thus, the original Russian-language materials on the first party congress were treated as “secret documents”

and “top secrets of state” and continued to be concealed, together with Dong Biwu’s revised conversation, until the 1980s.⁷⁷

Turning back to the discussion of the attendees at the first congress, with the discovery of the Russian text “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” Dong Biwu, who had been a firm advocate of the “thirteen men thesis,” switched to the “twelve men thesis.” As a result, the number of attendees unexpectedly “settled at twelve,” as Mao Zedong had claimed, and became the accepted thesis in China. This, however, gave rise to another problem. From the thirteen men whose names are confirmed by the memoirs of Zhou Fohai and Chen Tanqiu, which name was to be excised? The list with that name omitted first appeared in Li Da’s autobiography of about 1949, which was when the People’s Republic was becoming established and the “twelve men thesis” was accepted.⁷⁸ Bao Huiseng, who had heretofore been considered a delegate from Guangzhou on the list of thirteen, was dropped. Inasmuch as there was no reason to suspect that Li Da had seen the Russian documents on the first congress, he had whittled away one person to conform to the “twelve men thesis,” then the reigning view. When he was subsequently asked why he had eliminated Bao Huiseng from the delegates, he offered the following explanation:

Bao Huiseng was not a representative selected by a local party organization to attend [the congress] in Shanghai. . . . When [the congress] commenced on the evening of July 1, Bao came to the meeting with the delegates, and the delegates did not reject him. That was because they did not know at the time that they should organize a screening committee for delegates’ credentials. The delegates, though, did not recognize him as a delegate. Later, Bao Huiseng claimed that he had been a delegate of the Guangzhou Party organization, but this is not correct. There was only one Guangzhou delegate, Chen Gongbo.⁷⁹

In a word, his explanation is that Bao Huiseng attended but was not a delegate. If you believe Li Da’s elucidation, then there were thirteen attendees, but the formal representatives numbered twelve. No matter how one looks at it, this explanation is forced, for immediately several questions arise. First, memoirs up to this point in time, including those prior to the founding of the People’s Republic, all clearly aver that Bao Huiseng was a Guangzhou delegate; second, despite the fact that there

was no screening committee for credentials, could the CCP have distinguished delegates and attendees when they initially convened the congress? Although Li Da states that the “delegates did not recognize him as a delegate,” it would be closer to the truth to say that it was not the delegates who refused to recognize Bao as a delegate but Li Da at the time he wrote this letter. Removing Bao Huiseng from the representatives, then, was the strained result of the effort to make thirteen attendees actually be twelve.

Why did Bao Huiseng have to be the person cut from the list? It was probably Li Da’s judgment that Bao was from Wuhan, and Wuhan already had two delegates—Dong Biwu and Chen Tanqiu—so he could not be a Wuhan delegate, and there was equally no reason a party member from Wuhan should be a Guangzhou delegate.⁸⁰ One further reason we should note is his distrust of Bao Huiseng. In fact, after Dong Biwu, too, switched from the “thirteen men thesis” to the “twelve men thesis,” he noted, “There was one Guangzhou [delegate], but actually two men came. One of them was Bao Huiseng, and he was a reporter. Although he attended, he was not a delegate.”⁸¹ This agrees with Li Da’s theory, but Dong Biwu revealed that “there are many points” in Bao Huiseng’s memoirs that “do not jibe with the facts in which he elevates himself.”⁸² It is entirely possible that this suspicion about Bao Huiseng strongly influenced Dong Biwu, who now had to decrease the number of delegates by one. In any event, Mao Zedong mentioned the delegates to the first CCP congress at the ninth party congress (1969)—probably following Li Da’s explanation—and by citing twelve names (with that of Bao Huiseng off the list), the “twelve men thesis” excising Bao became the definitive theory that “should be studied assiduously and carried out thoroughly.”⁸³ Thus, Dong Biwu had no choice but to subscribe to the “definitive theory” insofar as he was following the Party’s decision.

Dong explained that memoirs concerning the first party congress were not free from ideologies of their eras:

As one thinks back on events of that time, it is difficult to extract oneself from contemporary ideology. Add to that contemporary thought and memories become even less reliable. Reflecting on this, when two people think back on one event, if they do not discuss it in advance, the result may be two different memories.⁸⁴

When Dong made these comments, he was vice-chairman of state and a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CCP.⁸⁵

It would, indeed, have been difficult for him to extract himself from “contemporary ideology.” There is no reason that attendees at the first party congress who remained on the mainland, such as Li Da, Bao Huiseng, and Liu Renjing who, compared to Dong, held positions in society of no import in the least, would have been any freer from CCP “ideology” of the times.⁸⁶ Studies of the first party congress in China since the founding of the People’s Republic undergo a certain confusion whereby memories are twisted by constant “research” due to guardians of documents (in Dong’s case, it was the Central Archives), the providing of untrustworthy information by other scholars, as well as “ideology” and “definitive theories,” and those twisted memories are fed back into studies. Revision of erroneous memories cannot easily be published, and the most reliable documents may be treated as “top secrets of state.” Studies that will elucidate historical facts, then, should not be expected from the start. For this reason, I believe that the issues of the attendees and timing of the first party congress function as “ideology,” which sees this first congress as extremely significant and a “political stance” of the time of those who write their memoirs.

Participants

The first national congress of the CCP, as we have noted, has been accorded great importance by the Chinese Communist Party now that it has become the party in power. The congress’s timing and the disparity by one in the number of attendees are major issues for the CCP, which has to definitively describe the party’s early days. From the perspective of the entire history of the party’s formation, the contours of its formation are not going to change because of this. With the explanation of Bao Huiseng’s participant status, the number of delegates to the first party congress is divided into twelve or thirteen men, and either way, thirteen men, including Bao—whatever his status—actually attended the congress. The main point, then, is just to have this story conform to the “twelve men attending” found in the Russian-language document. Just about every possible theory on this front has been investigated, and fortunately an authoritative view by Hachiya Ryōko has now been put forth on the subject.⁸⁷ In what follows I shall advance a position, based where appropriate on her essay, adding a number of my own points here and there.

Putting together the memoirs that we have, the participants at the congress numbered thirteen. Why, then, do both of the two documents that were written shortly after the congress—the Russian-language “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” and Chen Gongbo’s master’s thesis, “The Communist Movement in China”—claim twelve as the number of delegates? Even putting aside Chen Gongbo’s essay because of the confusion of the memories involved, the “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” was composed right after the congress concluded. Thus, its citation of the figure of twelve has to be respected.

We should reject from the start the possibility that this was a typographical error. As we noted earlier, in its mention of the scheduled date for convening the congress in the Russian-language “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” (it reads “June” and should be “July”), we had to consider this a typo. Thus, I would like to entertain that possibility with respect to the number of delegates, but unfortunately, this does not apply. The reason is that the text gives as a breakdown for the twelve delegates “seven districts including Shanghai . . . with one congress delegate from [each of] two districts and two from five districts.” The total comes to twelve, undeniably. This would indicate clearly that two of the seven districts had only one delegate attending. One of them was Zhou Fohai representing the Japan district, meaning that of the six remaining domestic regions, only one other had a single delegate. Which district was it?

If we accept Li Da’s explanation, it was Guangzhou: Chen Gongbo was the delegate, and Bao Huiseng was not one. That would fit the thesis of “thirteen attendees and twelve delegates.” This view was formally elucidated in a 1980 article by Shao Weizheng, a pioneer of text-based research following the end of the Cultural Revolution.⁸⁸ He argued that Bao’s status at the congress was as the designated stand-in for Chen Duxiu, who was then in Guangzhou. This metamorphosed “thirteen men thesis” is now the reigning theory in China.⁸⁹

By contrast, the view firmly rooted among foreign scholars primarily is that Changsha delegate He Shuheng had a defective status as participant, and he left the congress midway and returned to Changsha; thus, the district with one delegate was Changsha.⁹⁰ A close look reveals that the basis for this thesis always comes back to Zhang Guotao’s memoir:

Before the congress convened, certain important delegates conversed among themselves about the issue of status for delegates. As a result, it was decided that inasmuch as He Shuheng did not understand Marxism and had no activist experience, he should

not attend the congress. I informed Mao Zedong of this decision. Claiming that there was urgent business to attend to in Hunan, he had He Shuheng return to Hunan before him. Thus, there were ultimately only twelve delegates in attendance at the congress.⁹¹

This, too, indicates a screening of credentials, and as with Li Da, it is an explanation difficult to accept without some debate. The fact that no other memoirs or any related documents mention this fact weakens the persuasiveness of this thesis further. As we have seen, the accepted theory in the People's Republic was of twelve men, and of the writings that have adopted this thesis, a tiny group among them may have excluded He Shuheng out of carelessness.⁹² When Zhang Guotao wrote his memoirs, among the materials he used as references were documents that left out He Shuheng's name, and this may provide a hint as to why He exited the stage. One cannot relinquish the possibility that the shakeup in the list of attendees in China affected Zhang Guotao when he was composing his memoirs in Canada.

When the composer of the Russian-language "Congress of the Chinese Communist Party" claimed that twelve men attended the congress, the person who was dropped from the list was, just as Hachiya Ryōko noted, neither Bao Huiseng nor He Shuheng but actually Chen Gongbo, who left the congress midway. After being searched by the French Concession police while the congress was under way (more on this to follow), only Chen failed to reappear when the congress reconvened; not only did both Zhang Guotao and Zhou Fohai recall this with a certain amount of humor,⁹³ but Chen himself clearly acknowledged it in his essay written shortly after the congress.⁹⁴ Considering the fact that "Congress of the Chinese Communist Party" was composed shortly after the first national congress concluded, the decision to state that "twelve men" attended and initially thirteen should have been was not a result of a credential screening process but due to the fact that one of the men, Chen Gongbo, had disappeared by the time the congress concluded. This approach is far more persuasive. Then, the districts with one delegate cited in the "Congress of the Chinese Communist Party" would correspond to Japan and Guangzhou, and the Guangzhou delegate would have been Bao Huiseng.⁹⁵ Following this analysis, we put forward the following list of participants at the first national congress of the CCP:

Beijing representatives:

Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing

Jinan representatives:

Wang Jinmei, Deng Enming

<i>Wuhan representatives:</i>	Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu
<i>Shanghai representatives:</i>	Li Hanjun, Li Da
<i>Changsha representatives:</i>	Mao Zedong, He Shuheng
<i>Guangzhou representative(s):</i>	Bao Huiseng (although Chen Gongbo attended, because he was absent from midway in the congress, he was not counted as a representative)
<i>Japan representative:</i>	Zhou Fohai
<i>Comintern representatives:</i>	Maring, Nikolsky

Timing

Innumerable studies have been published concerning the time period of the first national congress of the CCP, and virtually every conceivable theory has been expressed. Thus, our discussion is based primarily on the work of previous scholars, to which I add a few of my own views. One individual who deserves much credit for his extraordinary, but unappreciated, writings on the CCP's first congress is Hong Kong scholar Deng Wenguang.

The date of the congress has been the subject of debate from early on; the CCP claims that the party was founded on July 1, based on some obscure source.⁹⁶ The first work on this topic was a series of articles Deng Wenguang wrote that was published in the 1960s and 1970s.⁹⁷ From the contemporary perspective in the level of research, now that numerous new materials have been discovered and made available, Deng's work certainly has striking mistakes,⁹⁸ but considering the difficulties under which he was working with a paucity of documents available to him and the few memoirs he was able to use, his work is truly groundbreaking. Although Deng's research has been mentioned on occasion outside of China, on the Chinese mainland, merit for text-based elucidation of the first CCP congress has gone largely to Shao Weizheng in the early 1980s,⁹⁹ while Deng's work has been almost completely ignored. The role played by Shao's research in clarifying facts about the first national congress has been, without a doubt, immense, and the very fact that Deng's work has not been considered on the mainland may reflect the fact that research on the first CCP congress has been conducted largely in the absence of interaction between Chinese and foreign scholars. Nonetheless, a fair degree of respect must be paid to Deng's work.

The most reliable document from the time in question for assessing the dating of the first CCP congress remains the Russian-language text “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.” After providing details about the calling of the congress, the text then conveys the progress of the congress:

Delegates to the congress [all] eventually arrived in Shanghai on July 23 from Beijing, Guangzhou, Changsha, Jinan, and Japan, . . . and the congress was convened. At the first session, Comrade Zhang [Guotao], chair of the congress, explained the significance of this congress which was tasked with writing up rules and actual operational plans. An agenda was drawn up, and reports were heard concerning activities in the regional branches and on the overall situation. This took two days. . . . We are very happy to be able to note that Comrade Sneevliet [Maring] and Comrade Nikolsky attended the first congress and offered us beneficial guidance. . . . On the basis of a suggestion from Comrade Nikolsky, it was decided that we apprise Irkutsk by telegram of the goings on at the congress. [And] Comrade Sneevliet proposed that a committee be selected to draw up the rules and operational plans. The committee was allotted two days to compose a draft of the rules, and during this period [the congress] was not in session. The third, fourth, and fifth sessions of the congress were devoted to investigating the rules. . . . The sixth session was held at the private home of a certain comrade [Li Hanjun] late at night. At the start of the session, a spy infiltrated the room. This fellow apologized that he had gotten the wrong home, but we suspended the proceedings at that point. A policeman raided us, intending to arrest [us] shortly after the spy’s intrusion, but the party suffered no real harm. Thereafter, we were especially vigilant, and we were forced to set out to a small city nearby to carry on with the remaining business on the congress agenda. We analyzed the operational plans that the committee had drawn up. . . . [The committee’s suggestions were adopted after an animated discussion, and] the composition of party rules was assigned to a bureau of the party’s Central Committee. Three comrades were selected for a secretariat, and an organizational bureau and propaganda committee were also created. The congress adjourned with a great clamor.¹⁰⁰

After the intrusion by the spy and the police officer, the remaining items on the agenda were attended to at “a small city nearby.” Many memoirs cite this as Jiaxing in Zhejiang Province. To avoid danger, the session held on the day the congress concluded took place on a boat in Nanhu, a picturesque district in Jiaxing, about one hundred kilometers from Shanghai (about two hours by express train). On the basis of this report, if we were to put the congress proceedings in the form of an itinerary, it would look as follows:

July 23	Congress opens; first session held; agenda items drawn up, reports heard ¹⁰¹
July 24	Reports heard
July 25–26	Recess; drafting committee prepares draft of “rules” and “actual operational work”
July 27	Third session held; discussion of draft of “rules”
July 28	Fourth session held; continuation from previous day
July 29	Fifth session held; continuation from previous day
July 30 (night)	Sixth session held; canceled because of suspicious intruder and Concession police search
Date uncertain	Session reconvened (on a boat in Nanhu, Jiaxing); discussion and adoption of draft; executive committee formed; congress adjourned

From the report alone, one cannot determine the date that the congress convened, but the agenda from the 23rd through the 30th follows the report precisely. The schedule through July 30 is supported by “Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu” (“Shanghai Harbor During a Ten-Day Trip”) by Chen Gongbo, a congress participant, shortly after the congress adjourned.¹⁰² This piece is an account of Chen’s time in Shanghai, ten days from July 22 to July 31, and one thing that it and the “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” completely agree on is what transpired on the night of the suspicious intrusion and the armed police search following it, which most memoirists who attended the congress mention. Chen reported on these events in a somewhat vague and exaggerated manner and then noted, “Thus, we [Chen and his wife] took a train the next day [bound for] Hangzhou.” Elsewhere, though, he reports setting out for Hangzhou on the “evening of the 31st.” That would mean that the investigation by the French Concession police took place on the eve of the 31st, and it would thus be perfectly

consistent with the dating of the “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” of the sixth session taking place on the 30th.

In addition to being questioned by the Concession police at Li Hanjun’s home the previous evening, another reason Chen raises for his going to Hangzhou on the 31st was the murder that took place in the early dawn of the 31st at the Dadong Hotel, which was next door to where he was staying. We can confirm that the incident took place from newspaper reports at the time.¹⁰³ In a word, then, with the after-effects of the search at the congress site on the night of the 30th still lingering, Chen Gongbo had the singular experience of having a murder occur right next door. Having such unforgettable experiences and then transcribing them support the view that the search of the first national congress by the Concession police took place on the night of the 30th.

The remaining question concerns the concluding date of the congress, the “Nanhu meeting” in Jiaxing. It certainly took place soon after the July 30 session that the police raid ended. There is a somewhat troublesome document concerning this, a letter dated October 13 of that year from Yu. D. Smurgis, chief representative of the Profintern, who had been a resident in Chita in Siberia.¹⁰⁴ In his letter, he says the following of the CCP’s first congress:

Although I believe you have already consented, from this past July 23 to August 5 a conference was held of representatives of the Chinese Communist Party—or, if more appropriately expressed, a meeting of delegates representing Chinese who fancied themselves Communists—in Shanghai. This conference of delegates established the basis for a Chinese Communist Party.

According to this letter, the congress ended on August 5. As we noted in chapter 2, Smurgis was the man who sent Fromberg to Shanghai in January on behalf of the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Council of Trade Unions in Chita. Nikolsky was also the representative of the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Council of Trade Unions (at the time of this letter, the Profintern), and as common sense would have it, Smurgis apparently wrote his letter on the basis of some sort of information coming from China. Yet, the idea that the session that was canceled on July 30 because of the raid would have resumed after a five-day interruption is clearly unusual. Inasmuch as this letter is the only document that mentions a precise concluding date for the

congress, it was the basis for the “August 5 conclusion thesis.” From scholarly works on the topic, the date of the concluding session (the Nanhu meeting) was July 31, August 1, August 2, or August 5.¹⁰⁵

Except for the “August 5 thesis,” all of these dates are based on memoir literature that is contradictory in one form or another. However, irrespective of the names of the participants at the congress, using the memoirs to confirm something as particularly difficult to remember as a date is next to impossible. In addition, there is the bias of the widely accepted theory in the memoir literature since the founding of the People’s Republic that July 1 is the anniversary of the establishment of the CCP. Memoirs written prior to the formation of this “accepted theory” are divided into two groups: those that claim the “Nanhu meeting” took place on the day after the Concession police investigation and those that claim it took place two days later.¹⁰⁶ Determining the precise day of an event is not something that should be left to memoirs.

Putting aside the differences in the conflicting memoir literature for a moment, another clue about the final date might be the storm that hit Jiaxing on the evening of August 1. According to the “Local News” section of *Shenbao* for August 3, which reported on this “huge calamity,” “about 5 P.M. on the 1st of this month,” dark clouds were unexpectedly hanging over Jiaxing, and then a sudden gust of wind blew violently, wreaking major havoc on buildings: “The most severe damage was sustained by summer resort boats in Nanhu. . . . Four or five capsized, and three persons drowned.” In other words, in Nanhu where the delegates to the congress were to convene the final day’s session, an immense calamity transpired over the course of a day. Again, on August 4, *Shenbao* reported that repair work on the Jiaxing railway station building and the telephone lines that had sustained damage from the winds continued on the night of August 2. If a meeting was held on August 1 or 2 in Nanhu, Jiaxing, then at least one of the delegates would surely have mentioned this “great disaster,” but while the memoirs note that the Nanhu meeting went on into the night, not one of them mentions the ferocious winds. This suggests that the Nanhu meeting did not take place on either August 1 or 2.¹⁰⁷

Thus, with the unexpected event of a search by the Concession police and the need to hurriedly adjourn the congress, the most natural view would be that, after the search on the night of July 30, on July 31, they moved the site to Nanhu, Jiaxing, and brought the session to a close. As for the passage in Smurgis’s letter that mentions a closing date of August 5, if we can believe the explanation offered in the

“Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” noting that, in the middle of the congress in Shanghai, “on a suggestion from Comrade Nikolsky, it was decided that we apprise Irkutsk by telegram of the goings on at the congress,” then the congress agenda that had been determined before the raid (in this instance, the congress was to remain convened until August 5) would have been relayed, and Smurgis, who was in Chita and probably learned of it from Irkutsk, jumped to the conclusion that the congress was scheduled to meet from July 23 through August 5.

A lot is still unknown about the participants and the dates of the first CCP congress, and finding that information will require detailed, textual analysis. Yet, even if they reap a bumper crop of answers, it will not sharply alter the image of the CCP in its formative era.

The Search for the Congress’s Meeting Place

The greatest unexpected event at the first CCP congress was the search of the meeting site (Li Hanjun’s home) by the French Concession police on the night of July 30, which cast a shadow even over the agenda decisions of the congress. Fortunately, this did not lead to arrests, although the investigation forced the CCP to change venues for the congress and alter the agenda, leading to considerable confusion. For the congress participants, too, this search of Li’s home was an unexpected incident, and almost all of them, including Maring, mention it in their memoirs. How was it that the authorities discovered the congress that was being held in secret?

It is, to be sure, conceivable that after arriving in Shanghai, Maring’s movements were placed under close observation by the Dutch consulate-general, the Joint Concession, and the French Concession authorities in Shanghai. After being apprehended in Vienna in April of the year en route to China from Moscow, his trip to China was clearly under suspicion, and after reaching Shanghai, the authorities were no less lax in following him. We see this also from the fact that various national authorities frequently reported information about things like his residence in Shanghai, as well as some of his correspondence.¹⁰⁸ Maring himself was aware of being watched and took the step of relying on others to receive his letters and telegrams, but he was unable to completely conceal his movements. While documents of the authorities concerning Maring’s activities while the congress was in session have

not been discovered, the chances are extremely high that he was being tailed during this time.

In fact, the authorities detected the information that a meeting of Communists appeared to be convening in Shanghai at the time. Information that the Japanese police agency had acquired in late June noted that the “Chinese Communist Party of Shanghai” had assembled representatives from many nearby places (Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Suzhou, Nanjing, Wuhu, Anqing, Zhenjiang, Bangbu, Jinan, Xuzhou, Zhengzhou, Taiyuan, Hankou, and Changsha), was about to convene a party congress, and appeared to involve a Japanese participant.¹⁰⁹ Although this same report gave June 30 as the scheduled date that the meeting was to open, it reported that the site for the meeting was “Beile Road [Rue Admiral Bayle], French Concession, Shanghai”—namely, South Huangpo Road, the present site of the remains of the first national congress—not altogether false information. The report, however, does not touch on the source of its intelligence, and the information on the “radical clique” obtained by the Japanese police authorities was communicated from other national authorities in Shanghai. On the basis of this information, the Concession authorities in Shanghai heightened their vigilance.

The French Concession authorities actually enacted rules that may be seen as one part of this vigilant stance. On July 31, *Minguo ribao* reported on the regulations for the management of meetings.¹¹⁰ According to this article, the regulations stipulated that beginning August 1 [the next day], to convene a meeting, one needed to obtain permission from the head of the French Concession police forty-eight hours prior; any meetings of which the authorities were not notified in advance were subject to investigation and punishment. The fact that these regulations were so hastily enacted is easy to understand in light of the authorities acquiring new intelligence on the convening of a “Communist Party” congress. Additionally, according to Chen Gongbo’s “Shiri lǔxing zhong de Chunshen pu,” when the police raided the meeting site, the authorities mistook Chen for a Japanese Socialist Party member.¹¹¹ This would be entirely possible, since the Japanese police report mentioned the participation of a Japanese man.

In China, where research continues to reveal the minutest details about the first congress, there have been attempts to identify the “spy” who caused the police raid,¹¹² and based on the memoirs of someone who claimed to have taken part in the raid, entire novels have been written on the subject.¹¹³ Whether or not documents of the Concession

authorities exist, considering how vague the memories of those who actually participated in the congress are, it is all too clear that the memories of those who claim to have been involved in the search are even less reliable. Nonetheless, this shows how important the first CCP congress is in China since the founding of the People's Republic.

In any event, the Concession authorities were nervous about Maring's movements, and they recognized that the concrete activities of Communists were getting closer. Under these circumstances, the search of the site of the first party congress was virtually unavoidable.

Items Discussed at the Congress

The discussion at the CCP congress covered "The Chinese Communist Party Program," the first set of rules adopted, and "The Present Policy of the Chinese Communist Party," the first item that was voted on.¹¹⁴ The program introduced as "rules" was comprised of the following four points:

1. With a revolutionized army, the proletariat will provide guidance in overthrowing the regime of the capitalist class and constructing a workers' state aimed at eliminating class discrimination.
2. Until the goal of class struggle to eliminate classes is achieved, we shall adopt the dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. We shall abolish the private ownership of capital, confiscate all the means of production—machinery, land, factories, raw materials, and the like—and return them to social ownership.
4. We shall join the Third International [Comintern].¹¹⁵

Aside from the fourth point, to achieve these objectives in China, debates based on national conditions (the immaturity of capitalism there) would have been essential, but the content still replicated the Communist Party programs of advanced capitalist countries. The adoption at the first CCP congress of such a radical program is thus a bit baffling.¹¹⁶ Despite the fact that the first congress was convened with Maring's attendance and guidance, the direction, based in rudimentary experience in Indonesia and the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question"—Communist parties in the "advanced countries" were first to forge alliances with bourgeois democratic groups and take part in the joint struggle of national liberation movements, which would later

become the theoretical basis for the United Front line—decided upon at the second Comintern congress (July 1920), which he attended, are scarcely reflected in this program. Given that Maring, in his speech at the congress, was even reported to have “mentioned his own activities in Indonesia,”¹¹⁷ the fact that such a radical program aimed immediately at a socialist revolution was approved is even more curious.

I offer my own explanation of this issue below, but before we go on to the pattern of discussion at the congress, first let us just confirm that at that point in time, the members of the CCP seemed to share the straightforward idea that socialist revolution equaled construction of an economy of public ownership based on the workers’ seizure of the government. The topics of discussion at the congress are laid out in detail in the Russian-language “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.” According to it, the points of debate were (1) the propriety of holding meetings and, related to this, the propriety of assuming positions as Communist Party members (item 14 in the “rules”); and (2) relations of the CCP with other parties and, related to this, the propriety of joint fronts with them (items 3 and 4 in the “rules” and item 5 in the “resolutions”)—especially the first of these.

As for (1), because there was no possibility of an uprising leading to the socialist revolution, one perspective was to combine both legal activities and illegal activities in normal times, while others opposed this view and, following the example of the German Social-Democratic Party, argued that not only was parliamentary work a useless illusion, but it would thoroughly transform the party itself for the worse. In this connection, opinions were sharply divided over the propriety of whether party members should become government officials. While there was no one in the party linked to the bureaucracy of the Beijing government at the time, there were a number of Guangdong Party members tied to the Guomindang regime under Sun Yat-sen, as, for example, was the case with Chen Duxiu, who was holding a high position in the Guangdong government (chair of its educational committee). Dealing with them might become a problem.

The second issue might be seen as having derived indirectly from the first. It concerned the proper assessment of the Guomindang in the Guangdong government with which a group of party members was associated. Carrying out a joint struggle against the warlords who were the common enemy of several social classes was a shared concern among the delegates, but discussion was divided as to whether to consider the Guangdong government of the Guomindang in the same light

as “warlords.” Also, debate focused on whether to consider the shared struggle itself against the common enemy as most important or to concentrate on the struggle against other parties while engaged in this joint struggle.

In the “rules” and “decisions” adopted at the first congress, a compromise was sought for (1), such that “party members, aside from those in positions from which they could not contractually resign or instances in which they received the party’s approval, could not become government officials or members of the legislature. However, soldiers, policemen, and document clerks¹¹⁸ were not so limited (this item caused heated debate, with the decision ultimately entrusted to the second national congress scheduled for 1922).” Within these limitations, one was allowed to take an official position. By the same token, on point (2), the view of the hardliners took control of the discussion and led to the following decisions:

Our party completely severs all contact with the yellow intellectual class¹¹⁹ and with other political parties. (Rules)

We shall adopt an independent, aggressive, exclusive position vis-à-vis other parties. In our political struggle to oppose the warlords and the bureaucratic system and in pursuit of freedom of speech, publication, and assembly, the stance our party shall clearly assume is that we stand on the side of the proletariat and shall have no ties whatsoever to other political parties. (Decisions)

Together with this, a condition in the rules of entering the party was “to break off all contact with any political party or group opposed to the platform of our party.” Thus, the policy of allying with bourgeois democratic groups adopted in the theses of the second Comintern congress is not at all reflected here.

The memoirs of participants explain in detail the circumstances that led the discussion to have reached such conclusions. If we were to summarize them, we might draw a rough sketch with Li Hanjun and Chen Gongbo consistently trying to steer the discussion in a more moderate direction throughout the congress, while Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing, and others, brandishing “dogmatic” language, were trying to effect a militant program. It would be impossible to enumerate each and every memoir, but let me introduce that of Liu Renjing, a man who spoke out actively during the congress and contributed to drafting congress documents. In so doing we will catch a glimpse of the understanding of

Marxism of these men at the time. Just as described above, while there certainly are many problems with having the memoir literature determine concrete facts, it does allow us insight into the atmosphere of the congress.

Having engaged in heated discussion with Li Hanjun, known as a Marxist theorist, on the floor of the first national congress, Liu Renjing was a mere nineteen years of age when he participated in the congress as a delegate from Beijing—the youngest delegate there. Because of his extensive reading in Marxist writings, he was dubbed a “little Marx” (*xiao Makesi*).¹²⁰ He later described the reasons for his having been selected as a Beijing representative to the first national congress:

Looking back now at the details, I’d have to say that the reason I was selected as a delegate to the “first national congress” of the Party, aside from . . . chance, was that I possessed certain qualifications. I was younger than the others there, and my organizational abilities were inferior to the others. If I had a distinctive strength, it was solely that I was somewhat more attentive to theory. In his memoirs, Zhang Guotao wrote that I was called the “book worm” and that, whenever I met someone, I would propagandize on behalf of the dictatorship of the proletariat nonstop. That’s actually a fairly good take on what I was like at the time. I had only just begun to study Marxism, and people at that time took the fact that one was able to talk about Marxism as an indication of a high level of knowledge. Aside from quoting the words of Marx and Lenin, I in no way surpassed others. The fact that I was selected as a delegate to the “first national congress” demonstrates, more than anything else, the level of understanding within the Party at that time. At the same time, it indicates the level of scholarly knowledge of the Marxist Study Group.¹²¹

Compared to the theoretical situation at the time of the party’s founding, concerning which Bao Huiseng, who was also present at the national congress, claimed “most comrades studied Marxism-Leninism only after they first became Communist Party members,”¹²² Liu Renjing’s remarks would have been at an exceptionally high level. Repeating Marxist theory that one had read in books at the congress may have seemed “dogmatic.” However, worthy of more thought is the fact that general knowledge at the time of the founding of the Communist Party

was nothing except whether or not one knew Marxist vocabulary and concepts, the definition of “dogma.”

Regarding his remark that “whenever I met someone, I would propagandize on behalf of the dictatorship of the proletariat nonstop,” Liu Renjing recalled later how he became acquainted with the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat prior to the national congress. As he explained, he had just at that point in time read Marx’s *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and observed that Marx stated that there was a proletarian dictatorship only in the transition period from capitalism to Communism. And it was in this manner that he spoke at the congress.¹²³ Aside from a piece of it cited elsewhere, the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* had not been introduced into China prior to the first congress, and most attendees would not have known what this text was; if he was indeed “propagandizing nonstop” with this text as the theoretical basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocating that members of the CCP sever all ties to other parties, it would not have been at all out of the ordinary if this was reflected in the party’s program.

From this perspective, the congress’s documents appear to have been composed after the delegates extensively discussed Marxist theory. In the memoirs of attendees starting with Liu Renjing, though, one important matter was overlooked or mistakenly transmitted. Zhang Guotao, who was responsible for drafting the congress documents, noted, “We did not have on hand for reference purposes the party programs or party rules of other countries’ Communist parties [when drafting our documents]. Thus, generally speaking, we groped our way through the majority of work at the congress.”¹²⁴ While Zhang Guotao believed that the congress documents were drafted without reference to other writings, in fact there was a clear blueprint for the documents passed by the congress.

The model for the “Rules” was the “Program of the American Communist Party,” which appeared in the journal *Gongchandang* (#2) in December of the previous year.¹²⁵ Comparing the two, although there are a few points at which revisions were made to reflect Chinese conditions, the conditions for entrance into the party and organizational guidelines in both form and language clearly are patterned on the same items of the American Communist Party. As for the regulation concerning part-time officials, an issue that arose at the congress, just as in the Program of the American Communist Party (item 2.5), the CCP included a stipulation banning it.

The “Decisions” were clearly based on the “Manifesto of the American Communist Party,” also carried in the same issue of *Gongchandang*.¹²⁶ For example, abrogation of all contact with other political parties, which arose at the national congress together with the issue of part-time service as an official, was also clearly stipulated in the American manifesto: “The uncompromising character of the class struggle must be maintained under all circumstances. The Communist Party . . . in all its . . . activities shall not cooperate with groups or parties not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as the Socialist Party, [or the] Labor Party.” It would thus seem that, before the first national congress, the CCP obtained a copy of documents from the congress of the American Communist Party, had them translated, and then adapted them for use in their own case. Based on the “rules” and “decisions” of the American Communist Party, which it had close at hand, the CCP drafted its own rules and decisions at the first national congress, debated them, and then, in the end, the stipulations not to serve in government and to sever all contacts with other parties seem to have led to arguments with a group of congress attendees. The congress documents, though, were adopted fundamentally as they were drafted.

As a postscript, let me add that at the time the CCP had also obtained documents describing the process of the first congress of the British Communist Party,¹²⁷ and these too were used as reference materials for running the CCP congress. Lacking any clear image of what a Communist Party was or should be, the members of the CCP held their own national congress by effectively following the steps laid out by predecessor Western Communist parties, which had already held congresses. This patterning had nothing distinctive about it. The “Rules of the Japan Communist Party” (drafted by Yamakawa Hitoshi) composed by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Japan Communist Party in April¹²⁸ were drawn up with reference to the British Communist Party’s rules, just as were those of the CCP at its national congress.¹²⁹ When Asian Communists who had no concrete notion of just what a “Communist Party” was as a distinctive political party tried to imagine the framework of a party and a vision of the future, the foundation for them was documents from Western Communist parties that had formed earlier. Because the Communist movement from the start was assumed to simultaneously advance throughout the world, it was altogether to be expected that the “rules” and “decisions” of the Chinese Communist

Party, particularly at the point of departure, would fall into step with Western Communist parties and copy them as need be. Here as well the formation of the CCP and its activities must be seen as a development within Asia of the international Communist movement.

From this perspective, then, the “rules” and “decisions” enacted at the first national CCP congress were deeply imbued with a radical hue concerning the move directly to a socialist revolution. The reason for this is easily understood. With the arrival of Maring and Nikolsky, the CCP rushed to convene a congress, using as reference points documents from Western Communist parties, to prepare materials that, from the “national conditions” in China, would have been extremely radical. For members of the CCP at the time who had considered the Communist movement a shared international venture, far from a “radical program,” this would have presented no sense of discomfort whatsoever. Also, because of the unexpected incident involving the investigation by the Concession authorities, the site of the congress had perforce to be moved and the conference abruptly postponed (Maring and Nikolsky did not attend the meeting on the final day that reconvened at Nanhu). These circumstances are among the reasons that Maring’s views and the direction set by the theses that came out of the second Comintern congress were not reflected in the CCP congress documents.¹³⁰

Despite the unexpectedly early postponement and the fact that the meeting had unfinished business left unresolved, by convening a party congress with the attendance of Comintern representatives, the CCP brought to a close one step in the formation of a party that had been full of twists and turns to that point. In the eyes of those tied to Soviet Russia, as Smurgis put it, this was probably “a meeting of delegates representing Chinese who fancied themselves Communists,” but all the jabbering about their theoretical level was meaningless. It was the Bolsheviks who had given the Chinese Communists permission to hold this national congress. If Smurgis was trying to say something by claiming that the CCP members were self-proclaimed Communists, it was rather that the superior consciousness of the Bolshevik leaders as men knowledgeable of “Marxism” (something found here and there in their words)—together with the distinctive attributes of “knowledge and leadership” of a Communist Party—provided an advance warning of the subsequent formation of a mandatory “leader-led” relationship between Soviet Russia and the Comintern on the one hand and the CCP on the other.

YOUNG PARTY MEMBERS: SHI CUNTONG AS
A STUDENT IN JAPAN

“Anti-Filial” Youth

The Chinese Communist Party that held its first national congress in July 1921 was a young political party. Not only had it been formed within a relatively short period, but it was comprised primarily of young intellectuals, including students. The average age of the thirteen party members who assembled at the first congress was just shy of twenty-eight; if we include Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao, who had not attended, it was about twenty-nine. Many of the party members in this early period who participated in the formation of the CCP were born in the 1890s, reached their emotion-packed youth around the time of the 1911 Revolution, and distinguished themselves as young leaders in the social movement in various cities during the period of the May Fourth and New Culture movements. So how is it that their spiritual locus shifted to Communism? The impetus and route impelling each one's move toward Communism were, of course, many and varied, and it would be difficult to have any one individual serve as representative of them all. If, however, we were to offer one individual as a representative, Shi Cuntong, a member of the CCP from its very start, would probably be most appropriate. He studied in schools established with the new educational system of the late Qing and early Republican periods, experienced the New Culture Movement, and took the lead in the anti-Confucian and May Fourth movements in Hangzhou, and while imbibing new trends of thought, he struggled with all manner of social reform. Later, while participating in the formation of the CCP, he moved from anarchism to Marxism and from there to Bolshevism; in this sense, his pilgrimage was one shared with many young party members.

As we have noted several times, Shi Cuntong's name has gone down in history as an influential member and theorist of the CCP in its formative era. From the 1930s, he joined the democratic movement, a middle-of-the-road faction not supportive of either the Communist Party or the Nationalist Party (Guomindang), and he was known as a figure in the democratic factions in the era when the People's Republic of China was forming. He would also serve as vice-minister of labor. Yet, while he was one of the most important persons who created the CCP, his place in the history of the CCP was ultimately minor. In later years, the issue of his leaving the party arose, and in 1927, he published

a declaration in the press of his resignation from the party.¹³¹ His personal history as one who abandoned the party¹³² in no way minimizes his contributions to the party and his status as a young party member at that time. One further reason I have chosen to focus attention on Shi Cuntong is the important documents he left behind. On the formation of the CCP and the activities of party members at the time—concerning which there are exceedingly few original, reliable documents—these include materials from the Japanese police, who posted surveillance on him when he was a student in Japan;¹³³ the deposition he gave at the Police Agency; and the testimony he offered in the Tokyo regional court. For establishing historical verities, his experiences thus become all the more important.

The young Shi Cuntong was quite eloquent in discussing his own past. Above all, while studying in Japan in 1920, he published an autobiography of his early life, “Huitou kan ershier nian lai de wo” (“Looking Back at Myself Over the Past Twenty-Two Years”),¹³⁴ which provides a fine example of a self-analysis of a young man written at this time. Let us first take a look at the steps leading up to his period of study in Japan.¹³⁵

Shi Cuntong (he would later change his name to Shi Fuliang and use pen names Fang Guochang, Guangliang, Liang, Wenliang, Fuliang, and CT) was born in Ye Village, Jinhua County (now Jinhua City), Zhejiang, in 1899, the eldest son of his father, Shi Changchun (1870–1941) and his mother, *née* Xu (1873?–1919). Shi Changchun owned five *mou* (roughly one-third of a hectare or five-sixths of an acre) of farmland, and while also working as a tenant farmer, he was said to have been involved in rice transport in slack times as a sideline. His wife came from a home in which books were treasured and was said to have been literate. While helping with his father’s agricultural work, at age ten Cuntong began studying at a private academy and at age twelve at an elementary school. He received the normal school education distinctive of this early period, where he studied the *Analects* and the *Mencius* without textbooks; he claimed that he was often forced by his teacher to “share a bed.” After various twists and turns, he was able to secure help with school expenses from an uncle, and in 1917, he began studying at Zhejiang Number One Provincial Normal School in Hangzhou. Set on becoming a student of Confucianism, he acquired a deep affection for Zilu (Zhongyou), the disciple of Confucius—the reason he took the style Ziyou. On the one hand, he was an honor student at school who dreamed of “becoming an official and getting rich,” while on the

other hand, he was a profligate engrossed in theater and gambling. What considerably changed his life was Zhejiang Number One.

Zhejiang Number One at the time was not only the highest level of education available in the province, but under the wing of the school principal, Jing Xiangyi (1877–1938), who followed a policy of “keeping pace with the times,” it was known for an innovative pedagogical administration. Under the influence of Liu Dabai, Chen Wangdao, Xia Gaizun, and Li Ziju—four progressive teachers known as the “four great diamonds”—the literature department abandoned literary writing and stressed teaching the vernacular. Early on, they introduced to the classroom the spirit of the New Culture Movement, and they were denounced by the provincial educational authorities: “Education lacking in basic principles is superficial. . . . It cannot avoid having the harm of being internally poisoned. The longer this continues, the greater likelihood that all the students at this school will fall into this obstacle” to learning.¹³⁶ At the same time, by contrast, the teachers were greeted by Shi Cuntong and the other students with a fresh wonderment and sympathy. The school appeared as a kind of laboratory of the New Culture Movement. Shi Cuntong forged friendships with Yu Xiusong, Fu Binran, and Zhou Baidi, among others—men he considered friends and comrades—while studying at Zhejiang Number One, relationships that would last for a long time thereafter.

When the May Fourth student movement broke out in Beijing in 1919, Shi Cuntong welcomed it wholeheartedly. As for his activities in the May Fourth period in Hangzhou, a number of exploits should be noted, such as the establishment of a “book and magazine sales office” that acted as an agent for such journals as *Xin qingnian* and *Xingqi ping-lun*. It was while he was attending Zhejiang Number One that the infamous “anti-filiality” incident that made him famous throughout the country occurred.¹³⁷

The “anti-filiality” incident, one of the most prominent cases in the high tide of the anti-Confucian spirit during the May Fourth period, erupted when Shi Cuntong’s essay “Feixiao” (“Anti-Filiality”), which heaped invective on the abuses of filial piety, appeared in *Zhejiang xinchao* (no. 2, November 1919), a progressive student magazine in Hangzhou. Unfortunately, this issue of *Zhejiang xinchao* (New Tides of Zhejiang) is no longer extant even in China, making it impossible to consult the original text. His essay written the following year, “Huitou kan ershier nian lai de wo,” acknowledged the background to writing “Feixiao,” and from the later piece, we can glean the earlier one’s main

points. The “actual stimulus” to authoring “Feixiao,” he wrote, was the painful family circumstances surrounding his ill mother—namely, her poor treatment at the hands of his father. From the following passage, we can see the situation and the emotions he felt as he published “Feixiao” from an anarchist stance.

Given these circumstances, there is absolutely no way for me to be a filial son. . . . I must help society and people in society who are going through the same experiences as my mother. Although my mother is already beyond help, I have to help others who are on the verge of becoming like her. . . . Humanity should be free, equal, benevolent, and mutually caring. “Filial” morality undermines this. Thus, we must oppose “filiality.”

As for his mother who was “already beyond help,” she was suffering from a nervous disorder and was at home in an unconscious state, possibly a coma. “These circumstances” refer to his father’s poor treatment of her, arbitrarily dismissing her illness as incurable and trying to appropriate funds from her medical care for funeral expenses. Compelled to submit to his father as a “filial” act, Shi gained “intellectual inspiration” through anarchist writings popular at the time, such as the journals *Jinhua* (Evolution) and *Minsheng* (Vox populi) and the works *Shishe ziyou lun* (On Freedom in a Genuine Society) and *Jinshi kexue yu wuzhengfuzhuyi* (Modern Science and Anarchism, by Pyotr Kropotkin, 1842–1921), and he composed “Feixiao” with a flood of emotions. The greatest virtue in Confucianism was, needless to say, “filial piety,” and to directly contradict it was a thoroughly unprecedented experiment in the intellectual scene at the time with criticism of Confucianism on the rise. He attributed his transformation from Confucian believer to rebel to his discovery of the anti-Confucian writings of Chen Duxiu in *Xin qingnian* when he entered Zhejiang Number One in 1917. While he initially abhorred Chen as “an inhumane writer,” before long he reread *Xin qingnian* and became a “semi-believer.” By the end of 1919, he was in “full agreement.” He was thus a child of the era, nurtured and raised on *Xin qingnian*.

In the latter part of 1919, when he wrote “Feixiao,” Shi was effectively both an anti-Confucian advocate and in spirit unmistakably an anarchist. There is no need to go into detail about the level of his theoretical maturity. In fact, to the favorable criticism of “Feixiao” that claimed it was “unfortunately unrefined and immature,” he insisted

that its value was in its “spirit of resistance” (*fankang jingshen*) and that such criticism was a secondary concern that ignored his objectives and motives. If we see in “Feixiao” a fervent expression distinctive of May Fourth youth that directly linked a thoroughgoing repudiation of everyday, old morality with total social reform, that should suffice.

Also, in “Huitou kan ershier nian lai de wo,” Shi frankly resolved to cease masturbating, which he called a “suicidal act” of youth. He firmly rejected the gambling and cheating that were general practices among students then during the two and a half years he spent at Zhejiang Number One, and he was extremely proud that he had never ridden in a rickshaw, drunk alcohol, or smoked tobacco. At present, he ranked among the progressive “May Fourth youth” who set for themselves the inseparable tasks of societal reform and the enhancement of character, moral reform, and corporeal abstinence. In the areas of both creed and rules for living, he was a genuine Chinese anarchist. Whether or not they were as naively invested in the dream of “societal reform” as an anarchist ideal as was Shi Cuntong at the time, both Yun Daiying in Wuhan and Mao Zedong in Changsha had begun the first steps toward societal reform on the basis of the same intellectual journey.¹³⁸

“Feixiao” ultimately brought on an immense reaction (most of it personal slander directed at Shi). According to his own words, not only was he denounced as a “monster,” but his female cousin, who was also studying in Hangzhou, was “ridiculed and reviled” (*lengzhao rema*) as the “cousin of a wild animal.” For conservatives—Zhejiang provincial authorities first and foremost among them—who had long harbored a bad feeling about Jing Xiangyi and the educational direction at Zhejiang Number One, “Feixiao” was opportune material to attack. Needless to say, voices inside and outside the school claimed “Feixiao” was treasonous and barbarous. The incident led to a rivalry between the new and old political factions over what course of action to take with respect to Jing Xiangyi, who had allowed this “agitation” to go on. The following year, scuffles ensued that led to the police closing down the school—the so-called “Zhejiang Number One Tide.”¹³⁹ The Beijing government issued an order on December 2 to suppress *Zhejiang xinchao*,¹⁴⁰ and it ceased publication with its third issue. Shi Cuntong felt so out of place now in Hangzhou that on New Year’s Day 1920, he departed for Beijing with his comrades Yu Xiusong, Fu Binran, and Zhou Baidi.¹⁴¹

Shi and his colleagues’ trip to Beijing was not simply a flight to wait for the excitement to die down locally, but it was more a proactive move to effect their ideals of “freedom, equality, benevolence, and

mutually caring.” Chen Duxiu, for whom Shi had enormous respect, was in Beijing, and Chen had drafted an essay on “Feixiao” in which he praised “the argument in *Zhejiang xinchao* [for being] thorough. ‘Feixiao’ . . . was a naive essay and extraordinarily endearing.”¹⁴² At that time, the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps were just being created in Beijing. Shi Cuntong and his colleagues’ aim in traveling to Beijing raised the ideals of “working according ability and taking according to need.” They thus thrust themselves into these Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps as the first step toward societal reform. The participation of these young men, who were introduced as leaders in the “Feixiao” incident in Zhejiang in the favorite journals of progressive young men and women at the time, *Xin qingnian* and *Xingqi pinglun*, in the mutual aid corps helped to enlist social concerns. Once they arrived in Beijing, they met with the leaders of the New Culture Movement: Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Hu Shi.

*Dissolution of the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps and
Participation in the Communist Movement*

In high spirits, Shi Cuntong and his associates on January 10 linked up with a work-study team in Beijing¹⁴³ and joined in the communal life by engaging in small-scale manual labor and auditing university classes in his spare time. In contrast to their objective, Beijing’s No. 1 work-study team, which began as a model for the new society, hit a point of stagnation due to friction early on with other members of the team. They then suffered financial collapse, and about two months later, the unit dissolved. The primary reason for emotional discord among the team members appears to have been discomfort about the affections between two members, one of whom was Yi Qunxian (daughter of Yi Zongkui [1875–1925], a member of the Chinese National Assembly), an intruder in team No. 1.¹⁴⁴ Attacked as an interested party, Shi Cuntong’s disappointment was enormous. The No. 1 team decided on March 23 to disband.¹⁴⁵ Chen Duxiu had already left Beijing by this time, and both Li Dazhao and Hu Shi, who were responsible for coming up with the idea of the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, were pondering the future of its members. They tried to work through the typesetters at the print shop and the personnel at the library of Beijing University, but Shi and his anarchist friends, as well as Shi’s closest friend Yu Xiusong, made up their minds and left Beijing.¹⁴⁶ After finishing up the final business of

the work-study team, Shi and Yu, apparently following Chen Duxiu, set out for Shanghai on March 26, arriving there the next day.¹⁴⁷

When they set out for Shanghai, they initially planned to travel further to Zhangzhou in Fujian Province and work in the regime of Chen Jiongming, who was widely viewed as the “socialist general.” At the time, a large number of anarchists, including Liang Bingxian, who followed the anarchist line of Liu Shifu, were attempting to implement a number of anarchist policies under Chen’s aegis. Staying at the *Xingqi pinglun* office upon arrival in Shanghai, Shi and Yu ran into people who would radically change their lives in a way they probably had not in the least expected.

It makes perfect sense that Shi Cuntong would head immediately upon reaching Shanghai for the offices of *Xingqi pinglun*. There he found the “two Shens of Zhejiang”: Shen Xuanlu, who together with Dai Jitao applauded the innovative educational direction being pursued at Zhejiang Number One and who expressed his support for “Feixiao” in the pages of *Xingqi pinglun*,¹⁴⁸ and Shen Zhongjiu (1886–1968), one of the few people in Hangzhou who had understood Shi Cuntong when he was surrounded by a sea of antagonism and who at the time of the “Feixiao” incident was editing *Jiaoyu chao* (Educational Tides), a journal of the Zhejiang provincial educational bureau.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, of the “four great diamonds” expelled from Hangzhou, Chen Wangdao and Liu Dabai were staying at the *Xingqi pinglun* offices around this time, giving it the appearance of a refuge for reformers from Zhejiang Number One. Also coming and going at the same office at this time were Dai Jitao (editor), Li Hanjun, and Shao Lizi, among others; it was a liberated site at which numerous young men and women who deeply admired the reputation of *Xingqi pinglun* would continuously pop in.¹⁵⁰ As soon as Yu Xiusong reached Shanghai, he recounted in a letter to a friend the atmosphere at that office: “Altogether there are fourteen comrades, young and old, here, and their views are all extremely thorough. I really don’t count for much. However, the atmosphere of friendship, joy, and simplicity fill the air all around me. I truly sense the happiness of being a human being.”¹⁵¹ This captures Shi Cuntong’s feelings as well.

At the *Xingqi pinglun* office, the response of Shen Xuanlu and Dai Jitao to Shi Cuntong’s frank expression of willingness to place his trust in Chen Jiongming was, “Working with militarists is not like working in a factory.” Just at that time, before their trip to Shanghai and strangely on the very day that the work-study team in Beijing decided to disband,

Dai Jitao wrote an essay entitled “Wo duiyu gongdu huzhutuan de yikaocha” (“My Views on the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps”).¹⁵² From the contradictions of capitalism, he pointed out the limitations of the work-study movement itself and effectively commanded, “Go work in factories under the capitalist production system!” He had undoubtedly made this argument to Shi Cuntong and Yu Xiusong several times. The two young men who received his advice canceled their plans to go to Zhangzhou and remained for a while at the *Xingqi pinglun* office, while deciding that they would elect to follow the path of factory laborers, the very symbol of capitalist society. To that end, Dai Jitao himself, who had proffered the advice in the first place, helped them search for an appropriate factory.¹⁵³ In April, Yu Xiusong became a worker at the Housheng Steel Plant in the Hongkou section of Shanghai.¹⁵⁴ That same month, Shi Cuntong published an essay entitled “‘Gongdu huzhutuan’ de shiyan he jiaoxun” (“The Experiment and Lessons of ‘Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps’”)¹⁵⁵; adding his own overview of the work-study movement, he expressed full support for Dai Jitao’s command. Because he was suffering from tuberculosis at the time, however, he was unable to engage in manual labor for a period. Until he left for Japan in June, Shi worked as a “clerk’s assistant” at the office of *Xingqi pinglun*.¹⁵⁶ We have already recounted in detail Shi’s participation in activities leading to the formation of the Communist Party centering around Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun. After he witnessed the formation of the Shanghai Communist Group (its provisional name at the time was the Socialist-Communist Party), parent body for the CCP, he secured assistance from Dai Jitao, Miyazaki Tōten (1870–1922), and his son Miyazaki Ryūsuke (1892–1971), and in June 1920, he set off for a period of study in Japan.

Student Life in Japan

The biggest influence on Shi Cuntong in Shanghai was Dai Jitao, who, together with Li Hanjun, took great pride in his Marxist research at the time in Shanghai and who encouraged Shi to study overseas. At that time, *Xingqi pinglun*, which Shi depended on for a living, ceased publication. Several others on the staff decided to travel abroad or pursue their studies overseas.¹⁵⁷

Shi so admired Dai Jitao that, as he himself acknowledged, “I was influenced in just about every way by him in the realm of contemporary

thought,”¹⁵⁸ and Dai felt a certain affection for Shi and wanted to help him find his way. At this time, Dai had a high opinion of the Marxist studies of Sakai Toshihiko and Yamakawa Hitoshi,¹⁵⁹ and he loved the natural environment of Kōchi, Aomori, and Kyoto.¹⁶⁰ He thus encouraged Shi to go to Japan to both study and recuperate from his tuberculosis. His comrades of many years, Miyazaki Tōten and his son Ryūsuke, of course, lived in Japan, and there was no harm seeking their assistance to study abroad. In the autumn of the previous year, when Miyazaki Tōten had come to China and visited Dai Jitao at his home, the two men had become close,¹⁶¹ and Dai now prevailed upon Miyazaki to help Shi. On June 19, Shi Cuntong said good-bye to his friends and boarded a ship for Japan.¹⁶²

He appeared at the Miyazaki home (3626 Takadamura, Kita Toyoshima, Tokyo) on June 26. Clearly referring to Shi Cuntong, Miyazaki Ryūsuke noted in a letter dated that day that “an acquaintance suffering from something of a lung ailment arrived from China.”¹⁶³ Having no relatives in Japan, he undoubtedly went directly to the Miyazakis’ home as soon as he arrived in Tokyo. In the same letter, Ryūsuke reported taking Shi to the hospital that very day, leading one to assume that his illness was severe. Tōten’s eldest son, Ryūsuke, who is now known as one of the student founders of the Shinjinkai (New Man Society) at Tokyo Imperial University, had been expelled from the Shinjinkai that March because of an internal feud.¹⁶⁴ Yet, he was ever the activist, taking part in planning the editorial work on the journal *Kaihō* (Liberation), and in May of that year, he housed and assisted a group of students visiting from Beijing University.¹⁶⁵ Miyazaki had been entrusted with the management of an estate in Takadamura that had belonged to the revolutionary of the late Qing period, Huang Xing (1874–1916), and he offered it as a communal space for the Shinjinkai members (even after he left the Shinjinkai, all sorts of people lodged there free of charge).¹⁶⁶ Until he decided to turn it into a boarding house, Shi Cuntong, too, seems to have temporarily resided there. In July he began lodging at the Misakikan, 1556 Takadamura, near the Miyazakis’ home.¹⁶⁷

Once in Japan, Shi decided he would study economics,¹⁶⁸ but first he had to acquire some proficiency in the Japanese language, which he did not speak at all. Before leaving for Japan, he had been warned by Dai Jitao, who had great fluency in Japanese, that “with two or three years of study one could gain a fair ability” with Japanese, “but to genuinely master it would necessitate four years.”¹⁶⁹ Shi proceeded to join the Dōbun shoin (Common Culture Academy) located in the Mejiro

district of Tokyo (he dropped out in the spring of 1921),¹⁷⁰ and for the first three or four months, he devoted himself to studying Japanese.¹⁷¹ He seems to have stopped at a level at which his capacity at conversational Japanese “still contained room for improvement,”¹⁷² while his reading comprehension in Japanese found his great efforts paying off, since late that year he contributed the translation of a long essay to *Minguo ribao*. It was duly praised: “Cuntong has been studying Japanese for half a year, and already he is able to translate a book.”¹⁷³

At the time, Shi Cuntong had been working to acquire a better understanding of Marxism, which he had already begun in Shanghai under Dai Jitao’s tutelage.¹⁷⁴ As he reported, the intellectual stance he took early in his period of study in Japan, “however, was absolutely not the ideology held by him [Dai Jitao]. That is, I recognized that the anarchism in which I still believed was a rational ideal.”¹⁷⁵ Thus, anarchism and Marxism were mixed together (effectively without contraction, according to Shi). This would prove that during his stay in Shanghai and early in his period of study in Japan he retained contact with the Chinese anarchist movement.¹⁷⁶ Then, unexpectedly, because of his contacts with the Chinese anarchist movement, his very existence and his behavior became the objects of a surveillance network of the Japanese police. The police initially became wary of him when his name appeared as “Cuntong, Misakikan, 1556 Takadamura” in the first issue of the anarchist journal *Ziyou* (December 1920), published by Jing Meijiu and others in Shanghai. The foreign affairs section of the Metropolitan Police Department, which was vigilant about the secret maneuvering of “anarcho-communists” between China and Japan, noted that “someone was coming and going at the residence of Miyazaki Tōten, reading Chinese newspapers and magazines.” In January 1921, they ascertained that it was Shi Cuntong, and the police had already determined by this point that he was the author of “Feixiao,” “a radical rejection of Confucianism and repudiation of filiality and loyalty.”¹⁷⁷ Thereafter, his movements were under strict surveillance by the Japanese police.

His name when he published “Feixiao” from an anarchist stance seems to have reverberated considerably around China, and aside from *Ziyou*, Shi Cuntong accepted a prospectus for the “Anshe” (Anhui Society), an anarchist group organized by students at Number Five Middle School in Xihu, Anhui Province, on January 14, which requested that he introduce them to anarchist-related writings.¹⁷⁸ We do not really know what his concrete response to the anarchist movement was, but in January he wrote the following:

“Free organization” and “free communication” as well as “working according to one’s abilities and taking according to one’s needs” are, of course, ideals which we must reach. However, . . . there is no way to attain these ideals in a single bound from contemporary society. In the interim, we must have a kind of transition agency.¹⁷⁹

He was at this time chiding the anarchist group for their rebuking the illogical nature of Marxism and the Bolshevik dictatorship, and he could not fully agree with the “anarchist truth” raised by this anarchist society. We shall discuss the stance Shi took with respect to anarchism and Marxism later, but in the police reports beginning in January, which looked with greater vigilance on the anarchist movement than on Marxist research, there is no mention of any relationship between Shi and the Chinese anarchist movement. Shi Cuntong, as he appears in the police reports from April on, is no longer considered an anarchist; on the one hand, he is in communication with the Shanghai Communist Party of Chen Duxiu and Li Da, and on the other, he is identified as a “Chinese requiring special attention” who was in communication with such Japanese socialists as Sakai Toshihiko and Takatsu Masamichi (1893–1974), who were active in an effort to create a Japan Communist Party.

According to a police report dated April 23, 1921, around this time, Shi Cuntong “was in contact with such Japanese socialists as Sakai Toshihiko, Takatsu Masamichi, and Yamazaki Kesaya [1877–1954], and he was translating propaganda magazines and other materials of this sort connected to their writings to introduce them to Chinese back home.”¹⁸⁰ Reference to “translating . . . their writings to introduce them to Chinese back home” would point to his translation of essays by Yamakawa Hitoshi and others (see following) that were published in *Juewu*. This same report went on to note:

[Shi] was planning with a Shanghai man named He who held similar views and with Japanese socialists to engage in propaganda work. There is some suspicion that they will soon be convening a secret meeting in Shanghai. Now, according to a recent letter sent from our man [Shi] by the aforementioned He, they are at present preparing to bring out secret publications together with Japanese socialists, and they have decided to send these publications out.

The man named only “He” was none other than Li Da, who was then responsible for the Communist Party in Shanghai. He was thus working at the time to build bridges between the Japanese and Chinese Communist movements.

According to his deposition given to the police late that same year,¹⁸¹ Shi had his first meeting with Sakai Toshihiko in person around December 1920. On that occasion he carried a letter from Li Da in Shanghai to Sakai (concerning characters crossed out in the text he was translating). Introduced by Xie Jinqing¹⁸² to a Korean by the name of Kwŏn (probably Kwŏn Hŭi-guk),¹⁸³ they traveled together to visit Sakai. Their second meeting, around February 1921, was in response to a request from Li Hanjun in Shanghai to buy a copy of Sakai’s translation *Kūsōteki oyobi kagakuteki shakaishugi* (Imaginary and Scientific Socialism).¹⁸⁴ In both instances, his visits involved conveying socialist documents, and in the eyes of the Japanese authorities, his intermediacy reflected the fact that “they are at present preparing to bring out secret publications together with Japanese socialists, and they have decided to send these publications out.”

Meanwhile, around this time (June 1921), Takatsu Masamichi, with whom Shi was in contact, published “Shina ni okeru Boruseviiki undō” (“The Bolshevik Movement in China”), an essay introducing the Communist movement in China.¹⁸⁵ This article is an extremely detailed enumeration of the actual names (Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Dai Jitao, Li Hanjun, and Shen Xuanlu) of “Bolshevik adherents” in China, their organ (*Gongchandang*), their activities (Socialist Youth Corps and night classes for laborers), the locations of their local organizations, and more. In “Shina ni okeru museifushugi undō” (“The Anarchist Movement in China”), which Takatsu published before this piece,¹⁸⁶ he noted that “in drafting this essay, I want to thank CT [Shi Cuntong] for his advice.” Clearly, then, he would have received information from Shi in writing “Shina ni okeru Boruseviiki undō.” Shi himself admitted in his deposition that he met with Takatsu on several occasions.

Thus, as a student in Japan, Shi was active as a mediator of information between the Chinese and Japanese Communist movements. The timing of his stay in Japan coincided with the period in which the efforts to create a Chinese Communist Party reached full tilt. Shi Cuntong and Zhou Fohai (then studying at Number Seven Senior High School in Kagoshima) were in contact with Chen Duxiu and others and participated from Japan in the party-building work. These were the activities

of the “Japan group” of the CCP. While in Kagoshima in late April, Zhou wrote Shi two letters (postmarked April 19 and April 28), in which he conveyed the information that a letter had arrived from Chen Duxiu in Guangzhou. The first letter reads as follows:

I received a letter from Duxiu yesterday. He said that he had been in negotiations with comrades in Shanghai, Hubei, and Beijing. The two of us were representatives resident in Japan and were to be in contact with Japanese comrades. Many among the Japanese and among ourselves do not know about this organization [the Communist Party]. We have to work very hard. I have two difficulties, however. (1) I am leaving Kagoshima next year. I won't be able to do anything in this remote place this year. (2) The university I would like to attend is in Kyoto. However, I still find it hard to communicate with Japanese. I have these two difficulties. I retain a false reputation as a representative and can really not bear the shame. I've asked Duxiu for a transfer. You're in Tokyo which is so much more convenient.¹⁸⁷

As this letter indicates, the “Japan group” of the CCP—the “representatives resident in Japan” or Shi Cuntong and Zhou Fohai—was formed in late April 1921 on the basis of an idea proposed by Chen Duxiu. As the letter makes clear, the goal of the “Japan group” was “to be in contact with Japanese comrades,” and the one in fact charged with this task was not Zhou Fohai in Kagoshima but Shi Cuntong in Tokyo. His earlier communications with Sakai and Takatsu, in this sense, constituted “contact with Japanese comrades” and was one link in the assignment of making their “organization” known. In his later memoirs of the activities of this “Japan group,” Shi explained that this grew to include Peng Pai (1896–1929, best known as the leader of the peasant movement in Hailufeng, then a student at Waseda University), Yang Sizhen, Lin Kongzhao, and others, a dozen or more all told, a group that met on two or three occasions.¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, there is nothing corresponding to reports to the authorities that fill in details on the activities this “Japan group” was involved in.¹⁸⁹

Following the movements of Shi Cuntong and others closely who, in collaboration with the Communist organization in China, were encouraged by their Japanese “comrades,” the Japanese police became even more vigilant with respect to Shi. In a letter (censored by the police) dated May 8 to Shao Lizi in Shanghai, he wrote, “Recently, I have

been roused daily by the police. It's really detestable.”¹⁹⁰ We thus know that he was under severe surveillance at the time. On June 17, he was visited and interrogated by staff members in the foreign affairs section of the Metropolitan Police Department. Among the answers he gave to their questions, he recounted, “I was introduced to Mr. Miyazaki by Dai Tianchou [Jitao], and with his assistance I found lodging at my present address. . . . At present, I devote the mornings to studying English by myself, and the afternoons I spend studying Japanese and economics. When I am prepared, I plan to enter Keiō University and study economics.” At the same time, “since coming to Japan, I have been receiving 100 yen each month from home for my school expenses.” This spending money, he informs us, was coming via Dai Jitao.¹⁹¹ Shi's family was far from rich, though, and there would have been little reason to supply this “anti-filial” son with 100 yen each month. In fact, as Miyazaki Tōten would later reveal, “because Shi Cuntong was so clearheaded, . . . Dai Tianchou set his sights on the future, sent him to study in Japan, and provided him with around fifty yen each month for school expenses.”¹⁹² The fact that he was receiving assistance from Dai Jitao, who was known as something of a big-shot socialist, was probably cause for enhanced police surveillance, but this is not explicitly stated.

In addition, he noted, “I have no friends here among the Japanese except for Miyazaki Ryūsuke. . . . I have had no contact with any Japanese socialists”; “I revere . . . Mr. Hu Shi more than anyone else. When Chen Duxiu publishes his thoughts and speeches, I admire his ideas, but now that he has become an official in the Guangdong government, . . . he no longer belongs to the world of ideas”; “although I have studied socialism, I am not a socialist. Thus, I have never worked to publicize this ideology.”¹⁹³ While he had been working to establish friendships with socialist colleagues, he denied this and offered similar self-restraint. The police already had gotten their hands on evidence of Shi's contacts with Sakai and other Japanese socialists, as well as with Chen Duxiu and others in the Chinese Communist organization, and they were not likely to accept Shi's words at face value. Despite his protests—“the police have been tailing me lately and have restricted my every movement; I can no longer bear this outrageousness”—surveillance of him was not relaxed at all; in fact, he was placed in a situation in which “I've been asked by my landlord to move and find myself in dreadful straits.”

June 1921, when Shi was being interrogated by the foreign affairs section of the Police Agency, corresponds to the period when Li Da and Li Hanjun were encouraged by Maring, who arrived in Shanghai

on June 3, to organize the CCP's first national congress. Initially the first congress was scheduled to convene on July 20 (in fact, it met on July 23), and as noted above, the Japanese police detected the news that such a meeting was soon in the offing. However, the police documents reporting this information did not touch on the source of this report, and we cannot conclude that it was obtained by stealing the communications between Shi Cuntong and Shanghai. Shi Cuntong and others in the "Japan group" sent Zhou Fohai to the first national congress as their delegate, and there was certain to have been notice sent of the impending congress from Shanghai, as well as letters exchanged by Shi and Zhou. Shi's incoming and outgoing mail was being intercepted by the police, making it easy to surmise that the information leaked out from Shi's environs. In any event, Zhou Fohai was sent to the first national congress that convened in late July, while Shi Cuntong, the man actually responsible for the "Japan group," was in name and reality a member of the Chinese Communist Party.

Marxist Study and a Farewell to Anarchism

After living in Japan for about one year, at about the time the congress convened, Shi Cuntong bid anarchism farewell and began to regard himself as a follower of Bolshevism. In addition, he was absorbing large doses of Communist theory in Japan.

Before traveling to Japan to study, he had often published articles in *Xingqi pinglun* and *Juewu*, the supplement to *Minguo ribao*, in Shanghai, and in particular he railed against feudal human bonds and repeatedly called for the abolition of the marriage system in China, but there is no trace of his translating or explicating anything concerned with socialist (including anarchist) theory.¹⁹⁴ Given his linguistic capacity at the time, Shi lacked the ability to read socialist materials in either English or Japanese, and thus he was confined to the contours of socialist theory from extant Chinese-language anarchist documents and translated materials from Japanese. Also, from his personal links to Dai Jitao, Chen Duxiu, and Li Hanjun, among others, he would have understood the general outlines of Marxist theory a bit, though generally speaking, compared to the fervor with which he sought the reform of society, he had no more than a smattering of knowledge of theory to support this.

From a beginning in socialism, he matured to someone interested in theory when he came into contact with Japanese-language socialist

materials after setting off to study in Japan and publishing translations in Shanghai newspapers and magazines. His translations of Japanese socialist materials began with “Laodong wenti” (“Problems of Workers”) in *Juewu* (January 6–18, 1921); the original was *Rōdōsha mondai* (Problems of Workers; Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1919) by Kitazawa Shinjirō (1887–1980). Late that same year, he had eleven pieces to his credit. Among them were eight essays by Kawakami Hajime and Yamakawa Hitoshi,¹⁹⁵ and we can see that his concerns within socialist theory were directed particularly toward Marxism. Aside from pure translations, in 1921 alone he published over fifty pieces of varying lengths, and most of those dealing with socialist theory and Marxism relied principally on the studies of Kawakami, Yamakawa, and Sakai. Once he had mastered Japanese, he clearly deepened his understanding of Marxism by reading socialist materials in Japan.

His understanding of Marxism can first be seen in a number of essays he wrote while studying in Japan discussing the possibility of a socialist revolution in China. Whether or not Marxist-style socialism was useful for escaping from poverty and developing industry in an undeveloped, peasant society like China, the question of whether the conditions were right for the implementation of socialism in China was a difficult theoretical issue involving the very *raison d’être* of the movement for Chinese socialists. Shi Cuntong explained the validity of a socialist revolution in China from two main points: first, with the success of the Russian Revolution, international capitalism was headed for ruin, and there was thus no possibility for Chinese capitalism alone to develop. As he put it:

The Communist state in Russia has already opened a new era for the proletariat of the entire world. Thus, the proletariat in every land must rouse itself and rush forward to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Cooperating with our Russian comrades, we shall build a Communist world. China [*Zhina*] is one part of the world, and the proletariat living there will surely rise up, and joining forces with the proletariat of the entire world, carry out the social revolution for the entire world. Together we must create a “human world.” . . . In short, while Chinese capitalism shall not develop, world capitalism has already begun to move from a developed state toward collapse. There is no reason whatsoever for Chinese capitalism alone to exist amid the demise of world capitalism. From the overall trend in the world today, China must implement Communism.¹⁹⁶

As should be clear at a single glance, though, his view is one of the necessity of socialism, and it is difficult to say how he would answer the question of the presence or absence of the social conditions theoretically required for implementing socialism. To be sure, it would be effectively impossible to prove that the material conditions for a socialist movement in China—namely, capitalist accumulation—existed at that time. And there was no reason that he would have found in the articles by Japanese socialists that he read any direct mention of the possibility of a socialist revolution in China. Yet, this is not to say that there were no clues whatsoever. Both Kawakami and Yamakawa were then of the opinion that, while accepting Marxist materialism, they did not exclude the element of the movement of human consciousness in social revolution. For example, Yamakawa had the following to say about the role of intellectuals in social revolution:

The intellectual class lacks the capacity to make happen what should happen. However, the form in which what will necessarily come to pass will take will be decided, under current conditions, in most instances by the disposition of educated proletariat. . . . If some sort of transition state of affairs cannot be avoided, how can we shrink this transition period to the shortest time? How can we economize the most in terms of the human energy and sacrifice expended in this transition period? Now, if the intellectual class cannot resolve all of these issues, at least it holds the key to solving the majority of them. In short, they will be decided by . . . the intellectual class demonstrating to what extent it clearly is focused on the evolution of society, and the extent to which it is capable of understanding historical necessity.¹⁹⁷

Considering how taken Shi Cuntong was at this time with Yamakawa and Kawakami,¹⁹⁸ he must have focused attention on the issue of the movement of human consciousness. He hypothesized “human effort” as a means of shoring up a deficiency in the material base of the Chinese Communist revolution, which he read into the historical trends based on the materialist view of history (what those of the Yamakawa school called “focused on the evolution of society”). While social revolution certainly required “economic necessity,” as the following view demonstrates, it does not exclude “human effort.”

Attempting to implement Communism in China will be extremely difficult, and it will surely require effort. At present China has an

exceedingly weak economic base for Communism, and if we are to realize Communism completely, we have to make great efforts and work for the economic base of Communism. In effecting Communism in contemporary China, “economic necessity” is meager and “human effort” will occupy a major place in the future. Our task is to exhaust this “human effort” to fulfill our “economic necessity.”¹⁹⁹

His theoretical frame, put simply, was that China had a weak economic base for the building of Communism, making “human effort” commensurate with this weakness all the more necessary. He was conscious of the fact that, strictly speaking, this view contradicted the historical materialism of Marx, but apparently he did not think it a major misunderstanding. As Shi put it:

If we are to attempt to realize Marxism in China, I appreciate that we may superficially run up against the words of Marx. This is, however, not a major issue. The essence of Marxism was never a set of hard and fast rules. Thus, because we have the utmost respect for the fundamental principles of Marxism, that is sufficient, and there is no need to hold fast to minute policies.²⁰⁰

What, then, were the “fundamental principles of Marxism”? His answer was “historical materialism,” which he believed proved that “there is no doubt that international socialism will conquer international capitalism.” This, he concluded, should be read into the essence of Marxism.²⁰¹

It would be easy to demonstrate that Shi Cuntong’s argument contains self-contradictory and self-serving explanations. Perhaps one can find here the beginnings of a tendency to overcome objective conditions based on subjective efforts that was to become a hallmark of the subsequent Chinese Communist movement. We have to grasp things from Shi’s perspective, and not use our contemporary eyes, to see the depth of his analysis. Rather, at the time, he understood the relationship between Marxism and historical materialism as fully consistent, and this constituted a firm belief for him in Communism. He was even to assert, “Our call for Communism in China never clashes with the views of Marx. If Marx were in China, he too would probably advocate Communism.”²⁰² We see here the self-confidence of someone identifying the essence of Marxism with himself. What gave him this self-confidence was the absorption of theory in Japan.

One can see the influence exerted on Shi by Japanese socialist materials in his affirmation of Bolshevism and thus his parting with anarchism. This affirmation for Shi came about by virtue of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* and, based on it, the essays by Yamakawa and Kawakami that indicated the propriety of the dictatorship of labor in the Bolshevik revolution. Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875) is well known as an essay that conjectured a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat in a political transition period from capitalist society to socialist society. From around 1920, Yamakawa and Kawakami, in the midst of developing their research into Marxism, began pointing out that this political form was providing the theoretical foundation for the dictatorship of labor in the Russian Revolution.²⁰³

A complete translation of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* in China would not appear until 1922,²⁰⁴ but a partial introduction to it, especially an introduction to the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat in the political transition era, emerged in the middle of 1921. This took the form of a May 1921 essay Yamakawa Hitoshi wrote specifically for *Xin qingnian* entitled (in Li Da's translation) "Cong kexue de shehuizhuyi dao xingdong de shehuizhuyi" ("From Scientific Socialism to Socialism in Action")²⁰⁵ and Shi Cuntong's essay following it in August 1921, "Makesi de gongchanzhuyi" ("Marx's Communism").²⁰⁶ In particular, the latter not only quoted extensively from the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, but it also cited extensively from other writings by Marx and Engels, including the *Communist Manifesto*, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, and *The Civil War in France*. Far from a departure from Marxism, the dictatorship of the proletariat was, in his view, its very essence. As a study of Marxism in China at that time, it was at a level above all others. In addition, Shi declared, "From what I have seen, pure Marxism is simply Bolshevism." And citing as evidence Yamakawa's understanding of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* ("This is the natural conclusion and application of the theory of historical materialism"—from Yamakawa's earlier essay "Cong kexue de shehuizhuyi dao xingdong de shehuizhuyi"), he took this as proof that such an explication was perfectly accurate. This essay by Shi was clearly written on the basis of Yamakawa's *Xin qingnian* piece as well as Yamakawa's "Kautsukii no rōnō seiji hantairon" ("[Karl] Kautsky's Opposition to Worker-Peasant [Bolshevik] Government"; *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.2 [March 1921]), which Shi himself translated.

In "Kautsukii no rōnō seiji hantairon," Yamakawa claimed that Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), considered an orthodox Marxist, deviated from

Marxism in his opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and he affirmed that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were the orthodox Marxists. The theory of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* that compelled Yamakawa to switch to the Bolsheviks was carried over precisely by Shi Cuntong, and through him, it prompted similar changes in China. Debate (the so-called “anarchist debate”) ensued over the appropriateness of “dictatorship” in the social revolution in China. The role played by Shi Cuntong in his pioneering introduction, via Yamakawa Hitoshi, of the meaning of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* was immense. Not only did this bring about a dislocation for Shi himself, but it became an important theoretical foundation by which the Chinese socialist movement renewed itself as the “Communist Party” on the model of Bolshevism. In *Shehuizhuyi taolunji* (Collection of Essays on Socialism; Xinqingnian she, 1922), a collection of essays concerned with the anarchist debate that became required reading among CCP members in the early years, Shi had a total of five essays (all written while in Japan), second only to Chen Duxiu. This in itself speaks to the level of his theoretical contributions.

We can see a glimpse of the influence exerted on Shi Cuntong by the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* as introduced by Yamakawa in two essays by Shi that appeared about the same time as “Makesi de gongchanzhuyi”: “Disi jieji ducai zhengzhi de yanjiu” (“A Study of Dictatorial Government by the Fourth Class”) and “Weiwu shiguan zai Zhongguo de yingyong” (“The Application of Historical Materialism to China”).²⁰⁷ At the time, Shi claimed that “I was never fundamentally opposed to anarcho-Communism,”²⁰⁸ and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitional means derived from the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* offered him a balanced explanation of the relationship between Bolshevism and the extreme ideals of anarchism. In a word, as he put it, “The dictatorship of the proletarian class is first and foremost a revolutionary means, never a goal of Communism”; after going through a “period of social revolution” based on the dictatorship of the proletariat and a “period of rudimentary Communism,” we proceed to an “era of fully developed Communism,” and the ideal of “free Communism”—“from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”—will be realized.²⁰⁹ It was the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* that enabled him to predict this “scientifically” on the basis of the materialist view of history.

In fact, with the intermediacy of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Shi both recognized the identity of the ultimate goals of

Marxism and anarchism and he surmised that the proletarian dictatorship was a means aimed at those ideals. This perspective he shared with Kawakami Hajime at the time.²¹⁰ In this sense, one might say that Shi Cuntong was moving in tandem with Japanese socialist research. Thus, he had not abandoned the ultimate goals of anarchism, but he was able to locate in Bolshevism the “means in a transitional era” modeled on “pure Marxism.” What he was critical of was “Chinese-style anarchism,”²¹¹ and he went on to claim, “I believe that modern anarchist principles are not appropriate to contemporary China. I would thus not follow anarchism. . . . The Marxism in which I believe is Bolshevism.”²¹²

In the switch from anarchism to Bolshevism, we can see one type of intellectual transition of radical youth who joined the CCP at this time. In his “Zhongguo-shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi” (“Chinese-Style Anarchism”; *Xin qingnian* 9.1 [May 1921]), Chen Duxiu found a mentality, unchanged from earlier times, in Chinese anarchism of “self-indulgence” and “laziness,” and he railed against it. Shi, though, did not fundamentally dispense with the ultimate ideals of anarchism; to the contrary, he found in Marxism (that is, Bolshevism) the theory of “the necessity of the proletariat seizing political power,” which would open a path to “stateless society . . . in which classes would become extinct and states would lose all efficacy” en route paradoxically to realizing those ideals.²¹³ Cases like that of Shi Cuntong were not at all rare. Around this time, Shi wrote that “I greatly admired Mr. Lenin, and everyone wanted to emulate Mr. Lenin,”²¹⁴ revealing a deep admiration for him. Zhang Jing, an anarchist studying in Japan at this time, recalled about Shi Cuntong and his sympathy for Soviet Russia: “The spirit with which Shi was diligent about his studies day and night was admirable. He once said, ‘Lenin works eighteen or nineteen hours each day in the Soviet Union and only rests for five hours. We’re young and have to work that much harder.’ In front of my desk there is a portrait of Lenin on which he inscribed ‘world revolution.’”²¹⁵ Such was the scene in the latter half of 1921 when Shi Cuntong switched to Bolshevism under the influence of Yamakawa Hitoshi.

As we have seen, Japanese studies of Marxism—especially, *Shakai-shugi kenkyū* (Studies in Socialism) and its editor Yamakawa Hitoshi—had an immense impact on Shi Cuntong’s understanding of Marxism, and indeed Shi’s admiration for Yamakawa was formidable as well. In an essay entitled “Jieshao Shehuizhuyi yanjiu” (“Introducing *Shakai-shugi kenkyū*”), in which Shi described *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (which Yamakawa was editing at the time) and Yamakawa’s other activities,²¹⁶ he

introduced in detail the table of contents of back issues of this journal, the contact address to purchase it, prices, and the like, and he offered unlimited praise for Yamakawa's work energetically promoting Marxist research while suffering from tuberculosis. Shi, himself a victim of tuberculosis, was devoted to the study of Marxism, and he was clearly building on top of the work of Yamakawa.

According to Shi's own account, the first time he visited the home of Yamakawa whom he so admired was around September 1921.²¹⁷ At the time he had already translated four of Yamakawa's essays, and as he recounted it, having switched to Bolshevism under Yamakawa's influence, the latter happily welcomed this visit of his "comrade." For Shi Cuntong, too, meeting with Yamakawa for whom he had such esteem was a pleasure equal to his earlier meeting with Sakai Toshihiko. He later explained to the Japanese police officials, "I believed that the top figure in socialism in Japan was Sakai Toshihiko, and the second was Yamakawa Hitoshi."²¹⁸ This sense of respect came not only from having read their articles, but even more so from meeting and talking with them face to face. His relationship with Yamakawa until just before he was arrested late that year continued in the form of his visiting to ask what characters had been censored in his journal articles.

Arrest and Deportation

The role assigned to the "Japan group" in the Chinese Communist Party—namely, Shi Cuntong and Zhou Fohai—was to gradually introduce Marxist research in Japan to China and, by "linking up with Japanese comrades," build bridges to the Comintern and the Japanese Communist movement. In fact, as the sole member of the "Japan group," Shi indeed accomplished these tasks. What must be mentioned among his activities from the summer of 1921 when he became a "follower" of Bolshevism is that he facilitated communication between Japanese socialists and Zhang Tailei, when the latter secretly came to Japan that autumn to encourage them to send personnel to the Congress of the Toilers of the East. When Zhang arrived in early October 1921, Shi slipped through the relentless surveillance of the Japanese police and was able to arrange meetings in Japan between the inexperienced Zhang and Sakai Toshihiko and Kondō Eizō.

After attending the third congress of the Comintern, Zhang Tailei participated in the planning work for the upcoming Congress of the

Toilers of the East. Chinese and Japanese delegates were to be invited to attend the latter, and in August or September he returned home. At Maring's bidding, he soon thereafter traveled furtively to Japan.²¹⁹ Remaining in China after the first national congress of the CCP, Maring reported that he had finally made contact with Japanese comrades by virtue of Zhang's mission.²²⁰ In this sense, Zhang's trip to Japan was an important juncture in contacts between the Comintern and the Japanese Communist movement.

According to Shi Cuntong's testimony in the Tokyo District Court²²¹ and the deposition he gave to the Metropolitan Police,²²² on October 5 Zhang Tailei, "a member of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps," appeared at the Misakikan where Shi lived, bearing a secret mission from "Mr. S" (Sneevliet, or Maring),²²³ "a representative of the Russian Bolsheviks," and a letter of introduction from Zhou Fohai. Zhang stayed with Shi for just a week, but the day after his arrival, the two young men paid a visit to Sakai Toshihiko, whom Shi had already met, and asked him to send a representative to the Congress of the Toilers of the East. Sakai immediately suggested Kondō Eizō to Shi and Zhang, and with Shi's linguistic facility, he would surely have served as interpreter, although the conversation seems to have taken place in English. Shi also testified that Zhang later had another meeting with Sakai and the two men settled on the number of people to send to the congress. At one of these meetings, Zhang provided Kondō with 1,000 yen in 100-yen notes issued by the Bank of Chosen (Chōsen ginkō, Bank of Korea), notes equal in value to domestic Japanese currency but unusable within Japan. Shi Cuntong himself was then to convert half of this money (500 yen) into Japanese currency at the Bank of Chosen itself. He also revealed in testimony that he received 100 yen as fees for translating Japanese texts on socialism to pay his unpaid rent and that Zhang completed his mission and returned home to Shanghai from Tokyo around October 13.

As we shall soon see, Shi's testimony and deposition concealed almost nothing. On the background to Zhang's arrival in Japan and the date of his departure, we need to offer some supplementary material because of the many unclear points in tracking Zhang's movements at the time. First, concerning his coming to Japan, it would appear that Zhang was sent there at the unilateral direction of Maring without consulting Chen Duxiu. Zhang Guotao, who was in Shanghai at the time, offers a detailed explanation of how an antagonism developed between Maring and Chen because Chen, who learned of Zhang Tailei's mis-

sion after he had already left, rebuked Maring's penchant for acting entirely on his own, and in the end Chen ordered Zhou Fohai and Li Da to write a secret letter to Shi Cuntong that told him not to cooperate with Zhang. Zhang Guotao referred to this as the "first great dispute within the central committee of the CCP."²²⁴ According to Zhang Guotao's recollections, Shi received the secret missive and showed it to Zhang Tailei; fortunately, he understood Zhang's explanation, and Zhang was able to carry out his tasks. At the time, Chen Duxiu was trying hard to get party operations into Chinese hands, and he did not look agreeably on Maring, who was in one fashion or another brandishing the authority of the Comintern in front of him. This has been noted by many memoirists who were connected in one way or another to the events, and so Chen behaved with animosity toward Maring and his assistant and interpreter, Zhang Tailei, who had a reputation for "having a Shanghai style of being capable at social interactions."²²⁵

On the dating of Zhang's arrival to and departure from Japan, Shi testified to "October 5" and "about October 13," respectively. Japanese official documents, however, give the dates as "late August" and "October 2."²²⁶ It is difficult to make a quick determination. There are also theories that he left Japan in "late August" and "roughly December 12–13."²²⁷ Further study is needed to resolve this issue. We can affirm that Chen Duxiu was moving toward a showdown with Maring. Chen left Guangzhou on September 10 to take over leadership of the CCP Central Committee in Shanghai. He was arrested by the Shanghai Concession police on October 4 of that year and released on October 26.²²⁸ Upon his release, because Maring and Zhang Tailei, now back from Japan, had worked hard on his behalf, the relationship between Maring and Chen, which had soured over the dispatch of Zhang, was restored to good terms.²²⁹ Judging by the details of the dispatch of Zhang to Japan, his arrival in Japan must have occurred some time after the middle of September when Chen arrived in Shanghai, and his return to China must have transpired before the date of Chen's release at the latest. Tokuda Kyūichi (1894–1953), who left Japan to attend the Congress of the Toilers of the East, wrote that he traveled with Zhang to Shanghai aboard the "*Kasugamaru*, a vessel of the Nippon Yusen Lines" in "early October."²³⁰ If the name of the ship is correct, the date of Zhang's departure from Japan can be confirmed on the basis of the sailing records of the *Kasugamaru*. The operations of this ship as found in Japanese newspapers of the time indicate that it left Yokohama on September 25, October 12, and October 30; from the perspective of Shanghai, the

October 12 departure from Yokohama, which then left Kōbe on October 14, would be the most appropriate. This dating, oddly enough, fits Shi Cuntong's testimony precisely. While we cannot definitively assert that Zhang and Tokuda sailed on the *Kasugamaru*, given the circumstances in Shanghai at the time, we can conclude that the dates of Zhang's arrival into and departure from Japan fit the dates given by Shi in his testimony.

The relationship between the Japan Communist Party and the Comintern became more tight-knit with the participation of Japanese at the Congress of the Toilers of the East. Given that fact, Shi's taking the lead in arranging the meeting of Zhang Tailei with Sakai and Kondō is of great import. Namely, as the link in socialist thought existing in both China and Japan at the time and as the personification of solidarity in the Communist movement, he left footprints one cannot overlook in the history of both the Japanese and the Chinese Communist movement. As a supplier of theory for the Chinese Communist movement and as the intermediary between the Japanese and Chinese movements, he did not remain active for long. Within three months of Zhang's arrival in Japan, Shi's life of study in Japan came to an abrupt end. Awaiting him was arrest on suspicion of involvement in giving and receiving "funds for the movement for Communist propaganda" and, following it, a sentence of deportation from Japan.

The trigger to Shi's arrest was the "Gray Incident" uncovered in late November and the "Gyōmin Communist Party Incident" (suspicion of antimilitary propaganda through the distribution of documents) beginning with the arrest of Kondō Eizō (November 25), who was linked to it. A considerable volume of research has clarified much about the "Gyōmin Communist Party Incident,"²³¹ and we shall omit the details here, but scarcely any research has yet been done on the "Gray Incident" involving a communications operation between the Comintern and China and Japan, in which Shi Cuntong was involved.²³² It requires some explanation. The "Gray Incident" was the case of a man named Boris P. Gray (or Grey) who came to Japan from Shanghai with a large sum of money (about 7,000 yen), apparently funds for the Japanese Communist movement, and was arrested in Yokohama on November 24 and deported. According to documents of the Japanese arresting authorities, Gray was an English citizen born in Moscow in 1889 who was active around 1920 in the Russian Far East and who came to Shanghai to work as a correspondent for the Dalta News Agency around October 1921; he arrived in Japan in late November (arrived in Nagasaki

on November 20, lodged in a Yokohama hotel on November 22) with a young man named Shigeta Yōichi who was sent to Shanghai by Kondō Eizō to deliver “Japan Communist Party” documents and receive funds for activities. Their objective was to make contact with Japanese socialists and provide funding for activities. Gray met with Kondō to whom he handed over 5,000 yen for propaganda expenses, and in the notebook he had we find the names of Yamakawa Hitoshi and Arahata Kan-son (1887–1981).²³³

The “Gray Incident” as recalled by Kondō Eizō tallies almost entirely with the documents of the Japanese authorities. As he remembered it, after meeting Zhang Tailei through the intermediacy of Shi Cuntong, they were to receive funds for operations promised earlier from the Comintern, and thus he and Yamakawa prepared a report and a set of theses that they entrusted to Shigeta Yōichi, a Waseda University student unknown to the authorities, to be forwarded to Shanghai.²³⁴ Then, Gray arrived. Shigeta accomplished his mission, and despite the fact that the authorities never once mentioned him, Communist documents came into their possession, a fact that Kondō found mysterious. In fact, though, Shigeta was interrogated by the Japanese police around the time of the “Gray Incident,”²³⁵ and as a result, the documents came into the hands of the authorities,²³⁶ and at the same time Kondō was arrested.

Gray was, to be sure, a secret Comintern agent sent from Soviet Russia. In the period from November to December 1920, as the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive was being established, Gray’s name as someone slated to be a member of it appears frequently in documents concerning the Russian Communist Party. Through the autumn of the following year, we can confirm that he was active as chair of the Kamchatka Revolutionary Committee.²³⁷ He left Kamchatka in September 1921 and, posing as a businessman, traveled to Shanghai in October.²³⁸ We know that Maring who was then in Shanghai was connected to Gray’s being sent to Japan, as Maring himself recounted, “A good example of the extraordinary public security work in Japan was the experience we acquired by Comrade Gray. This comrade was holding a British passport and left Shanghai in the middle of November, but on November 22 [*sic*] he was arrested in Tokyo. The Japanese comrades with whom he made contact were being tracked by the police.”²³⁹

The Metropolitan Police Department learned from the Gray case and began investigating all foreigners deemed worthy of their attention. At the same time, amid inquiries into foreigners facilitating connections

between Gray and the Japanese, they hit upon Shi Cuntong.²⁴⁰ It is not certain if there was evidence among Gray's possessions that enabled them to see Shi as a collaborator in Japan, but as the investigation of the line through Gray, Shigeta, and Kondō proceeded, it was probably only a matter of time before the inquiry reached Shi, who offered the mediation for Zhang's providing funds to Kondō earlier. Less than a month after Kondō's arrest, on December 20, Shi Cuntong was ultimately apprehended and held in custody at the Hibiya Police Station.²⁴¹

Once in custody, he soon underwent severe interrogation by the foreign affairs section of the Police Agency. For a physically weak man by nature, one week of grueling interrogation in a bitterly cold jail cell was all he could stand.²⁴² On this occasion, the content of his deposition, as can be seen in appendix 3, is replete with details.²⁴³ On December 23, when the Superintendent General of the Police Agency applied to the Home Minister for a sentence of deportation, Shi was called as a witness before the court of first instance in the "Gyōmin Communist Party Incident" at the Tokyo district court, and he gave roughly the same testimony as in his deposition. Inasmuch as we have already introduced the sections concerning the voyage of Zhang Tailei, which occupy much of his deposition and testimony, we turn now to examine other items in those documents.

In his testimony concerning Zhang Tailei's coming to Japan, he was asked by the court "if he knew Goorman" of "*Shanghai Life*." He replied that "did not know" him, but at the same preliminary hearing, Kondō recounted that in November he had sent a written report on the movement of the Gyōmin Communist Party to "Goorman of *Shanghai Life*."²⁴⁴ It was in relation to this that the court seems to have been following up. "Goorman of *Shanghai Life*" (actually, the Russian-language *Shankhaiskaia Zhizn'*) refers to M. L. Goorman, a collaborator in Vladivostok mentioned in chapter 2.²⁴⁵ When Shi was asked "if he knew Huang Jiemin," he again responded that he "did not know" him, and this too was following up on Kondō's mention of contacts with the "Shanghai Communist Party" of Huang Jiemin and others when he (Kondō) traveled to Shanghai in May of that year.²⁴⁶ In his deposition given to the police, Shi does mention the Communist Party "organized by Huang Jiemin's faction"—namely, the Datongdang or "Great Unity" Communist Party; we cannot, thus, jump to the conclusion that he did not know Huang Jiemin. The same applies to Goorman. When we see how readily he replied to the names of Japanese socialists with whom he had been in contact (Sakai Toshihiko, Takatsu Masamichi, Takase Kiyoshi, and Miyazaki Ryūsuke,

among others), as well as Chinese socialists who were connected to the Communist Party of Chen Duxiu and others, one senses that matters involving Goorman and Huang were directly linked to the trial of Kondō Eizō and that Shi was purposefully hiding something.

As a result of his arrest and subsequent interrogation, he may already have felt that he would be unable to avoid some sort of sentence. As such, there was no need to gloss over his mission or stance. In his deposition, he affirmed that he was a member of the Chinese Communist Party and that his mission was to “forge links between the Shanghai Communist Party and Japanese socialists.” Furthermore, in his testimony at his preliminary trial, he unhesitatingly stated, with respect to his own intellectual disposition, that “I have been studying [socialism] since I was about nineteen years old,” that “I was originally an anarchist, but now I am a Communist. I belong to the Marxist grouping.” He also gives some overview of his year and a half of study in Japan during which he made the switch from anarchism ultimately to a definitive position of Marxism.

While in custody on December 27, the order for his deportation was issued by the Home Minister;²⁴⁷ the following day the newspapers reported on Shi’s arrest and deportation in a major way with a photo of him. Japanese journalists exaggeratedly wrote up the unmasking of a “secret agent” continuing the “Gray Incident” with such headlines as “Deportation Order for Mysterious Chinese Transmitting Communist Propaganda Funds . . . Shi Cuntong, Hiding Out in Takadamura” (*Ko-kumin shinbun*); and “Deportation Order for Chinese Shi Cuntong . . . Discovery of a Communist Movement” (*Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*). In China, too, short articles appeared reporting on Shi’s arrest in *Chenbao* (Beijing) and *Shenbao* (Shanghai).²⁴⁸ *Minguo ribao* (Shanghai), to which he had contributed numerous pieces, however, carried no reports whatsoever about Shi’s arrest or deportation, probably because it was reluctant to indicate the relationship between the newspaper and the man who “transmitted Communist propaganda funds.”

Miyazaki Ryūsuke, upon whom Shi was most dependent, was at the time caught up in the maelstrom of the “Byakuren Incident” and was expelled from the press corps, which made it impossible for him to help Shi. His father Tōten, who was also asked questions by the police, recounted as follows:

After he arrived here, I learned that he visited such Japanese socialists as Sakai Toshihiko and Ōsugi Sakae. On three such

occasions, he sincerely warned them that our [Japanese] socialists were a bunch of hack writers, not true socialists. He continued interacting with them, though their future prospects looked dim. At the time he made it clear that he had completely broken off with Sakai and the others, and I believe him. In any event, I have now given fully truthful testimony, and [the police] have now carried out his deportation.²⁴⁹

Tōten went on to say, “Preventing a young man from our neighboring land of China to come again to Japan would be far too narrow-minded a sentence. I would never expect our politicians to take such a measure.” While this was the worried expression of a shy Miyazaki Tōten, a supporter of the Chinese revolution, the police were at the same time raising an uproar about a “Communist movement,” and this was the extent of what he could say.

The response of overseas Chinese students in touch with Shi Cuntong, as recounted by Tian Han (1898–1968, later a leading playwright on the Chinese literary scene), was “as reported in the press, he was propagating socialism, was in contact with local socialists, and violated Japanese public security, therefore necessitating his deportation.”²⁵⁰ On the surface this seems a generally cool response. Shi Cuntong quickly made plans to return to China, and then on December 28, with some twenty Chinese school friends from the same lodgings at the Misakikan, he “shared some tea and cakes for about ten minutes.”²⁵¹ That evening, two or three friends accompanied him on the way to Yokohama; detectives from the Kanagawa prefectural police then escorted him to a third-class cabin on the *Arizonamaru*. As the newspapers reported, he was wearing a close-buttoned collar uniform, and from time to time, he looked out the cabin window at the shore with a lonesome look on his face.²⁵² The ship on which the escorting police detectives had deposited him was set to sail the next morning, December 29, at 8:30 A.M.²⁵³

On board the ship back to Shanghai, Shi was in high spirits, his beliefs strengthened despite his deportation. To the detective on board with him, he boldly claimed:

This time the Japanese government has expelled me and deported me from the country. For the present Japanese government, I believe my activities in Japan warranted this measure. I have no antipathy whatsoever, for this is the way contemporary Japanese

institutions are. However, after I return home, I plan to publish my impressions of this expulsion in the pages of *Juewu*, the supplement to *Minguo ribao*. . . . Russia is now completely Communist, and its inhabitants live freely and prosperously. The Japanese newspapers, though, run articles opposed to this view, merely propaganda for the capitalists. China at present has a flourishing cultural movement, and in the future coupled with this a labor movement and military movement will rise, which, I believe, will inevitably lead to Communism. Japan, too, has the possibility of becoming Communist in future. Thus, I shall employ all manner of means to remain in touch with Japan. . . . In any event, I shall never dispense with my present principles, and with more and more study I plan to make stronger ties to Japan.²⁵⁴

Clearly expressed here are the sentiments of young Chinese of the time who had limitless expectations for the Russian Revolution and who had confidence in the unfolding world revolution and in Communism as their own belief system. His conviction about the Japanese revolution and his declaration of intent to retain contacts with Japanese comrades reflect his usual gratitude and sympathy for the Japanese socialist movement that had so enriched his own Marxist study. His own beliefs unshaken, there was nothing to frighten him. In China, where he was now headed, a group of young people with beliefs in Communism just like those of Shi were emerging, and the Chinese Communist Party at the center of them would find it necessary to have many such activists.

From a village in Zhejiang to Hangzhou, and on to Beijing, Shanghai, Tokyo, and then back to Shanghai, the itinerary of a young Shi Cuntong was also a journey of May Fourth youth from Confucian to anti-Confucian views, then to anarchism, from the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps to Marxism, and pushing on to Bolshevism and plans for the transformation of China. When he returned to Shanghai, this closed the book on the literal wanderings of his youth, as Marxism was now his lifelong compass. The *Arizonamaru* arrived in Shanghai—via Kōbe and Moji—on January 7, 1922.²⁵⁵ Once home, the Communist Party gave Shi the important task of manager of the Socialist Youth Corps, an extra-party organization. He immediately threw himself into the work wholeheartedly. With the first national congress over, the CCP was now supported by the mobilized strength of Chinese youth like Shi, fired by their ideals. The day for “revolution” to rise to center stage was soon to arrive.



Afterword

This book presents the results of several studies I have written over roughly the past decade. I initially became interested in the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1988, shortly after entering graduate school at Kyoto University, when I wrote a paper entitled “Chinese Marxism and Japan” (“Chūgoku Marukusushugi to Nihon”) for a graduate seminar on contemporary history. This report began with the extremely simple idea of approaching research into the history of the reception of Marxism, then a burgeoning field in China, from the perspective of the history of cultural interactions based on influences from Japan. I examined the sources of a number of Chinese socialist documents. Although I had studied at Beijing University for two years (1984–1986), I had not been particularly interested at the time in the history of the CCP, and it was with that frame of mind that I proceeded to prepare my essay. It was at that point that I received some unexpected advice. Professor Matsuo Takayoshi of Kyoto Tachibana Women’s College offered his theory, which contradicted the reigning position in China, that the “Yuanquan” who had introduced Marxism in the pages of *Chenbao* in Beijing was not Li Dazhao. When I examined Professor Matsuo’s arguments and his analysis of related documents, I realized that he was right. He was not a specialist in modern or contemporary Chinese history, but while investigating the exchanges between Yoshino Sakuzō and Li Dazhao during the May Fourth era, he had become aware of this “Yuanquan.”

Thus, all my extensive research turned out to be meaningless because I had unthinkingly followed the commonly accepted thesis in China. When I later examined Chinese magazines and newspapers from the period, it became clear to me that Yuanquan was not Li Dazhao but a reporter for *Chenbao* by the name of Chen Puxian. Armed with the knowledge that Chen Puxian introduced Marxism to China before Li Dazhao, I then discovered that very little information about Chen Puxian was available in the Chinese scholarly world. Therefore, I was excited that I would be the one to weave together Chinese Marxism, its links to Japan, and the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party and bring my master's thesis, "The Reception of Marxism in the May Fourth Period" ("Goshi jiki ni okeru Marukusushugi no juyō"), to a final conclusion. That was about ten years ago, and it forms the backbone of chapter 1 of this book.

The reception of Marxism in China was, of course, strongly tied to the history of the CCP's formation, but I was afraid that when I was writing my thesis, this information, which should have been common knowledge, had not been clearly elucidated in proportion to the volume of research already published. Since then I have been fortunate enough to hold a research post, and for the past ten years, I have shifted the focus of my own research from the reception of Marxism to the history of the Chinese Communist Party's establishment, and I have immersed myself in it. Excerpts from this book have appeared in several publications over the course of this decade. For reference purposes, here is a list of the publications and their corresponding sections of this book:

- "Ri Taishō no Marukusushugi juyō" ("Li Dazhao's Reception of Marxism"), *Shisō* 803 (1991): Chapter 1, Section 2.
- "Marukusushugi no denpa to Chūgoku Kyōsantō no kessei" ("The Transmission of Marxism and the Formation of the Chinese Communist Party"), in *Chūgoku kokumin kakumei no kenkyū* (Studies in the Chinese National Revolution), ed. Hazama Naoki (Research Institute in the Humanities, Kyoto University, 1992): Chapter 1, Sections 2–4.
- "Chin Bōdō yaku Kyōsantō sengen ni tsuite" ("On Chen Wangdao's Translation of the *Communist Manifesto*"), *Hyōfū* 27 (1992): Chapter 1, Section 3.
- "Wakaki hi no Shi Sontō, Chūgoku Kyōsantō sōritsuki no 'Nihon shōso' o ronjite sono kentō mondai ni oyobu" ("Shi Cuntong in his Youth, a Discussion of the 'Japan Group' During the Formative Period of

- the Chinese Communist Party and the Issue of Party Formation), *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 53.2 (1994): Chapter 4, Section 3.
- “Chūgoku no ‘nise’ Kyōsantō shimatsu, Kondō Eizō no sesshoku shita Chūgoku no ‘Kyōsantō’” (“On the ‘Bogus’ Communist Party of China, the Chinese ‘Communist Party’ with Which Kondō Eizō Had Contact”), *Hyōfū* 30 (1994): Chapter 2, Section 3.
- “Weijinsiji yu Ma-Liezhuyi zai Zhongguo de chuqi chuanbo qudao” (“Voitinsky and the Early Route by Which Marxism-Leninism Spread in China”), *Hubei daxue xuebao* 4 (1997): Chapter 1, Section 4.
- “‘Chūgoku Kyōsantō sengen’ to ‘Chūkyō Sangatsu kaigi (1921 nen)’ ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu” (“A Study of the ‘Chinese Communist Party Manifesto’ and the ‘March Meeting of the CCP [1921]’”), *Kōbe daigaku shigaku nenpō* 14 (1999): Chapter 3, Section 3.

In the process of completing this work, I had to do a considerable amount of emending and editing of these earlier essays to treat the history of the Chinese Communist Party in a systematic manner. As a result, the form in which those essays originally appeared has changed significantly for inclusion in this book. I also added some sections (about two-thirds of the whole text) that took roughly one and a half years to write, so about three-quarters of the text was written specifically for this book.

My years as a student at Kyoto University were a pleasure. I was fortunate to benefit from its excellent professors in its Department of Contemporary History in the Faculty of Letters. Needless to say, I have been able to work diligently with my fellow students, and at the Research Institute in the Humanities at Kyoto University, where I taught for seven years after I completed my master’s course, I was able to use its rich collection of materials under the best conditions to devote myself to my research. Professors Hazama Naoki (now, emeritus), Mori Tokihiko, and Eda Kenji worked assiduously to build a collection of materials (the largest in Japan) on the history of the Chinese Communist Party, and they allowed me to use whatever I needed. In addition, weekly sessions of our joint seminars in modern Chinese history provided a place for both the exchange of valuable scholarly information and the enlightenment of my potentially biased eyes. While I have been on the faculty, I have been able to devote myself completely to my research, with Professor Hazama repeatedly admonishing and encouraging me with the words, “Sit at your desk and study.”

For my part, if Professor Matsuo is my most respected teacher for historical studies, Professor Hazama is the same for the study of modern Chinese history. While they have different specialties, they have both taught me the dignity of the historian who strives to be faithful to historical source materials. This continues to this day. In addition, although I was not blessed while an assistant professor to learn directly from Professor Shimada Kenji, working under him in his reading and discussion group to translate the *Liang Qichao nianpu changbian* (Chronological Biography of Liang Qichao, Full Edition), I benefited from his immense body of learning on approaches to scholarship and the modes of thought among modern Chinese intellectuals. Professor Shimada passed away in March 2000, so, sadly, I never had the opportunity to present him with a copy of this book.

I must also thank Kōbe University for the research environment it afforded me while I taught there. In the seven years I was an assistant professor at Kyoto University, I was at times charged with the duties of a university professor, but I had no direct contact with students whom I was guiding. Thus, coming to Kōbe University was an altogether new experience in its Faculty of Letters, where I had the dual responsibilities of teaching and research. That meant, of course, that I had less time to devote to research than before, but I was thrilled to discover that course preparation and lectures helped to refine my research findings. Two of my colleagues there, Mori Noriko and Hamada Masami, who specialize in the field of East Asian history, were always supportive despite my tardiness when it came to university duties. I also received generous support for the writing of this book. I owe a debt of gratitude to the students at Kōbe University who attended my lectures on Chinese Communist Party history, a topic that evinces scarcely any interest in contemporary Japan. I was also extremely fortunate to discover that Professor Itō Shūichi (then at Kōbe University, now at Nihon University) had collected many Russian-language documents that proved invaluable to my research.

That the formation of the CCP was inseparably related to Soviet Russian and Comintern activities, to which I devote considerable space in this book, is no longer in doubt. The opening of archives in Moscow in recent years has advanced the elucidation of many facts on the basis of original documents. Without the use of Russian-language materials and scholarship, this topic can be difficult to make sense of, and my limited Russian probably made this the greatest difficulty for me. I received

invaluable guidance in this area from the members of the “Seminar on the Early Comintern and East Asia” (from 1999), which had begun as a study group, especially Professor Mizuno Naoki (Research Institute in the Humanities, Kyoto University) and Professor Yamanouchi Akito (now at Miyazaki University). Mizuno, whose specializes in the mutual interaction of social movements in East Asia, centering on Korea, and Yamanouchi, who had a great depth of scholarship in the international Communist movement, offered encouragement, documents, and advice, without which I could not have written the sections in this book concerned with the Comintern. Terayama Kyōsuke (Tōhoku University), another member of that seminar and a friend since our undergraduate days at Kyoto University, was helpful in translating Russian-language texts and writings in Russian. While I extend my deepest thanks to him, any errors are, of course, entirely my responsibility.

There are many others who helped along the way, including helping to compile documents. While I can’t express my thanks to them all individually, I must mention a few in particular. Ono Shinji (Hanazono University) informed me of the existence of documents concerning Shi Cuntong in the Diplomatic Archives of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, which I introduce in this book; Mori Tokihiko, after switching fields from CCP history to modern Chinese social and economic history, offered much advice; and Eda Kenji, one of the few genuine specialists in Japan on the history of the CCP, offered much scholarly council. To all of them I offer profound gratitude.

Outside of Japan, I received a great deal of assistance from Chinese scholars in amassing the many collections of materials concerned with the history of the Chinese Communist Party that were unavailable in Japan. Because the print runs of publications concerned with party history are, as a rule, very small, and because many of them do not circulate throughout the nation (and inevitably are not for sale in Japan), I have on many occasions had to write to friends in China and ask them to hunt down such works and mail them to me. With the spread of e-mail, communication has been vastly improved in recent years, and past difficulties have all but disappeared, but years ago, writing letters requesting materials and documents in China occupied a considerable amount of research time. My requests, above all, for document collections have happily been undertaken by the following scholars: in Beijing, Yang Tianshi, Yang Kuisong, Tang Baolin, and Li Yuzhen (all in the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences); in Shanghai, Xu Youwei (Donghua University), Ren Wuxiong (Museum

of the First National Congress of the CCP), and Qi Weiping (Huadong Normal University); and in Wuhan, Tian Leyu (Hubei University). They have also often given me useful advice and firm encouragement.

As for Russian-language materials (such as *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* [Bulletin of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern], which is introduced in this book), Professor Michael Kryukov (Tamkang University, Taiwan) was generous with his help. Professor Alexander V. Pantsov (Capital University, Ohio) and A. I. Kartunova (Institute of the Far East, Russian Academy of Sciences) gave me invaluable advice about Comintern documents. Ms. Li Danyang (formerly of the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and granddaughter of Li Hanjun, whom I introduce in the introductory chapter of this book) gave me an unpublished study of Russians who came to China, from which I obtained numerous new insights. Because Ms. Li's research differs in the main from the perspective on party history presently authorized by the CCP, much of her work remains unpublished, and I hope it will soon see the light of day.

Just writing the names of all those to whom I am indebted now makes me realize that the writing of this book was only possible by virtue of the assistance of many scholars at home and abroad who share my scholarly concerns. The spread of socialist thought in China and, on its heels, the formation of the Chinese Communist Party, as I recount on a number of occasions here, are not examined in relation to China alone but on an international scale in tandem with the development of the international Communist movement. Doing so requires interaction and cooperation among scholars all over the world, and I offer all of them my heartfelt gratitude.

The year 2001 marked the eightieth anniversary of the first national congress of the CCP. The seventieth anniversary in 1991 was commemorated in the People's Republic of China with the publication of numerous collections of scholarly essays, and 2001 was marked with many similar commemorative events, peaking in July. The publication of related scholarly works indicating the development of research over the past decade has been generally expected within China. The completion of this book unexpectedly coincides with the eightieth anniversary. This was only by chance, not something planned.

The history of the CCP's formation, as analyzed in this book, grows intellectually, politically, and organizationally as it meets events on an international scale. This book is not the "history of the founding" of the party but of its "formation." In spite of this, the scholarly world of party

history in China to this day proceeds without attention to international trends. For example, Hu Shi's comment about the launching of the column entitled "Russian Studies" (in *Xin qingnian* and marking a change in that journal) and the magazine *Soviet Russia*, which had become a news source for it—"Xin qingnian has become the Chinese reader's edition of *Soviet Russia*"—is frequently cited as proof of Hu Shi's "reactionary essence." Yet, not one scholar has examined and read an entire issue of *Soviet Russia*. Similarly, although programmatic documents of the American and British Communist Parties were translated in the pages of *Gongchandang*, this is considered an enhanced opportunity for the founding of the CCP. Yet, no one has attempted to explore what sort of Communist documents from the United States and Britain these were, nor by what route they made their way to China. As introduced in this book as well, even if you only briefly examine the original context in which these documents appeared, it is obvious that the design and style of the originals were carried over into *Xin qingnian* and *Gongchandang*. At the same time, with respect to the movements on the Soviet side, Shumyatsky's memoirs (the eulogy for Zhang Tailei) have been translated and are completely trusted and cited by all Chinese scholars. Yet, no one has attempted to go back to such Russian-language journals as *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Kominterna*, which is cited as its original source, and ascertain the veracity of his recollections. Ultimately, the level of reliability of this work, as I discuss in this book, is a major issue.

To make up for not including documents from countries outside China and not providing the sources and origins of records, more emphasis is placed on Chinese memoirs. Since 1949, many memoirs have been written about the CCP's goals, especially the first party congress. This is a kind of magic wand that produces convenient "historical facts"—such as that the creation of the CCP was a gift from the struggle of Chinese Communists. A typical example is to say that early Chinese Communists had placed party formation on their agenda before they had contact with the Comintern, as in the "thesis that Chen in the south and Li in the north planned together to form a party." As I describe in chapter 2, this view is based on groundless memoirs. It is difficult to undermine events that only have their basis established by memoirs, for the concrete process by which memoirs are composed (what materials are used as references and what considerations are taken into account when writing) are not as a rule disclosed by the author. In chapter 4, I devote considerable space to the changes in conventionally accepted

theories about the first party congress and the composition of Dong Biwu's memoirs, since this clarifies the process to a certain extent and sheds light on just what these memoirs are in the Chinese context. My thoughts here are a kind of response to research into the history of the creation of the Chinese Communist Party, which often smacks of an overemphasis on the memoir literature.

As a counterproposal in research into the history of the CCP's formation—replacing this overemphasis—I propose a method in which Chinese and foreign documents are compared. While this may seem a bit insignificant, it is rooted in textual scholarship. For example, if the same type of bronzeware was unearthed in two countries at opposite ends of the world, common sense would seem to indicate that there must have been some type of contact between these two civilizations. It is frequently the case that what is believed to be an isolated culture turns out to be connected in some way to a broader cultural area. Furthermore, if similar archeological artifacts are unearthed from different depths at the same site, and the objects at the higher level are more refined than those found much deeper, common sense dictates that the most recent civilization improved on older items.

This type of research on modern and contemporary history in China, particularly the history of the spread of Marxism and the Chinese Communist movement, however, is extremely rare even though Marxism and Communism, under the banner of universality, have a shared discursive system on an international scale and that the memoirs of the time clearly build on those written before. Although comparing objects as soon as they are discovered is still relatively easy, enormous amounts of time and energy are needed to find and unearth them in the first place, and in many instances, despite extensive digging, nothing is found, or if it is, it has no relationship to the past. In the same sense, over the past ten years, I have been fortunate to have had ample time to devote to the task of unearthing information in archives without having to worry about the future. And I have been fortunate enough to make my findings commensurate with the amount of time invested. I firmly believe that this archeological approach is an essential method to return to that period and reconstruct the history of the CCP's formation.

Shao Weizheng, who in the early 1980s pioneered empirical research into the CCP's formation in China, recently announced an interesting episode in an essay that reviewed his pioneering research.¹ When he began this kind of empirical research, he mentioned the “libelous words” of a Taiwan scholar of CCP history—“Although the CCP

is now fifty-two years old, we still haven't clarified when it was born; this is like an illegitimate child, who does not know who his parents are, learning the date of his birth"—which gave rise to some consternation. I have absolutely no intention of slandering the Chinese Communist Party, but on many occasions, views opposed to the party's official history, based in the first instance on the corroboration of historical facts, are included herein. For example, I considered November 1920 the date of the essential formation of the party, and although the first national CCP congress of July 1921 was the party's first national congress, it was not the "founding congress" (see chapter 3). When an essay with this point of view first appeared in a scholarly journal in China, it was demanded that that section alone be excised. It has been my experience that the rules structuring the official understanding (that the CCP was founded in July 1921) are applied not only in cases of Chinese scholars publishing in China but in cases as well where essays by foreign scholars, such as myself, find their work translated and published in China (for places where their points of view differ from the official understanding, they seek emendation or excision by Chinese editors).

It is my belief that this book is more thorough than the many works on the CCP's founding that were published in China in commemoration of the eightieth anniversary. At least, I feel this way because of the comprehensive examination of historical facts that I compiled by going back to the historical sites. If one were to ascribe any meaning to the fact that this book is being published on the eightieth anniversary of the CCP, it would be by suggesting not slander but full-fledged, earnest research—in a different sense from the words of the Taiwan scholar who effected the beginning of empirical research among mainland Chinese scholars—to encourage in China research into party history that is so easily obstructed. This is my way of repaying the many people in China who made my years of study there so fruitful and opened my eyes to the world of China. My next goal is to produce a Chinese translation.²

This is the first specialized work in Japan dedicated to the study of the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party. Because of the paucity of research in this area in Japan, I tried to structure this book to explain the importance of each individual event that contributed to the CCP's formation. Thus, with the index, this book is a kind of encyclopedia of the period in which the party was formed. Also, the book examines the CCP's formation not only as a study in the single country of China but in relation to its ties to Japan, the West, and the international Communist movement. Thus, it is my hope that this book

will not only be a specialist's work in modern or contemporary Chinese history but will also be read by a broader range of people with interests in modern Japanese history and the history of Western socialism. If, in so doing, I have been able to offer others some enlightenment, I will have no greater happiness as an author.

Finally, despite the recent unfavorable conditions for scholarly publishing, Iwanami Press willingly undertook the publication of this book, and I must especially thank two members of the editorial staff for their assistance: Sawakabu Masashi and Satō Tsukasa.

ISHIKAWA YOSHIHIRO
FEBRUARY 2001

APPENDIX 1

Chinese Translations from Japanese of Works on Socialism, 1919–1922

The following is a list of writings concerning socialism that appeared in journals and newspapers published in China from 1919 through 1922 that were translated from Japanese (not necessarily full translations) and essays extensively quoting from Japanese works. It is organized by the original authors of the Japanese texts (with indented subentries denoting the individual Chinese translations of the same Japanese work). Separate entries have been made for Kawakami Hajime (1879–1946), Sakai Toshihiko (1871–1933), Takabatake Motoyuki (1886–1928), Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980), and Yamakawa Hitoshi (1880–1958), who were translated or frequently cited, and their books and essays are arranged by the dates of publication. Other Japanese authors are treated together as “Others” and arranged as a whole by date of publication. In compiling this bibliography, I have consulted journals and newspapers to the best of my ability, although it was impossible to read through all the countless magazines that appeared in the May Fourth period. I have thus concentrated on translations of the aforementioned five writers, all representative socialist scholars in Japan during the period under study. Accordingly, I have to admit that the list of translations of those grouped under “Others” is by no means complete.

I have placed an asterisk (*) by Chinese translations based on and referencing multiple Japanese texts. The volume numbers and dates of publication for newspapers, journals, and books (in some cases the dates given in the publication information of a work do not match the actual date of publication) are as follows: For newspapers and newspaper reprintings—year, month, day; for journals and magazines—volume and issue number (or year and month of publication); and for individual books—year of publication (in some instances, months as well).

KAWAKAMI HAJIME

- Binbō monogatari* (Tales of Poverty) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, March 1917).
 Yang Shanmu, trans., “Jiupin congtao” (“Stories of Poor Relief”), *Xueyi* 2.1–2.8 (April–November 1920).
- Zhizhi (Li Fengting), trans., *Pinfa lun* (On Poverty) (Taidong tushuju, July 1920).
- Yang Shanmu, trans., *Jiupin congtao* (Stories of Poor Relief) (Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1920).
- “Marukusu no *Shihonron*” (“Marx’s *Das Kapital*”), from his *Shakai mondai kanken* (Views on Social Issues) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, September 1918).
- Yuanquan (Chen Puxian), trans., “Jinshi shehuizhuyi bizu Makesi zhi fendou shengya” (“The Struggling Career of Marx, Founder of Modern Socialism”), *Chenbao fukan* (April 1, 1919).
- “Kyōdō seikatsu to kisei seikatsu” (“Cooperative Life and Parasitic Life”), from his *Shakai mondai kanken* (Views on Social Issues) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, September 1918).
- Ran Ke, trans., “Gongtong shenghuo he jisheng shenghuo” (“Cooperative Life and Parasitic Life”), *Chenbao fukan* (July 6, 1919).
- Zhushan Zuiweng, trans., “Gongtong shenghuo ji jisheng shenghuo” (“Cooperative Life and Parasitic Life”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.1 (September 1919).
- “Fujo mondai mandan” (“Chats on the Woman Question”), from his *Shakai mondai kanken* (Views on Social Issues) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, September 1918).
- Chen Wangdao, trans., “Funü laodong wenti de yipie” (“A Glimpse at the Question of Female Labor”), *Xingqi pinglun* 48 (May 1920).
- “Marukusu no shakaishugi no rironteki taikai” (“The Theoretical System of Marx’s Socialism”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 1 (January 1919).
- Yuanquan (Chen Puxian), trans., “Makesi de weiwu shiguan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Chenbao fukan* (May 5, 1919).*
- Luo Zhuozhang and Ji Bi, trans., “Makesi shehuizhuyi zhi lilunde tixi” (“The Theoretical System of Marx’s Socialism”), *Xuedeng* (August 5–December 24, 1919).
- Li Dazhao, “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan (shang)” (“My Marxist Views, Part 1”), *Xin qingnian* 6.5 (November 1919).*
- Fan Shoukang, trans., “Makesi de weiwu shiguan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Dongfang zazhi* 18.1 (January 1921).
- “Shisaku no hitsuyō to kenkyū no taido” (“The Need for Contemplation and the Research Attitude”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 1 (January 1919).
- Anon., “Sisuo zhi biyao yu yanjiu zhi taidu” (“The Need for Contemplation and the Research Attitude”), *Xuedeng* (December 25, 1919).
- “Marukusu no yuibutsu shikan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Shakai oyobi kokutai kenkyūroku* 1.1 (March 1919).
- Yuanquan (Chen Puxian), trans., “Makesi de weiwu shiguan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Chenbao fukan* (May 5, 1919).*

- Chen Wangdao, trans., “Makesi de weiwu shiguan” (“Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Juewu* (June 17, 1920).
- “Rōdō to shihon” (“Labor and Capital”) (translation from a work by Karl Marx), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 4 (April 1919).
- Shi Li, trans., “Laodong yu ziben” (“Labor and Capital”), *Chenbao fukan* (May 9, 1919).
- “Shakaishugi no shinka” (“The Evolution of Socialism”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 5 (May 1919).
- Kuang Mohan, trans., “Shehuizhuyi zhi jinhua” (“The Evolution of Socialism”), *Xuedeng* (June 11, 1919).
- Huang Qiwu, trans., “Shehuizhuyi jinhua tan” (“Talks on the Evolution of Socialism”), *Xuedeng* (September 2, 1920).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Shehuizhuyi de jinhua” (“The Evolution of Socialism”), *Juewu* (February 27–28, 1921).
- Shi Cuntong, ed. and trans., *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on Society and Economy) (Taidong tushuju, January 1922).*
- “Rikoshugi to ritashugi” (“Egoism and Altruism”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 6 (June 1919).
- Dong Li, trans., “Lijizhuyi yu litazhuyi” (“Egoism and Altruism”), *Xuedeng* (December 9, 1919).
- “Shihonka teki shisō no ichirei” (“An Example of Capitalist Thinking”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 9 (October 1919).
- Huang Qiwu, trans., “Zibenjia sixiang de yili” (“An Example of Capitalist Thinking”), *Xuedeng* (July 7, 1920).
- “Marukusu no yuibutsu shikan ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu” (“An Examination of Marxism Historical Materialism”), *Keizai ronsō* 9.4 (October 1919).
- An Ticheng, trans., “Heshang Zhao boshi guanyu Makesi zhi weiwu shiguan de yi kaocha” (“An Examination of Marxism Historical Materialism”), *Xuedeng* (December 6–8, 1919).
- “Dōmei taigyō no dōtokuteki hihan ni tsuite” (“Concerning an Ethical Critique of a Work Slowdown”), *Keizai ronsō* 9.5 (November 1919).
- Dai Jitao, “Sabodaju de yanjiu” (“A Study of Sabotage”), *Xingqi pinglun* 34 (January 1920).*
- “Shihonron ni arawaretaru yuibutsu shikan” (“Historical Materialism as Seen in *Das Kapital*”), *Keizai ronsō* 10.2 (February 1920).
- Su Zhong, trans., “Jianyu Zibenlun de weiwu shiguan” (“Historical Materialism as Seen in *Das Kapital*”), *Jianshe* 2.6 (August 1920).
- Kinsei keizai shisō shi ron* (Essays on the History of Modern Economic Thought) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, April 1920)
- Kuang Mohan, trans., “Makesi shengyu jiazhi lun” (“Marx’s View of Surplus Value”), *Xuedeng* (June 27–29, 1920).
- Li Peitian, trans., *Jinshi jingji sixiang shi lun* (Essays on the History of Modern Economic Thought) (Taidong tushuju, September 1920).
- “Nōmiso no mondai” (“The Issue of the Brain”) (translation from a work by Kirkpatrick), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 15 (May 1920).
- Yu Shude, trans., “Naojin wenti” (“The Issue of the Brain”), *Juewu* (June 12, 1920).

- “Kyōsansha sengen ni arawaretaru yuibutsu shikan” (“Historical Materialism as Seen in the *Communist Manifesto*”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 16 (June 1920).
 [Shi] Cuntong, trans., “Jianyu Gongchandang xuanyan zhong de weiwu shiguan” (“On Historical Materialism as Seen in the *Communist Manifesto*”), *Juewu* (May 15–19, 1921).
 Shi Cuntong, ed. and trans., *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on Society and Economy) (Taidong tushuju, January 1922).*
- “Kagakuteki shakaishugi to yuibutsu shikan” (“Scientific Socialism and Historical Materialism”) (translation from a work by Friedrich Engels), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 17 (July 1920).
 Su Zhong, trans., “Kexuede shehuizhuyi yu weiwu shiguan” (“Scientific Socialism and Historical Materialism”), *Jianshe* 3.1 (December 1920).
 “Shakaishugi no miraikoku” (“The Future Land of Socialism”) (translation from a work by Burkhardt), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 21 (March 1921).
 Xiong Deshan, trans., “Shehuizhuyi de weilaiguo” (“The Future Land of Socialism”), *Jinri* 1.2 (March 1922).
 “Danpen” (“Fragments”), *Kaizō* (April 1921).
 Li Maozhai, trans., “Duanpian (jian Riben Gaizao zazhi)” (“Fragments, from the Japanese Magazine *Kaizō*”), *Shuguang* 2.3 (June 1921).
 “Tsugi no hi no mondō” (“Questions and Answers for the Next Day”), *Warera* 3.5–6 (May–June, 1921).
 CT (Shi Cuntong), trans., “Makesizhuyi he laodong quanshouquan” (“Marxism and Full Rights for Labor”), *Juewu* (July 19, 1921).
 “Marukusu no risō oyobi sono jitsugen no katei” (“Marx’s Ideals and Its Actual Process”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 27 (November 1921).
 Shi Cuntong, trans., “Makesi de lixiang ji qi shixian de guocheng” (“Marx’s Ideals and Its Actual Process”), *Dongfang zazhi* 19.6 (March 1922).
 “Marukusushugi ni iu tokoro no katoki ni tsuite” (“On the Transition Period as Used in Marxism”), *Keizai ronsō* 13.6 (December 1921).
 Guangliang (Shi Cuntong), trans., “Makesizhuyi shang suowei ‘guoduqi’” (“On the Transition Period as Used in Marxism”), *Juewu* (December 18, 1921).
 “Yuibutsu shikan mondō, yuibutsu shikan to Roshia kakumei” (“Questions and Answers About Historical Materialism: Historical Materialism and the Russian Revolution”), *Warera* 4.1 (January 1922).
 CT (Shi Cuntong), trans., “Eluosi geming he weiwu shiguan” (“The Russian Revolution and Historical Materialism”), *Juewu* (January 19, 1922).

SAKAI TOSHIHIKO

- “Kyōsantō sengen” (“Communist Manifesto”) (translation from Marx and Engels), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1 (March 1906).
 Chen Wangdao, trans., *Gongchandang xuanyan* (*Communist Manifesto*) (Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, August 1920).
 “Kagakuteki shakaishugi” (“Scientific Socialism”) (translation from Engels), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 4 (July 1906).

- Heng Shi, trans., “Kexuede shehuizhuyi” (“Scientific Socialism”), *Juewu* (January 5–8, 1920).
- Danjo kankei no shinka* (Advances in Gender Relations) (Tokyo: Yūrakuza, May 1908).
- Guo Xujing, trans., “Nannü guanxi de jinhua” (“Advances in Gender Relations”), *Xinchao* 1.5 (May 1919).
- Shakaishugi rinrigaku* (Socialist Ethics) (translation of Karl Kautsky, *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*) (Tokyo: Heigo shuppansha, January 1913).
- Bo Yang (Li Wenfan), trans., “Lunli yu weiwude lishi guan” (“Ethics and the Materialist View of History”), *Minxing* 1.4 (December 1919).
- Qiu Ming, trans., “Lunli yu weiwu shiguan” (“Ethics and the Materialist View of History”), *Xuedeng* (July 7, 1921).
- Dong Yixiang, trans., “Lunli yu weiwu shiguan” (“Ethics and the Materialist View of History”), *Juewu* (September 7, 1922).
- Jiyū shakai no danjo kankei* (Genders Relations in a Free Society) (translation of Edward Carpenter, *Love’s Coming of Age*) (Tokyo: Tōundō shoten, 1915).
- Zhefu, trans., “Ziyou shehui de nannü guanxi” (“Gender Relations in a Free Society”), *Xingqi pinglun* 28 (December 1919).
- Jiyū shakai no jiyū ren’ai* (Free Love in a Free Society) (translation from Edward Carpenter) (1916).
- Hou An, trans., “Nannü guanxi lun” (“On Gender Relations”), *Chenbao fukan* (June 29, 1919).
- “Borishewiki no kensetsuteki shisetsu” (“Construction Institutions of the Bolsheviks”), *Shin shakai* 5.6 (February 1919).
- Shou Fan, trans., “Guangyipai zhi jianshe” (“Bolshevik Construction”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.4 (October 1919).
- “Yuibutsu shikan gaiyō” (“Outlines of Historical Materialism”) (translation from a work by Louis Budin), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1.1 (April 1919).
- Anon. (Chen Puxian), trans., “Ma-shi weiwu shiguan gaiyao” (“Outlines of Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Chenbao fukan* (July 18, 1919).
- “Marukusu setsu to Daawin setsu” (“Marx’s Theories and Darwin’s Theories”) (translation from a work by Anton Pannekoek), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1.1 (April 1919).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., *Makesizhuyi he Daerwenzhuyi* (Marxism and Darwinism) (Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1922).
- “Fūrie no shakaishugi” (“Fourier’s Socialism”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1.3 (July 1919).
- Zhu Zhenjiang, trans., “Fuliye zhi shehuizhuyi” (“Fourier’s Socialism”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.3 (October 1919).
- “Dōtoku no dōbutsuteki kigen oyobi sono rekishiteki hensen” (“The Animal Origins of Morality and Historical Changes in It”), in his *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara* (From a Stance of Historical Materialism) (Tokyo: Mita shobō, August 1919).
- Li Dazhao, “Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong” (“Material Changes and Changes in Morality”), *Xinchao* 2.2 (December 1919).*
- “Shūkyō oyobi tetsugaku no busshitsuteki kiso” (“The Materialist Base of Religion and Philosophy”), in his *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara* (From a Stance of Historical Materialism) (Tokyo: Mita shobō, August 1919).

- Li Dazhao, “Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong” (“Material Changes and Changes in Morality”), *Xinchao* 2.2 (December 1919).*
- “Ōshū sensō no keizaiteki gen’in” (“The Economic Causes of the War in Europe”), in his *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara* (From a Stance of Historical Materialism) (Tokyo: Mita shobō, August 1919).
- Li Dazhao, “Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong” (“Material Changes and Changes in Morality”), *Xinchao* 2.2 (December 1919).*
- “Marukusushugi no bunka” (“The Fragmentation of Marxism”) (translation from a work by William Paschal Larkin), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1.5 (September 1919).
- Dai Jitao, ed. and trans., “Yingguo de laodong zuhe” (“Labor Unions in England”), *Xingqi pinglun*, Special issue commemorating Double Ten (October 1919).*
- Rōdōsha no tenka* (The World of Laborers) (*Shin shakaisha* pamphlet, Tokyo: Shin shakaisha, October 1919).
- Jin Qing (Xie Jinqing), trans., “Laodongzhe de tianxia” (“The World of Laborers”), *Juewu* (December 16, 1921).
- Josei chūshin to dōseiai* (Centering on Women and Same-Sex Love) (from co-translations with Yamakawa Kikue of a chapter from Lester Ward, *Pure Sociology*, and Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex*) (Tokyo: Arusu, November 1919).
- Mianzun (Xia Mianzun), trans., “Nüxing zhongxin shuo” (“A Theory Centered on Women”), *Funü pinglun* (August 3, 1921).
- Li Da, trans., *Nüxing zhongxin shuo* (A Theory Centered on Women) (Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1922).
- Yuibutsu shikan kaisetsu* (Explication of Historical Materialism) (translation of Herman Gorter, *Het historisch materialisme* [probably from the German translation by Anna Pannekoek, *Der historische Materialismus*]) (Tokyo: Daitōkaku, January 1920).
- Li Da, trans., “Weiwu shi de zongjiao guan” (“A View of Religion in Materialist History”), *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2.11 (May 1921).
- Li Da, trans., *Weiwu shiguan jieshuo* (Explication of Historical Materialism) (Zhonghua shuju, May 1921).
- “Shakaishugi no engen oyobi sono hattatsu” (“The Origins of Socialism and Its Development”), from his *Kyōfu tōsō kanki* (Panic, Struggle, Joy) (Tokyo: Shueikaku, April 1920).
- Danqing, trans., “Shehuizhuyi fada de jingguo” (“The Course of the Development of Socialism”), *Dongfang zazhi* 17.24 (December 1920).
- “Onna no enzetsu” (“Women’s Speech”), *Kaizō* (June 1921).
- Xiaofeng (Chen Wangdao), trans., “Nüxing de yanshuo” (“Women’s Speech”), *Juewu* (May 29, 1921).
- Fujin mondai* (The Woman Question) (Musansha pamphlet, Tokyo: Musansha, October 1921).
- Bokun (Tang Bokun), trans., “Lian’ai ziyou shuo” (“On Free Love”), *Funü pinglun* (October 19, 1921).
- Bokun, trans., “Funü de tianzhi” (“Women’s Calling”), *Funü pinglun* (November 2, 1921).

- Bokun, trans., “Women de jiatingzhuyi” (“Our Familism”), *Funü pinglun* (November 16, 1921).
- Bokun, trans., “Nüzi guoyou ma?” (“Are Women State-Owned?”), *Funü pinglun* (November 30, 1921).
- Bokun, trans., “Nannü jiehe de mudi” (“The Aim of Gender Unity”), *Funü pinglun* (December 7, 1921).
- Bokun, trans., “Funü yu jingjide pingdeng” (“Women and Economic Equality”), *Funü pinglun* (December 14, 1921).
- Bokun, trans., “Funü wenti gaiguan” (“Overview of Women’s Issues”), *Funü pinglun* (December 28, 1921).
- Tang Bokun, trans., *Funü wenti* (The Woman Question) (Minzhi shuju, June 1922).
- “‘Onna tenka’ no shakaigakuteki kaisetsu” (“A Sociological Explication of a ‘Woman Who Rules the Family’”), *Shin shōsetsu* (July 1922).
- Mianzun, trans., “‘Nü tianxia’ de shehuixuede jieshuo” (“A Sociological Explication of a ‘Woman Who Rules the Family’”), *Funü pinglun* (August 2, 1922).

In addition, Sakai wrote an article specifically for a Chinese publication (anonymous translator):

“Taipingyang huiyi” (“The Pacific Conference”), *Xin qingnian* 9.5 (August 1921).

TAKABATAKE MOTOYUKI

- “Kojinshugi to shakaishugi” (“Individualism and Socialism”), *Shin shakai* 2.5 (January 1916).
- Xiaofeng (Chen Wangdao), trans., “Gerenzhuyi yu shehuizhuyi” (“Individualism and Socialism”), *Juewu* (August 26, 1921).
- Shakaishugi to shinkaron* (Socialism and the Theory of Evolution) (Tokyo: Baibunsha shuppanbu, March 1919).
- Zhang Guangying, trans., “Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun” (“Socialism and the Theory of Evolution”), *Xin Zhongguo* 2.7 (July 1920).
- Xia Mianzun and Li Jizhen, trans., “Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun” (“Socialism and the Theory of Evolution”), *Juewu* (March 10, 1921).
- Xia Mianzun and Li Jizhen, trans., *Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun* (Socialism and the Theory of Evolution) (Shangwu yinshuguan, March 1922).
- Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (An Explication of Marx’s *Das Kapital*) (translation of Karl Kautsky, *Karl Marx’s ökonomische lehren*) (Tokyo: Baibunsha, May 1919).
- Yuanquan (Chen Puxian), trans., “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi” (“An Explanation of Marx’s *Das Kapital*”), *Chenbao fukan* (June 2–November 11, 1919).
- Dai Jitao, trans., “Shangpin shengchan de xingzhi” (“The Nature of Commodity Production”), *Juewu* (November 2, 1919).
- Dai Jitao, trans., “Makesi Zibenlun jieshuo” (“An Explanation of Marx’s *Das Kapital*”), *Jianshe* 1.4 (November 1919).

- Chen Puxian, trans., *Makesi jingji xueshuo* (Marx's Economic Theories) (Shangwu yinshuguan, September 1920).
- Shakai mondai sōran* (Overview of Social Issues) (Tokyo: Kōbun shoin, February 1920).
- Li Da, trans., *Shehui wenti zonglan* (Overview of Social Issues) (Zhonghua shuju, April 1921).
- Meng Xi, trans., *Shehui wenti xiangjie* (Detailed Explanation of Social Problems) (Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1921).
- Chen Wangdao, trans., "Shehuizhuyi di yi yi ji qi leibie" ("The Significance of Socialism and Its Classification"), *Dongfang zazhi* 18.11 (June 1921).
- Shakaishugi teki shokenkyū* (Studies in Socialism) (Tokyo: Taishūsha, November 1920).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., *Makesi xueshuo gaiyao* (A Summary of Marx's Theories) (Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1922).
- "Marusasu jinkōron no seisui to shihonshugi" ("Capitalism and the Vicissitudes of Malthus's Theory of Population"), in his *Shakaishugi teki shokenkyū* (Studies in Socialism) (Tokyo: Taishūsha, November 1920).
- Chen Zhaoyan, trans., "Maersesi renkoulun zhi shengshuai yu zibenzhuyi" ("Capitalism and the Vicissitudes of Malthus's Theory of Population"), *Xueyi* 3.1 (May 1921).

YAMAKAWA KIKUE

- "Sen kyūhyaku jūhachi nen to sekai no fujin" ("1918 and Women of the World"), *Chūgai* (February 1919).
- Li Dazhao, "Zhanhou zhi furen wenti" ("The Woman Question after the War"), *Xin qingnian* 6.2 (February 1919).
- "Shakaishugi no fujin kan" ("Socialism's View of Women") (translation from a work by Rapaport), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1.1 (April 1919).
- Heng, trans., "Shehuizhuyi de furen guan" ("Socialism's View of Women"), *Juewu* (June 20, 1919).
- He Ming (Li Da), trans., "Shehuizhuyi de furen guan" ("Socialism's View of Women"), *Funü pinglun* (October 5, 1921).
- "Gogatsusai to hachi jikan rōdō no hanashi" ("The Story of May Day and the Eight-Hour Workday"), *Kaihō* (June 1919).
- Li Dazhao, "'Wuyi' May Day yundong shi" ("History of the May Day Movement"), *Xin qingnian* 7.6 (May 1920).
- Fujin no shōri* (The Victory of Women) (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, June 1919).
- Ailu, trans., "Ou-Mei jindai funü jiefang yundong" ("The Modern Women's Liberation Movement in the West"), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.4 (October 1919).
- K, trans., "Shanchuan Jurong nüshi funü jiefang de yijian" ("Ms. Yamakawa Kikue's Views on Women's Liberation"), *Beijing daxue xuesheng zhoukan* 5 (February 1920).
- YD, trans., "Ribei funü zhuangkuang" ("The Situation of Japanese Women"), *Funü zazhi* 7.1 (January 1921).

- Li Hanjun, trans., *Funü zhi guoqu yu jianglai* (The Past and Future for Women) (Shangwu yinshuguan, July 1921).
- Huang Fen, trans., “Yuanshi shehui de nannü guanxi” (“Gender Relations in Primitive Society”), *Xuedeng* (September 21, 1921).
- Ying Yan, trans., “Nannü zhengdou zhi guoqu xianzai ji jianglai” (“The Past, Present, and Future of Gender Struggles”), *Funü zazhi* 8.2 (February 1922).
- “Sekai shichō no hōkō” (“The Direction of International Currents of Thought”), *Kaihō* (August 1919).
- Jin Gang and Li Hanjun, trans., “Shijie sichao zhi fangxiang” (“The Direction of International Currents of Thought”), *Juewu* (September 5, 1919).
- “Fujinron ni josu” (“Introduction on the Woman’s Question”), to August Bebel, *Shakaishugi to fujin* (Socialism and Women) (Tokyo: Mita shobō, August 1919), trans. Murakami Masao, of *Der Sozialismus und die Frau in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*.
- Dai Jitao, trans., “Xiandai nüzi wenti de yiyi” (“The Significance of the Contemporary Woman’s Question”), *Xingqi pinglun* 23 (November 1919).
- “Fujin rōdō undō no taisei” (“The General Scene in the Women’s Labor Movement”), in *Rōdō nenkan* (*Taishō kyūnen han*) (Labor Annual, 1920 Edition) (Tokyo: Hōgakkan, May 1920).
- Wu Wenan, trans., “Geguo funü laodong yundong de dashi” (“The General Scene in the Women’s Labor Movement in Various Countries”), *Laodong jie* 1 (August 1920).
- “Rōnō Rokoku no kekkon seido” (“The Institution of Marriage in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Kaihō* (October 1920).
- Li Da, trans., “Laonong Eguo de jiehun zhidu” (“The Institution of Marriage in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xin qingnian* 8.6 (April 1921).
- “Rōnō Roshia ni okeru fujo no kaihō” (“The Liberation of Women in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.1 (February 1921).
- Xu Zengming, trans., “Laonong Eguo de furen jiefang” (“The Liberation of Women in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xuedeng* (May 26, 1921).
- Li Da, trans., “Laonong Eguo de funü jiefang” (“The Liberation of Women in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xin qingnian* 9.3 (July 1921).
- “Rōnō Rokoku no daihyōteki san fujin” (“Three Representative Women of Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.1 (February 1921).
- Xu Yiqiao, trans., “Laonong Lugu daibiaode san furen” (“Three Representative Women of Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xuedeng* (March 2, 1921).
- “Rōnō Rokoku kon’in hō” (“The Marriage Law in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.1 (February 1921).
- Tongsheng, trans., “Eguo hunyin lǚ quanwen” (“Full Text of the Russian Marriage Law”), *Juewu* (June 17, 1921).
- “Renin no fujin kaihō ron” (“Lenin’s Views on Women’s Liberation”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.1 (February 1921).
- Li Da, trans., “Liening de furen jiefang lun” (“Lenin’s Views on Women’s Liberation”), *Xin qingnian* 9.2 (June 1921).

- “Shinshibatsu to fujin kaihō” (“The Bourgeoisie and Women’s Liberation”), *Kaihō* (March 1921).
- Li Da, trans., “Shenshifa yu funü jiefang” (“The Bourgeoisie and Women’s Liberation”), *Funü zazhi* 7.6 (June 1921).
- “Sanji seigen ron to shakaishugi” (“Birth Control and Socialism”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.5 (June 1921).
- Weixin, trans., “Chaner zhixian yu shehuizhuyi” (“Birth Control and Socialism”), *Funü zazhi* 8.2 (June 1922).
- “Rōdō fujin no kaihō” (“The Liberation of Women Workers”), in Sakai Tameko, ed., *Musansha riifuretto* (Leaflet of the Proletarian Society) (Tokyo: Musansha, September 1921).
- YD, trans., “Laodong funü de jiefang” (“The Liberation of Women Workers”), *Funü pinglun* (December 21, 1921).
- Riipukunehito to Rukusenburugu* ([Karl] Liebknecht and [Rosa] Luxembourg) (Suiyōkai panfuretto, Tokyo: Suiyōkai shuppanbu, November 1921).
- Li Te (Li Da), trans., “Lipukeneixi zhuan” (“Biography of [Karl] Liebknecht”), *Juewu* (January 15, 1922).
- Li Te et al., ed. and comp., *Lipukeneixi jinian* (In Commemoration of [Karl] Liebknecht) (pamphlet, January 1922).
- “Kaikyōkoku no fujin mondai” (“The Woman Question in Muslim Countries”), *Josei kaizō* (November 1922).
- Qi Senhuan, trans., “Huijiaoguo de funü wenti” (“The Woman Question in Muslim Countries”), *Chenbao fujian* (November 14, 1922).

In addition, there are the following items:

- Zheng Boqi, “Fangwen Riben funü wenti nūlunke Shanchuan Jurong nüshi zhi tanhua” (“A Conversation with Ms. Yamakawa Kikue, Commentator on the Woman’s Question in Japan”), *Shaonian shijie* 1.8 (August 1920).
- Huang Fen, “Shanchuan Jurong teji (shier pian)” (“Special on the Writings of Yamakawa Kikue, Twelve Pieces”), *Xuedeng* (October 3–November 19, 1921).

YAMAKAWA HITOSHI

- “Rōdō undō senjutsu no sabotajū” (“Sabotage, a Labor Movement Tactic”), *Kaizō* (September 1919).
- Dai Jitao, “*Sabodaju de yanjiu*” (“A Study of *Sabotage*”), *Xingqi pinglun* 34 (January 1920).*
- “Gendai bunmei no keizaiteki kiso” (“The Economic Base of Contemporary Civilization”), in his *Shakaishugisha no shakai kan* (Socialists’ View of Society) (Tokyo: Sōbunkaku, November 1919).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Xiandai wenming de jingjide jichu” (“The Economic Base of Contemporary Civilization”), *Juewu* (February 23–24, 1921).
- “Furansu rōdō sōdōmei no kenkyū” (“Study of the General Confederation of Labor in France”), *Kaizō* (April 1920).

- Zou Jingfang, trans., *Laodong zongtongmeng yanjiu* (Study of the General Labor Alliance in France) (Taidong tushuju, May 1921).
- “Rōnō Rokoku no keizai soshiki” (“Economic Organization in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 2.7 (September 1920).
- Chen Guoju, trans., “Suweiai Eguo de jingji zuzhi” (“Economic Organization in Soviet Russia”), *Guomin* 2.4 (May 1921).
- “Sanji chōsetsu to shin Marusasushugi” (“Birth Control and Neo-Malthusianism”), *Kaizō* (October 1920).
- Pingsha (Chen Wangdao), trans., “Shengyu jie zhi he xin Maersesizhuyi” (“Birth Control and Neo-Malthusianism”), *Funü pinglun* (May 17, 1922).
- “Rōnō Rokoku no rōdō kumiai” (“Labor Unions in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Kaihō* (October 1920).
- Chen Wangdao, trans., “Laonong Eguo de laodong lianhe” (“Labor Unions in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xin qingnian* 8.5 (January 1921).
- “Sovietto Rokoku no nōgyō seido” (“The Agricultural System in Soviet Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 2.9 (November 1920).
- Zhou Fohai, “Laonong Eguo de nongye zhidu” (“The Agricultural System in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Xin qingnian* 8.5 (January 1921).
- Chen Guoju, trans., “Suweiai Eguo de xin nong zhidu” (“The New Agricultural System in Soviet Russia”), *Guomin* 2.4 (May 1921).
- “Kautsukii no rōnō seiji hantairon” (“[Karl] Kautsky’s Opposition to Worker-Peasant Government”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.2 (March 1921).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Kaociji de laonong zhengzhi fanduilun” (“[Karl] Kautsky’s Opposition to Worker-Peasant Government”), *Juewu* (April 22–29, 1921).
- Shi Cuntong, ed. and trans., *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on Society and Economy) (Taidong tushuju, January 1922).*
- “Rōnō chika no Kuropotokin” (“Kropotkin Under Worker-Peasant Rule”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.2 (March 1921).
- Mingtian, selected trans., “You Ying gui-E hou de Kelupaotejin” (“Kropotkin after Returning to Russia from England”), *Juewu* (April 7, 1921).
- “Rōdō kumiai undō to shakaishugi” (“The Labor Union Movement and Socialism”), *Nihon rōdō shinbun* 45 (March 1921).
- Guangliang (Shi Cuntong), trans., “Laodong zuhe yundong he jieji douzheng” (“The Labor Union Movement and Class Struggle”), *Juewu* (August 19, 1921).
- “Shakaishugi kokka to rōdō kumiai” (“The Socialist State and Labor Unions”), *Kaizō* (April 1921).
- Zhou Fohai, trans., “Shehuizhuyi guojia yu laodong zuhe” (“The Socialist State and Labor Unions”), *Xin qingnian* 9.2 (June 1921).
- “Rōnō Rokoku museifushugi no hitobito” (“Anarchists in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.4 (May 1921).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Laonong Eguo de anaqizhuyizhe” (“Anarchists in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Juewu* (June 1, 1921).
- “Sovietto no kenkyū” (“A Study of the Soviet Union”), *Kaizō* (May 1921).
- Jun, “Laonong zhidu yanjiu” (“A Study of the Worker-Peasant System”), *Gongchandang* 5 (June 1921).

- Wang Wenjun, trans., *Suweiai yanjiu* (A Study of the Soviet Union) (Beijing zhixin shushe, August 1921).
- Reenin to Torotsukii* (Lenin and Trotsky) (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, June 1921).
- Zhang Liang, trans., *Liening zhuan* (Biography of Lenin) (Renmin chubanshe, January 1922).
- “Tsuyu jiki no Nihon” (“Japan during the Rainy Season”), *Kaizō* (July 1921).
- Luo Huo, trans., “Meiyujie de Riben” (“Japan during the Rainy Season”), *Juewu* (July 12, 1921).
- Rōnō Roshia no kenkyū* (A Study of Worker-Peasant Russia) (coauthored with Yamakawa Kikue, Tokyo: Arusu, September 1921).
- Li Da, ed. and trans., *Laonong Eguo yanjiu* (A Study of Worker-Peasant Russia) (Shangwu yinshuguan, August 1922).
- Rōnō kakumei no kensetsuteki hōmen* (The Constructive Areas of the Worker-Peasant Revolution) (cotranslated with Yamakawa Kikue of a work by Nikolai Lenin), (Tokyo: Santokusha, September 1921).
- Xiangyu, trans., “Laonong Eguo de jianshe shiye” (“Constructive Enterprises in Worker-Peasant Russia”), *Chenbao fujian* (February 15, 1922).
- Nōson mondai* (Problems of Agricultural Villages) (coauthored with Sakai Toshihiko, Musansha pamphlet, Tokyo: Musansha, October 1921).
- YD, trans., “Nongmin weishenma ku ne?” (“Why Do Peasants Suffer?”), *Juewu* (December 6, 1921).
- Tanku no mizu* (Water in a Tank) (Tokyo: Suiyōkai shuppanbu, November 1921).
- Jin Qing (Xie Jinqing), trans., “Nuli he tiesuo” (“Slaves and Iron Locks”), *Juewu* (November 14, 1921).
- Changgeng, trans., “Shuicao de shui” (“Water in the Sink”), *Juewu* (May 1, 1922).
- “Intanashonaru no rekishi” (“History of the International”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 6.4 (September 1922).
- Xiong Deshan, trans., “Guoji laodong tongmeng de lishi” (“History of the International Labor Alliance”), *Jinri* 2.3 (October 1922).

In addition, the following two works by Yamakawa Hitoshi were written specifically for translation into Chinese:

- Li Da, trans. “Cong kexue de shehuizhuyi dao xingdong de shehuizhuyi” (“From Scientific Socialism to Active Socialism”), *Xin qingnian* 9.1 (May 1921).
- Anon., trans., “Duiyu Taipingyang huiyi de wojian” (“My Views on the Pacific Conference”), *Xin qingnian* 9.5 (September 1921).

OTHERS

- Shitsuno Matarō, trans., “Marukusu den” (“Biography of [Karl] Marx”), by Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 1 (March 1906).
- Dai Jitao, trans., “Makesi zhuan” (“Biography of [Karl] Marx”), *Xingqi pinglun* 31 (January 1920).

- Fukuda Tokuzō, *Zoku keizaigaku kōgi* (Lectures on Economics, Continued) (Tokyo: Ōkura shoten, May 1913).
- Li Dazhao, “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan (xia)” (“My Marxist Views, Part 2”), *Xin qingnian* 6.6 (November 1919).*
- Fukuda Tokuzō, *Zoku keizaigaku kenkyū* (Studies on Economics, Continued) (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, November 1913).
- Li Dazhao, “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan (xia)” (“My Marxist Views, Part 2”), *Xin qingnian* 6.6 (November 1919).*
- Miyazaki Ryōsuke, trans., “Chitei no Roshia” (“Underground Russia”), by Stepiak (pseud. Sergei M. Kravchinski), *Tōhō jiron* 3.1 (January 1918).
- Ke Shu, trans. and expl., “Didi de Eluosi” (“Underground Russia”), *Chenbao fukan* (February 27, 1919).
- Kitazawa Shinjirō, *Rōdōsha mondai* (Problems of Workers) (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, January 1919).
- Li Hanjun, trans., “IWW gaiyao” (“Summary of the IWW”), *Xingqi pinglun* 33 (January 1920).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Laodong wenti” (“Problems of Workers”), *Juewu* (January 6–18, 1921).
- Shi Cuntong, ed. and trans., *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on Society and Economy) (Taidong tushuju, January 1922).*
- Yoneda Shōtarō, “Demokurashii to wagakuni, shakaigakuteki kōsatsu” (“Democracy and Japan, a Sociological Investigation”), *Ōsaka asahi shinbun* (February 23, 1919).
- Wei, trans., “Minzhuzhuyi yu shehuizhuyi” (“Democracy and Socialism”), *Chenbao* (April 2, 1919).
- Yoneda Shōtarō, *Bankin shakai shisō no kenkyū* (Studies of Social Thought in Recent Times) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, April 1919).
- Liu Zhen, trans., “Fade shehuizhuyi zhi yanjiu” (“Studies of Legal Socialism”), *Fazheng xuebao* 2.5 (May 1920).
- Yoshino Sakuzō, “Minponshugi shakaishugi kagekishugi” (“Democracy, Socialism, Bolshevism”), *Chūō kōron* (June 1919).
- Chenxi, trans., “Minzhuzhuyi—shehuizhuyi—Buersaiweikezhuyi” (“Democracy, Socialism, Bolshevism”), *Chenbao fukan* (July 1, 1919).
- Ozaki Shirō and Mogi Kyūhei, *Seiyō shakai undōsha hyōden* (Biographies of Social Activists in the West) (Tokyo: Baibunsha shuppanbu, June 1919).
- Zhushan Zuiweng (Chen Guangtao), trans., “Xiyang zhi shehui yundong-zhe” (“Western Social Activists”), *Chenbao fukan* (August 1, 1919).
- Kawada Tsuguo, *Shakai mondai oyobi shakai undō* (Social Issues and the Social Movement) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, June 1919).
- Li Dazhao, “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan (shang)” (“My Marxist Views, Part 1”), *Xin qingnian* 6.5 (November 1919).*
- Kagawa Toyohiko, “Yuishinteki keizai shikan no igi” (“The Significance of the Idealist View of Economic History”), *Kaizō* (July 1919).
- Anon., trans., “Mashi weiwu shiguan de piping” (“A Critique of Marx’s Historical Materialism”), *Chenbao fukan* (July 25, 1919).
- Hisatome Hirokazu, *Rōdō undō* (The Labor Movement) (Tokyo: Fukunaga shoten, July 1919).

- Zhou Fohai, trans., “Laogong yundong” (“The Labor Movement”), *Juewu* (September 18–29, 1919).
- Chen Wangdao, trans., “Laodong yundong tonglun” (“Introduction to the Labor Movement”), *Laodong jie* 19–23 (December 1920–January 1921).
- Sano Manabu, “Rōdōsha undō no shidō rinri” (“The Guiding Ethics of the Labor Movement”), *Kaihō* (August 1919)
- Dabei and Hanjun, trans., “Laodongzhe yundong zhi zhidaode lunli” (“The Guiding Ethics of the Labor Movement”), *Juewu* (September 9–14, 1919).
- Shou Fan, trans., “Laodong yundong zhi lunli de zhidao” (“Ethical Guidance of the Labor Movement”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.2 (September 1919).
- “Rokoku no katamen, Reenin kataru” (“One Side of Russia, Lenin Speaks”), *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* (September 7, 1919).
- Dai Jitao, trans., “Lining de tanhua” (“A Conversation with Lenin”), *Xingqi pinglun* 16 (September 1919).
- Murobuse Kōshin, “Girudo sōshiarizumu oyobi sono hihan” (“Guild Socialism and Its Critique”), *Hiyō* 7 (September 1919).
- Dai Jitao, ed. and trans., “Yingguo de laodong zuhe” (“Labor Unions in England”), *Xingqi pinglun*, Special issue commemorating Double Ten (October 1919).*
- Endō Musui, trans., *Tsūzoku Marukusu Shihonron, fu Marukusu den* (Popular Edition of Marx’s *Das Kapital*, with a Biography of Marx Appended), by Mary Marcy (Tokyo: Bunsendō, November 1919).
- Li Hanjun, trans., *Magesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx’s *Das Kapital*) (Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, September 1920).
- Nakame Naoyoshi, trans., *Marukusu ha shakaishugi* (Marxist Socialism), by William Paschal Larkin (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha shuppanbu, November 1919).
- Li Da, “Makesi pai shehuizhuyi” (“Marxist Socialism”), *Xin qingnian* 9.2 (June 1921).
- Li Fengting, trans., *Makesi pai shehuizhuyi* (Marxist Socialism) (Shangwu yinshuguan, June 1922).
- Murobuse Kōshin, *Shakaishugi hihan* (Critique of Socialism) (Tokyo: Hihyōsha, November 1919).
- Shao Yu, trans., “Buersaiweike de pipan” (“A Critique of the Bolsheviks”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2.16 (August 1920).
- Li Peitian, trans., “Shehuizhuyi piping” (“A Critique of Socialism”), *Xuedeng* (January 6, 1921).
- Koizumi Shinzō, “Gakumon geijutsu to shakaishugi” (“The Scholarly Arts and Socialism”), *Mita gakkai zasshi* 13.11 (November 1919).
- Liu Buqing, trans., “Kexue yishu yu shehuizhuyi” (“The Scientific Arts and Socialism”), *Xuedeng* (February 5, 1920).
- Baibunsha, ed., *Rōdō keizairon* (On Labor Economics) (Tokyo: Bungasha, December 1919).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Laodong jingjilun” (“On Labor Economics”), *Juewu* (March 27–April 4, 1921).

- Baibunsha, ed., *Genji no rōdō mondai gairon* (Overview of Contemporary Labor Issues) (Tokyo: Bungasha, December 1919).
- Feng Fei, trans. and expl., *Laodong wenti gailun* (Overview of Labor Issues) (Huaxing yinshushe, July 1920).
- Yoshino Sakuzō, “Yuibutsu shikan no kaishaku” (“Explanation of the Materialist View of History”), *Chūō kōron* 34.13 (December 1919).
- Chen Wangdao and Zhang Weiqi, trans., “Weiwu shiguan de jieshi” (“Explanation of the Materialist View of History”), *Zhejiang shengli diyi shifan xuexiao xiaoyouhui shirikan* 10 (January 1920).
- Endō Musui, trans., *Kagakuteki shakaishugi, fu Engerusu den* (Scientific Socialism, with a Biography of [Friedrich] Engels Appended), by Engels (Tokyo: Bunsendō, January 1920).
- Zheng Cichuan, trans., *Kexue de shehuizhuyi* (Scientific Socialism) (Qunyi shushe, August 1920).
- Morito Tatsuo, “Kuropotokin no shakai shisō no kenkyū” (“A Study of Kropotkin’s Social Thought”), *Keizaigaku kenkyū* 1 (January 1920).
- Yu Shude, trans., “Kelupaotejin shehuizhuyi sixiang zhi yanjiu” (“A Study of Kropotkin’s Socialist Thought”), *Jianshe* 2.3 (April 1920).
- Zhenjiang (Zhu Zhenjiang), trans., “Kelupaotejin zhi shehui sixiang yanjiu” (“A Study of Kropotkin’s Social Thought”), *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2.9 (May 1920).
- Murakami Masao, “Shakaishugi to kojinchugi” (“Socialism and Individualism”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 2.3 (April 1920).
- Mingquan, trans., “Shehuizhuyi yu gerenzhuyi” (“Socialism and Individualism”), *Xuedeng* (August 16, 1920).
- Kayahara Taijirō, trans., *Roshia kakumei jikki* (The True Record of the Russian Revolution), by Leon Trotsky (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, April 1920).
- Zhou Quan, trans., *Eguo geming jishi* (The True Record of the Russian Revolution) (Renmin chubanshe, January 1922).
- Asano Mamoru, trans., *Kagekushugi no shinri* (The Psychology of Radicalism [Bolshevism]), by John Spargo (The Psychology of Bolshevism) (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha shuppanbu, May 1920).
- Chen Guoju, trans., *Buershiweizhuyi de xinli* (The Psychology of Bolshevism) (Shangwu yinshuguan, May 1921).
- Nakame Naoyoshi, trans. and expl., *Kagekiha no honryō* (The Basic Character of the Radicals [Bolsheviks]) (Tokyo: Daitōkaku, May 1920).
- Sun Fan, trans., *Guojidang zhenxiang* (The Truth About the Bolshevik Party) (Taidong tushuju, March 1921).
- Kushida Tamizō, “Marukusugaku ni okeru yuibutsu shikan no chii” (“The Place of the Materialist Conception of History in the Study of Marx”), *Warera* 2.10 (October 1920).
- Shi Cuntong, trans., “Weiwu shiguan zai Makesixue shang de weizhi” (“The Place of the Materialist Conception of History in the Study of Marx”), *Dongfang zazhi* 19.11 (June 1922).
- Sano Manabu, “Roshia nōmin shiron” (“Historical Essay on the Russian Peasantry”), *Kaihō* (January 1921).

- Li Da, trans., “Eguo nongmin jieji douzheng shi” (“History of the Class Struggle of the Russian Peasantry”), *Xin qingnian* 8.6 (April 1921).
- Wang Zhaodan, trans., “Eguo nongmin shilun” (“Historical Essay on the Russian Peasantry”), *Shishi yuekan* 1.3 (April 1921).
- Yokota Sengen, *Rōnō Rōshia mondō* (Questions and Answers About Work-Peasant Russia) (Suiyōkai panfuretto, Tokyo: Suiyōkai shuppanbu, November 1921).
- Guangliang (Shi Cuntong), trans., “Laonong Eguo wenda” (“Questions and Answers About Work-Peasant Russia”), *Xianqu* 13 (November 1922).

APPENDIX 2

Explanation of Chinese Books Concerning Socialism, 1919–1923

This appendix provides annotations on individual works concerned with socialism published in China (including Hong Kong) from January 1919 through December 1923. Its aim is to present as accurately as possible the circumstances surrounding publishing at that time. I have to the extent possible used Chinese and Japanese libraries and archives and compiled it on the basis of verifying actual works. There are some instances in which I was unable to confirm the actual text, and in such cases, I relied on bibliographies and library catalogue cards. In these cases I have confirmed, as best as possible, that the works were actually published by looking at newspapers and magazines of the day. Considering that many works concerned with socialism in the period under discussion were translations, I have also been mindful in determining what the original works were and which text was used in cases of retranslation.

THE SCOPE OF WORKS COVERED IN THIS APPENDIX

Although we are concerned with works on socialism, writings about labor questions, social questions, women's questions, the Russian Revolution, and the Comintern are also important. Because it would be impossible to substantively consider all of these, I have focused the coverage in this appendix primarily on Marxism (this, of course, includes writings by others besides Marx and Engels, and it includes those opposed to Marxism), and I have thus limited myself to books dealing with the labor questions, women's issues, the Russian Revolution, and the like. Accordingly, in principle I have not included works on guild socialism, the cooperative movement, and anarchism that discussed the currents of thought at the time.

THE TIME FRAME OF WORKS COVERED IN THIS APPENDIX

I limited the time frame to 1919–1923 in part because of the period covered by the main body of this volume. Also, in tandem with the period before the 1911 Revolution, 1919 was the year of socialist thought's great popularity, and in January 1924, the first national congress of the Guomindang, as a symbol of the Nationalist-Communist collaboration, convened, and thereafter the focus of Communist Party members' activities moved from the study and introduction of socialist theory to an actual political movement. Thus, the introduction and spread of socialism beginning in 1919 seems to have undergone a transition to a political movement focused on the national revolution from 1924 forward.

EXPLANATORY POINTS

I divided the works published in China into (A) works that I could confirm were actually published and (B) works that, although published before 1923, I could not determine precisely when.

1. The (A) group is arranged in order of the date of publication.
2. Entries are ordered by book title, author, translator, publisher, and year and month of publication.
3. The collection that contains the work listed is indicated at the beginning. Abbreviations: *IMH* (Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences); *Jinbunken* (Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyoto University); *History* (Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences).
4. In instances in which the original work is a Western-language one (including Russian), in most cases the translation was done from an English text, and thus I will note this in English.
5. When attached to the explanations, items (a) through (g) indicate that the work in question is mentioned in one or more of the following catalogues.
 - a. Catalogue treating the era 1920–1921 of the Wenhua shushe (Culture Publishers) in Changsha: Hunan-sheng xinwen chubanju chubanzhi bianxiezhu, *Wenhua shushe: Zhongguo zaoqi chuanbo Makesizhuyi de shukan faxing jigou* (Culture Publishers, Agency Publishing Books Spreading Marxism in the Early Years in China) (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1991), pp. 8–9, 21–23, 37–47.
 - b. Items listed under “Socialist Writings in China” included in the Russian-language journal out of Irkutsk, *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 2 (June 23, 1921).
 - c. Chen Duxiu’s letters to the Comintern, cited in “Zhonggong Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui shuji Chen Duxiu gei Gongchan guoji de baogao (1922 nian 6-yue 30-ri)” (“Report to the Comintern of Chen Duxiu, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, June 30, 1922”), in *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected Documents of the

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party) (Beijing: Zhonggong Zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989), 1:48–50.

d. Bibliography of works (1922) of the Marxist Study Group of Beijing: “Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui tonggao (si)” (“Notice of the Marxist Study Group,” part 4), *Beijing daxue rikan* (February 6, 1922).

e. Items recommended by Li Hanjun as readings for beginners in Marxist theory in 1922: Li Hanjun, “Yanjiu Makesi xueshuo de biyao ji women xianzai rushou de fangfa” (“Necessities in the Study of Marxist Theory and Ways of Our Acquiring Them Now”), *Minguo ribao Juewu* (June 6, 1922).

f. Items introduced in: Bingbing, “Yige Makesi xueshuo de shumu” (“A Listing of Books on Marxist Theory”), *Zhongguo qingnian* 24 (March 1924).

g. Items raised as reference works in: Shi Cuntong, “Lüetan yanjiu shehui kexue, ye shi yige shumulu” (“Brief Discussion of Studying Social Science, Also a Bibliography”), *Zhongguo qingnian* 26 (April 1924).

- A1. *Shehuizhuyi pingyi* (A Discussion of Socialism), Tan Liheng of Nanhai and Liu Zhubo of Hong Kong, authors; revised by Mao Chengyu of Dongxing, Pan Kongyan of Nanhai; Xianggang Huashang zonghui baoshe, publisher, August 1919.

Held in IMH. While we have no details on the careers of the authors, Tan Liheng and Liu Zhubo, this work is a detailed attack on socialism from a Confucian perspective. Despite the *pingyi* (lit., evenhanded discussion) in the title, in content it is a condemnation, citing as characteristics of socialism “common wives, murderers . . . [and] the pernicious influence of socialism being far, far worse than Yang [Zhu], Mozi, Buddhism, and Daoism.” Completely different from the image of socialism as a worldwide trend of thought, the image of socialism held by those of the Confucian persuasion existed in China at the same time. It is thus fascinating to see that antisocialist propaganda was begun early on by this commercial firm, “Huashang zonghui.”

- A2. *Zonghe yanjiu geguo shehui sichao* (Comprehensive Study of Social Trends in Various Nations), Shao Zhenqing, auth.; Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1920.

Shao Zhenqing (1886–1926) was Shao Piaoping, well known as a progressive journalist. At the time of the May Fourth Movement, he was editor of *Jingbao*, a Beijing newspaper, and because his publication was shut down in August 1919 due to radical statements that appeared in it, he left Beijing and, at the invitation that winter from *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, was living in Japan as a part-time employee. He apparently wrote this book while living in Japan. As in the case of item A8 (*Xin Eguo zhi yanjiu*), he translated and introduced the flow of foreign intellectual trends, especially conditions in the socialist and labor movements, about which he read extensively while in Japan. He cites from such works as Yamakawa Hitoshi, “Shakaishugi no teigi” (“Definition of Socialism”),

Shakaishugi kenkyū 6 (1919). There are also descriptions of the Russian Revolution and its leaders (Lenin and Stalin).

- A3. *Shehuizhuyi yu Zhongguo* (Socialism and China), Feng Ziyou, auth.; Shehuizhuyi yanjiusuo, April 1920.

Held in IMH. This book contains three chapters: (1) The Past and Future of Chinese Socialism; (2) Chinese Political Problems Solved by Socialism; and (3) Means of Propagating Chinese Socialism. It looks back over the history of the spread of socialist thought in China (including Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People) and offers a brief introduction to socialist theories. Chapter 1 appeared serially in *Minguo ribao Juewu* (January 16–19, 1920), which was a reprint from *Xianggang chenbao*. We have no details on the publisher, Shehuizhuyi yanjiusuo (Socialist Study Institute).

- A4. *1919 lü-E liuzhou jianwenji* (A Travel Narrative of a Six-Week Trip to Russia), Lanmusai (Arthur Ransome), auth.; Jiansheng, trans.; Beijing chenbaoshe, April 1920.

The original work: Arthur Ransome's *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1919). This volume was published serially in Jiansheng's translation from November 12, 1919, to January 7, 1920, under the title "1919 lü-E liuzhou jianwenji" in *Chenbao fukan*. The translator, Jiansheng, was the well-known anarchist Huang Lingshuang. (a, b)

- A5. *Laonong zhengfu yu Zhongguo* (The Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Government and China), Zhang Mingfei, comp. and trans.; Hankou xin wenhua gongjinshe, June 1920.

Held in the library of the Faculty of Law, Kyoto University. According to an advertisement in the September 10, 1920, edition of *Minguo ribao*, it was published by Taidong tushuju, and the latter does seem to have published this book. The translator, Zhang Mingfei, seems to have had some sort of relationship to the Guomindang; in 1923 he was editor of *Zhongguo wanbao*, published in Shanghai. He collected a fair number of documents (laws and proclamations) related to the Russian Revolution. It was prominent in its day as a collection of documents concerning the Soviet regime. While in the main clearly translated from English, the source remains unknown. The American magazine *The Nation*, from 1918 to 1919, published in pamphlet form translations of the constitution and laws of the Soviet government, and perhaps this was a translation of that work. (a)

- A6. *Laodong wenti gailun* (Overview of Labor Issues), Baibunsha, ed.; Feng Fei, trans.; Huaxing yinshushe (Beijing), July 1920.

Held in IMH. The original is *Genji no rōdō mondai gairon* (Overview of Contemporary Labor Issues, Baibunsha, 1919), in the “Rōdō mondai sōsho” (“Series on Labor Issues”), practical pamphlets issued by the circle surrounding Takabatake Motoyuki. This work is described as a handbook for activists involved in the labor union movement. No details available on the career of the translator, Feng Fei.

- A7. *Pinfa lun* (On Poverty), Kawakami Hajime, auth.; Zhizhi (Li Fengting), trans.; Taidong tushuju, July 1920.

The original was the Japanese bestseller *Binbō monogatari* (Tales of Poverty, Kōbundō shobō, 1917) by Kawakami Hajime. According to the column “News from the New Man’s Society” (*Xinren* 1.6), the work is an excerpt translation by “Zhizhi,” with many portions excised. The third edition gives Li Fengting as translator, and thus we can surmise that he and Zhizhi are one and the same. The name Li Fengting can be found among the letters of criticism to *Xinren yuekanshe* (New Man’s Monthly Press), such as “*Xinren yuekanshe xiaoxi*” (“News of the New Man’s Monthly Press”), *Xinren* 1.2, but details on his career are not known. For other Chinese translations of *Binbō monogatari*, see A19. (a)

- A8. *Xin Eguo zhi yanjiu* (A Study of the New Russia), Shao Piaoping, auth.; Tōei henyakusha (Minami-ku, Osaka), August 1920.

Held in History. Although details remain vague about the Tōei henyakusha in Minami-ku, Osaka, there is an advertisement for Taidong tushuju inserted at the end of the volume, and in the ad for the inaugural issue of *Pinglun zhi pinglun* (Critique of Critique, December 1920), we see that it too is a publication of Taidong tushuju. Thus, it would appear that this work was published by Taidong, too. On Shao Piaoping’s background, see A2. In the main, the book is comprised of translations of articles concerning the Russian Revolution that Shao collected in Japan. At the end are two appendices entitled “Conversation Between Lenin and *New York World* Correspondent Linkang Aye [?]” and “Report of American Emissary William C. Bullitt.” The appendices were translated by “Wu Dingjiu of Jiading.” (a, b)

- A9. *Gongchandang xuanyan* (Communist Manifesto), “Magesi” (“Karl Marx”), and “Angeersi” (“Engels”), auth.; Chen Wangdao, trans.; Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, August 1920.

Held in the National Library of China and the Shanghai Library. The original, the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels (1848), is the first complete translation in Chinese history of a work by Marx and Engels. An examination of the Japanese translation on which Chen relied in executing his own translation is discussed in chapter 1. When it was reissued as the first work in the “Makesi

quanshu” (“Complete Writings of Marx”) by Renmin chubanshe (People’s Press) in 1921, it noted, “Translation by Chen Fotu.” (a, b, c, d, e, f, g)

A10. *Kexue de shehuizhuyi* (Scientific Socialism), Engeer (Engels), auth.; Zheng Cichuan, ed. and trans.; Wang Xiulu, rev.; Qunyi shushe, August 1920.

Appended to it is a “Biography of Engels.” The original is Friedrich Engels’s *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (1883), but only its third chapter is excerpted in this translation. Because their titles are so similar, Engels’s biography is appended, and the translation covers only chapter 3, it clearly was done on the basis of Endō Musui’s translation, *Kagakuteki shakaishugi* (Scientific Socialism, Bunsendō, 1920); it too is a translation only of chapter 3 and has appended Kautsky’s biography of Engels. Earlier, Engels’s *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft* appeared in a retranslation by Heng Shi, “Kexuede shehuizhuyi” (“Scientific Socialism”), *Juewu* (January 5–8, 1920); again, this was only chapter 3. The latter was a retranslation of Sakai Toshihiko’s “Kagakuteki shakaishugi” (“Scientific Socialism”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 4 (July 1906) and is not directly related to this volume. (a, b)

A11. *Makesi jingji xueshuo* (Marx’s Economic Theories), Kezuji (Karl Kautsky), auth.; Chen Puxian, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, September 1920.

Held in IMH. The original is Karl Kautsky’s *Karl Marx’s ökonomische lehren* (1887), and this work is a retranslation of Takabatake Motoyuki’s *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (An Explication of Marx’s *Das Kapital*) (Baibunsha, May 1919). This was a famous work in its day, dubbed the most accurate introduction to Volume 1 of Marx’s *Das Kapital*. The Chinese translation was initially carried serially in the supplement to *Chenbao* from June 2 to November 11, 1919, under the title “Mashi Zibenlun shiyi” (“Explanation of Mr. Marx’s *Das Kapital*”) and the translator given as Yuanquan. It was subsequently revised and published as a single volume. For more on the translator, Chen Puxian, see chapter 1. At the time of publication, Chen was filling in gaps that had been excised from the Japanese translation by censors, and he asked Takabatake to send him the Japanese translation of the text with the excised sections filled in. We do not have Takabatake’s reply. According to an advertisement for recent publications in *Dongfang zazhi* 17.14 (July 1920), *Zibenlun jieshuo* (An Explication of *Das Kapital*), translated and annotated by Yuanquan, had recently appeared in print. Apparently, it was initially scheduled to carry the same title as the Japanese translation (C. *Zibenlun jieshuo* and J. *Shihonron kaisetsu* are written with the same graphs). This volume by Kautsky was also serialized in a translation by Dai Jitao, entitled “Makesi Zibenlun jieshuo” (“An Explication of Marx’s *Das Kapital*”), in the journal *Jianshe* (from November 1919 but left unfinished). This, too, was a retranslation of Takabatake’s translation into Japanese. It has been argued that there is another work with this same title in a translation by Li Da, but this is erroneous. (a, b, d, e, f, g)

- A12. *Magesi Zibenlun rumen* (Introduction to Marx's *Das Kapital*), Maerxi (Mary Marcy), auth.; Li Hanjun, trans.; Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, September 1920.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the first national congress of the CCP. The original work was *Shop Talks on Economics* (c. 1911) by Mary Marcy. The Chinese translation is a retranslation of Endō Musui's Japanese rendition, *Tsūzoku Marukusu Shihonron, fu Marukusu den* (Popular Edition of Marx's *Das Kapital*, with a Biography of Marx Appended) (Tokyo: Bunsendō, 1919). In addition to Endō's translation, at roughly the same time there were two other Japanese translations produced—Okano Tatsunosuke, *Marukusushugi to rōdōsha* (Marxism and Workers) and Shimada Yasutarō, *Marukusu keizaigaku nyūmon* (Introduction to Marx's Economics)—indicating its great popularity at the time. The original was actually not an explanation of Marx's *Das Kapital* but a simple introduction to socialism. The work appears to have been widely read in China as well, as Bao Huiseng, Zhang Guotao, Liu Nongchao (1905–88), and others all recall having read it. *Magesi Zibenlun*, which appears in a list of works published in *Beijing daxue rikan* (February 6, 1922), and *Zibenlun* (in the translation by Li Shushi [Li Hanjun]), which appears in “Announcements of Renmin Publishers” in *Xin qingnian* 9.5 (September 1921) both refer to this. (a, b, d, e, f, g)

- A13. *Jinshi jingji sixiang shi lun* (Essays on the History of Modern Economic Thought), Kawakami Hajime, auth.; Li Peitian, trans., Taidong tushuju, September 1920.

Held in the National Library of China. The original work, Kawakami Hajime's *Kinsei keizai shisō shi ron* (Essays on the History of Modern Economic Thought) (Iwanami shoten, 1920), offers explanations of the history of Western economic thought from Adam Smith through Marx and Engels. The translation is severely criticized in (g) as “awful to the point of unintelligible.” The translator, Li Peitian (Zihou, b. 1895), was from Binchuan, Yunnan. From his youth, he studied in Japan, in particular at Meiji University. According to an advertisement in *Xinren* 1.6, he was set to publish a translation of Engels's *Scientific Socialism* in a series, but this apparently never came to pass. (b, e, f, g)

- A14. *Shehuizhuyi shi* (History of Socialism), 2 vols., Kekapu (Thomas Kirkup), auth.; Li Ji, trans.; Xin qingnian she, October 1920.

Held in the Jinbunken. The original work, *A History of Socialism* (1906) by Thomas Kirkup (1844–1912), is an overview of the history of the socialist movement from utopian socialism to Marxism. In Japan, too, Sakai Toshihiko introduced European socialism in the journal *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3 (May 1906) on the basis of this book. The translator, Li Ji (1892–1967), was a member of the Shanghai Communist group, who was on close terms with Chen Duxiu around 1920 and who had been translating works concerned with socialism primarily

from English. He has an autobiography entitled *Wo de shengping* (My Life) (Yadong tushuguan, 1932). This translation was one of the three works that influenced Mao Zedong to become a Communist. (a, b, d, f)

- A15. *Jingji shiguan* (An Economic Historical Perspective), Sailigeman (Edwin R. A. Seligman), auth.; Chen Shifu, trans.; Tao Menghe, rev.; Shangwu yinshuguan, October 1920.

Held in the National Library of China. The original work was *The Economic Interpretation of History* (1903) by Edwin R. A. Seligman (1861–1939). The book explains history from the perspective of economics and is close in interpretation to Marxism, but the work is by no means a Marxist explication as it rejects the appellation “materialist view of history” and instead suggests an “economic historical viewpoint.” We find in (g) the criticism that the book “has numerous errors and distortions,” indicating that the work was essentially economic monism. The Chinese translation was done from a 1912 edition of the original work, and the translator indicates in a note the other translations of the work (Japanese, Russian, Spanish, and French). It was published in a Japanese translation by Kawakami Hajime, *Rekishi no keizaiteki setsumei, shin shikan* (An Economic Explanation of History, New Historical Perspective) (Shōheidō Kawaoka shoten, 1905). (a, e, f, g)

- A16. *Shehuizhuyi zonglun* (Overview of Socialism), Kuang Mohan, auth.; Beijing: Youxin ribao she, November 1920.

Published as one volume in the “Series on World Reform” (*Shijie gaizao congshu*), this work is divided into seven chapters, all concerned with the following aspects of socialism: origins, definition, essentials, classification, theories, politics, and the state. Kuang Mohan (Kuang Zhenling, 1885–1932) had been a member of the Revolutionary Alliance, who returned from a period of study overseas around this time. He was active with the Beijing journal *Jinri* and contributed a number of translations of Kawakami Hajime’s essays to *Xuedeng* (the supplement to *Shishi xinbao*). Considering that the “Series on World Reform” concentrated on translations, it is possible that the “author” was actually the translator of a certain text. The “Series” was edited by three men, “Feng Fei, Kuang Mohan, [and] He Haiming,” and was published by Huaxing yinshushe. An advertisement at the end of another volume in the series, *Laodong wenti gailun* (Overview of Labor Issues), translated by Feng Fei (see above, A6), notes that *Shehuizhuyi zonglun* was also published by Huaxing yinshushe. The relationship between Huaxing yinshushe and Youxinri baoshe remains unclear.

- A17. *Shiyezhe wenti* (The Problem of the Unemployed), Piaoping and Ji Ren, joint auth.; Taidong tushuju, November 1920.

“Piaoping” is Shao Piaoping, but the identity of “Ji Ren” remains uncertain. Allegedly a “joint work” (*hezhu*), inasmuch as Shao translated many Japanese-language documents, it is entirely possible that this work was an adaptation of *Shitsugyō mondai* (The Problem of Unemployment) (Baibunsha, 1919), compiled and edited by the editorial staff of Baibunsha. (a)

A18. *Shehui wenti gaiguan* (Overview of Social Issues), 2 vols., Ikuta Chōkō and Honma Hisao, auth.; Zhou Fohai, trans.; Zhonghua shuju, December 1920.

The original is *Shakai mondai jūni kō* (Twelve Lectures on Social Issues) (Shinchōsha, 1919). In content it is a simple overview of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and the formation of capitalism, socialist theories, labor unions, general elections, and women’s issues. The title *Shehui wenti gailun*, translated by Zhou Fohai, as listed in (d), is probably an error for this work. (a, d)

A19. *Jiupin congtang* (Stories of Poor Relief), Kawakami Hajime, auth.; Yang Shanmu, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1920.

Held in the National Library of China. The original work is Kawakami Hajime’s bestseller, *Binbō monogatari* (Tales of Poverty) (Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, March 1917). Serially carried in the journal, *Xueyi* 2.1–2.8 (April–November 1920), this appears to be Yang Shanmu’s excerpted translation collected together in a single volume. A translation of *Binbō monogatari* had appeared earlier (July 1920): Li Fengting, trans., *Pinfa lun* (On Poverty) (see A7).

A20. *Jieji douzheng* (Class Struggle), Kezuji (Karl Kautsky), auth.; Yun Daiying, trans.; Xin qingnian she, January 1921.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original is Kautsky’s *Das Erfurter Programm* (1892), and the Chinese translation appears to have been executed on the basis of the English translation, *The Class Struggle (Erfurt Program)* (1910) by William E. Bohn (1877–1967). Concerning the era during which Yun Daiying rendered his translation, see note 145 in chapter 1. This is one of the three books that convinced Mao Zedong to become a Communist. (a, b, d, e, f, g)

A21. *Gongtuanzhuyi* (Syndicalism), Hali (J. H. Harley), auth.; Li Ji, trans.; Xin qingnian she, January 1921.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original work is John Hunter Harley’s *Syndicalism* (1912?), and the translation appears to have been from the English

edition. It is clearly an introductory work to the topic of syndicalism. See A14 above concerning translator Li Ji. (a, b, d)

A22. *Guojidang zhenxiang* (The Truth About the Bolshevik Party), Sun Fan, trans.; Taidong tushuju, March 1921.

Held in the collection of the IMH. The original work was entitled *Bolshevik Aims and Ideals and Russia's Revolt against Bolshevism* (1919), published by the Macmillan Company, and was comprised of articles carried in the British journal *The Round Table*. Judging by the title of the Chinese translation, it seems to have been done on the basis of the Japanese translation by Nakame Naoyoshi, *Kagekiha no honryō* (The Basic Character of the Radicals [Bolsheviks]) (Tokyo: Daitōkaku, 1920). Translator Sun Fan's career remains unknown. The volume is divided into two parts: "The Bolshevik Movement" and "The Anti-Bolshevik Movement." While offering an explanation of the Bolsheviks, the work affirms that the Bolsheviks are "a despotic regime that might be dubbed a revolutionary despotism, they reject democracy completely, and they reject all manner of freedom of thought and action." On the counterrevolutionary movement led by Aleksandr Kolchak (1874–1920), it states that "they earnestly hope that their country not once again fall into the ways of chaos." It is a work deeply marked by anti-Bolshevism. (a)

A23. *Shehui wenti zonglan* (Overview of Social Issues), 3 vols., Takabatake Motoyuki, auth.; Li Da, trans.; Zhonghua shuju, April 1921.

The original text was Takabatake Motoyuki's *Shakai mondai sōran* (Overview of Social Issues) (Kōbun shoin, February 1920). Initially, following the structure of chapters in the original work, the translation was apparently to be published in four volumes with the following translators and titles (according to an advertisement in *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2.13): Liu Zhengjiang, *Shehui zhengce* (Social Policy); Li Da, *Shehuizhuyi* (Socialism); Zheng Shu, *Laodong zuhe* (Labor Unions); and Zheng Ge, *Furen wenti* (Women's Issues). Ultimately, though, Li Da did the whole translation himself. As the title indicates, the book surveys views and the conditions in various countries of a number of topics concerning societal issues (social policy, socialism, labor unions, women's issues). In particular, much of "Chapter 2: Socialism" from the original text is an excerpted translation providing a simple explanation of socialism. The same work was published by Shangwu yinshuguan in a translation by Meng Xi entitled *Shehui wenti xiangjie* (Detailed Explanation of Social Problems, A24)

A24. *Shehui wenti xiangjie* (Detailed Explanation of Social Problems), 3 vols., Takabatake Motoyuki, auth.; Meng Xi, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1921.

The original text was Takabatake Motoyuki's *Shakai mondai sōran* (Overview of Social Issues) (Kōbun shoin, February 1920). According to Yun Daiying's "Yanjiu shehui wenti faduan" ("Studying the Origins of Social Problems") and "Yanjiu shehui zhengce" ("Studying Social Policy") (*Zhongguo qingnian* 9–10, December 1923), this translation by Meng Xi is a more accurate rendition than Li Da's *Shehui wenti zonglan* (A23). A translation by Li Ji entitled *Shehui wenti xiangjie* appears in (d), but this is an error for Meng Xi's work. For more on the original text, see A23. (d)

A25. *Laodong zongtongmeng (zhi) yanjiu* (Study of the General Confederation of Labor), Yamakawa Hitoshi, auth.; Zou Jingfang (Jinfang), trans.; Taidong tushuju, May 1921.

Held in the collection of the IMH. The original was Yamakawa Hitoshi's "Furansu rōdō sōdōmei no kenkyū" ("Study of the General Confederation of Labor in France"), *Kaizō* (April–May 1920). It contains a study of the history, organization, and present state of the French Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT). Yamakawa based his essay on the works of Pouget, Pawlowsky, Louis Levine, George Douglas Howard Cole, Fernand Pelloutier, and J. A. Estey, among others. (a)

A26. *Weiwu shiguan jieshuo* (Explication of Historical Materialism), Guotai (Herman Gorter), auth.; Li Da, trans.; Zhonghua shuju, May 1921.

Held in the Jinbunken. The original work was Herman Gorter, *Het historisch materialisme* (1909, probably from the German translation by Anna Pannekoek, *Der historische Materialismus*). The Chinese translation was based on the Japanese by Sakai Toshihiko, *Yuibutsu shikan kaisetsu* (Explication of Historical Materialism) (Daitōkaku, 1920). The book is a systematic explication of Marxism, something rare at the time, and according to Sakai's introduction, "until a few years ago, it was effectively the only popular work among such writings." According to Li Da's translator's introduction, in addition to the Japanese addition, he used the German edition with the assistance of Li Hanjun. He also encouraged readers to read this volume together with Kautsky's *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung* (there was then a Japanese translation by Sakai Toshihiko, *Shakaishugi rinrigaku* [Socialist Ethics]). Notice of a work by the same title appeared in *Dongfang zazhi* 17.14 (July 1920): Guotai (Gorter), *Weiwu shiguan jieshuo*, trans. Yuanquan. This was just an advertisement, however, and such a work never seems to have been published. (e, f, g)

A27. *Ouzhou laoyong wenti zhi dashi* (General Trends in European Labor Issues), Kuwata Kumazō, auth.; Liu Jing, trans.; Wu Guanyin, rev.; Neiwubu bianjichu, May 1921.

The original work was Kuwata Kumazō (1868–1932), *Ōshū rōdō mondai no taisei* (General Trends in European Labor Issues) (Yūhikaku, 1920). It discusses the labor movement, socialism, and social reformism, and offers an introduction to the organization and history of British, French, and German labor unions. It was probably translated as source material for the Beijing government to prepare a countermeasure to the social movement.

A28. *Buershiweizhuyi de xinli* (The Psychology of Bolshevism), J. Shibage (John Spargo), auth.; Chen Guoju, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, May 1921.

The original was John Spargo's (1876–1966) *The Psychology of Bolshevism* (1919), although the Chinese translation appears to have been based on the Japanese translation by Asano Mamoru, *Kagekishugi no shinri* (The Psychology of Bolshevism) (Nihon hyōronsha shuppanbu, 1920). The translator Chen Guoju (Chen Bojun) was from Dongguan, Guangdong; at the time, he was a student at Beijing University and a member of the group at the journal *Guomin*. He translated and introduced writings by Yamakawa Hitoshi in this journal. The original author, John Spargo, basically argued from a Marxist perspective and called for the socialist transformation of society, while also stating that the Bolsheviks were “apparitions who emasculated the essence of Marx,” and he criticized them as “possessors of a diseased spirit and for being a kind of irrational hysteria.”

A29. *Shehuizhuyi yu gerenzhuyi* (Socialism and Individualism), Wang'erde (Oscar Wilde), auth.; Yuan Zhenying, trans.; Aikuang chubanshu (Hong Kong), May 1921.

The original work by Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) was *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* (1919). He argues that individualism is the core of all modern thought and that socialism is the fullest realization of individualism. Yuan Zhenying, the translator, used such pen names as Zhongbin, Zhenying, and Wumeng Qingnian. He came from Dongguan, Guangdong. Best known as an anarchist, he had been invited at the time by Chen Duxiu to join the editorial staff at *Xin qingnian*, and there he was principally responsible for the “Russian Studies” column.

A30. *Gongchanzhuyi yu zhishi jieji* (Communism and the Intellectual Class), Tian Cheng, auth.; Hankou, June 1921.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. Neither the publisher's nor the printer's name is given. Although an English title—“Communism and the Intellectual Class”—is recorded on the cover, this is not a translation. It is a pamphlet addressed to Chinese intellectuals, calling on them to strengthen their belief in scientific

socialism, like Russian intellectuals, and to join the socialist movement. It has been reprinted and included in *Shanghai geming shi yanjiu ziliao* (Materials for the Study of the History of the Revolution in Shanghai), ed. Shanghai geming lishi bowuguan (chou) (Shanghai Museum of the History of the Revolution, Preparatory) (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1991). In his essay, “Jieshao jiangdang shiqi de Gongchanzhuyi yu zhishi jieji” (“Introducing *Communism and the Intellectual Class* from the Era of the Founding of the Party”), included in this same collection, Ren Wuxiong conjectures that “Tian Cheng” was a pseudonym used by Chen Duxiu. Ren later changed his position on this and concluded that “Tian Cheng” was a pen name used by Chen Tanqiu. See his “Guanyu ‘Gongchanzhuyi yu zhishi jieji’ de zuozhe wenti de zaishangque,” in *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu*, vol. 5.

- A31. *Funü zhi guoqu yu jianglai* (The Past and Future for Women), Yamakawa Kikue, auth.; Li Hanjun, ed. and trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, July 1921.

The original work by Yamakawa Kikue was *Fujin no shōri* (The Victory of Women) (Nihon hyōronsha, 1919). The translation of all five chapters of the original—(1) Introduction; (2) Gender Relations in Primitive Society; (3) Gender Relations in Civilized Society; (4) The Modern Women’s Movement; and (5) Conclusion—is almost complete. The author’s original introduction notes that when Yamakawa wrote the work, she made considerable use of such works as Sakai Toshihiko, *Danjo kankei no shinka* (Advances in Gender Relations); August Bebel, *Kako, genzai, oyobi shōrai no fujin* (Women, Past, Present, and Future); C. Gasquoine Hartley, *The Position of Women in Primitive Society: A Study of the Matriarchy*; and Käthe Schirmacher, *Die moderne Frauenbewegung*.

- A32. *Suweiai yanjiu* (A Study of the Soviet Union), Yamakawa Hitoshi, auth.; Wang Wenjun, trans.; Beijing zhixin shushe, August 1921.

The original was Yamakawa Hitoshi’s “Sovieto no kenkyū” (“A Study of the Soviet Union”), *Kaizō* (May 1921), which was later included in Yamakawa Kikue and Yamakawa Hitoshi, *Rōnō Roshia no kenkyū* (A Study of Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Russia) (Arusu, 1921). As a precise study of the circumstances pertaining in Russia after the revolution, Yamakawa’s essay was effectively unique in Japan. His study of Soviet Russia was also translated by Li Da (see A54, *Laonong Eguo yanjiu* [A Study of Worker-Peasant (Soviet) Russia]). Details about the translator, Wang Wenjun, are unknown.

- A33. *Gongqian laodong yu ziben* (Wage-Labor and Capital), Makesi (Karl Marx), auth.; Yuan Rang, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, December 1921.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original is Karl Marx’s *Lohnarbeit und Kapital*

(1891, ed.; original 1847). The Chinese translation was prepared on the basis of the German edition of 1891 and the English translation of 1902. Details about translator Yuan Rang are unknown. (a, d, e, f, g)

- A34. *Laononghui zhi jianshe* (Construction by Worker-Peasant Associations), Liening (Lenin), auth.; Li Li, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, December 1921.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original is Lenin's *The Immediate Problems of the Soviet Government (The Soviets at Work)*, but there is a strong possibility that the Chinese translation was executed on the basis of N. Lenin and L. Trotsky, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia* (1918)—Japanese translation by Yamakawa Hitoshi and Yamakawa Kikue, “Shakaishugi kakumei no kensetsuteki hōmen: Sovietto no tōmen no mondai” (“Constructive Areas in the Socialist Revolution: Problems Facing Soviet Russia”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (August 1921) and Yamakawa Hitoshi and Yamakawa Kikue, *Rōnō kakumei no kensetsuteki hōmen* (The Constructive Areas of the Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Revolution) (Santokusha, 1921). The Yamakawas’ translation came from Lenin’s *The Soviets at Work: The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Problems of the Socialist Revolution* (1918). Details about translator Li Li are unknown, but this may have been a pen name used by Li Da, editor-in-chief at Renmin chubanshe.

- A35. *Taolun jinxing jihuashu* (Plan for Moving the Discussion Forward), Liening (Lenin), auth.; Cheng Zeren, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, December 1921.

Held in the National Library of China. The originals are Lenin’s “Letter on Tactics” (1917) and his “The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution” (1917). The Chinese translation would seem to have been based on Lenin, “Problems in Tactics” (in N. Lenin and L. Trotsky, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, 1918) or his *Towards Soviets: Theses and a Letter on Tactics* (1919?). The translator Cheng Zeren was Shen Zemin (1902–1933), younger brother of Mao Dun (Shen Yanbing). (c, d)

- A36. *Gongchandang de jihua* (Plans of the Communist Party), Buharin (Nikolai Bukharin), auth.; Tailiu, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, December 1921.

The original is Bukharin’s *The Program of the Communists (Bolshevik)* (c. 1920)—namely, *The ABC of Communism*, as it is better known. The column “Notice from Renmin chubanshe” in the March 2, 1922, issue of *Guangdong qunbao* lists the table of contents of the book, and the same issue carried Tailiu’s translation of a piece by Bukharin entitled “Gongchandang de jihua (xù)” (“Plans of the Communist Party, Continued”). There is a text listed in (d) entitled *Gongchandang de jihua, zhengzhi lixiang, shehui jiegouxue* (Plans of the

Communist Party, Political Ideals, and the Study of Social Structure), translated by Tailiu. There is nothing certain about the translator Tailiu, but judging by the similar title, *Gongchandang jihua*, translated by Zhang Kongming, as mentioned in “Notice from Renmin chubanshe” in *Xin qingnian* 9.5 (September 1921), one might surmise that the translator was Zhang Kongming (Zhang Guotao, also known by the pen name Zhang Teli). On Zhang Guotao’s use of the name Kongming, see Luo Zhanglong, *Chunyuan zaji* (Reminiscences from the Chun Garden) (Sanlian shudian, 1984), 113. See also A43. (b, c, d, f, g)

A37. *Libukeneixi jinian* (In Commemoration of Liebknecht), Li Te et al., ed. and trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. According to (c), on January 15, 1922, the national Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) Memorial Association distributed 5,000 copies of a pamphlet that included “a biography of Liebknecht, a biography of [Rosa] Luxemburg [1871–1919], [and] the manifesto of the Spartacist League.” This is undoubtedly that pamphlet. Li Te was a pen name used by Li Da. The inaugural issue (January 15, 1922) of *Xianqu* similarly bore a supplement entitled “Libukenaixite jinian hao” (“Special Commemorative for Liebknecht”). The same day, *Juewu* carried Li Te’s “Libukeneixi zhuan” (“Biography of Liebknecht”), similar to the pamphlet in question. It appears to have been based on Yamakawa Kikue’s *Riipukunehito to Rukusenburugu* (Liebknecht and Luxenburg) (Suiyōkai panfuretto, 1921). (c)

A38. *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on Society and Economy), Shi Cuntong, ed. and trans.; Taidong tushuju, January 1922.

Held in the Shanghai Library. This work is an edited translation of Japanese-language essays on socialism. It includes Kitazawa Shinjirō, *Rōdōsha mondai* (Problems of Workers) (1919); Kawakami Hajime, “Shakaishugi no shinka” (“The Evolution of Socialism”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 5 (May 1919); Kawakami, “Kyōsansha sengen ni arawaretaru yuibutsu shikan” (“Historical Materialism as Seen in the *Communist Manifesto*”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 16 (June 1920); Baibunsha, ed., *Rōdō keizairon* (On Labor Economics) (1919); and Yamakawa Hitoshi, “Kautsukii no rōnō seiji hantairon” (“[Karl] Kautsky’s Opposition to Worker-Peasant Government”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* 3.2 (March 1921). (f, g)

A39. *Makesizhuyi he Daerwenzhuyi* (Marxism and Darwinism), Painakeke (Anton Pannekoek); Shi Cuntong, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1922.

The original was Anton Pannekoek, *Marxismus und Darwinismus* (1914). Shi Cuntong’s translation is a retranslation from Sakai Toshihiko, “Marukusu setsu to Daawin setsu” (“Marx’s Theories and Darwin’s Theories”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (April–October 1919); later included in Sakai’s *Kyōfu tōsō kanki* (Panic,

Struggle, Joy) (Tokyo: Shueikaku, 1920). An advertisement indicating that it had already been published appeared in *Dongfang zazhi* 19.10 (May 1922), but this gave the original author's name as Bannakeke. Beginning on January 12, 1922, *Chenbao fujian* carried a Chinese translation by Yanding of a work by Pannekoek entitled “Daerwenzhuyi yu Makesizhuyi” (“Darwinism and Marxism”), but the relationship between these two works is unclear. (e, f, g)

A40. *Eguo geming jishi* (The True Record of the Russian Revolution), Tuoluociji (Trotsky), auth.; Zhou Quan, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. The original is Leon Trotsky, *From October to Brest-Litovsk* (1919). This volume was published in a Japanese translation by Kayahara Taijirō (b. 1898) as *Roshia kakumei jikki* (The True Record of the Russian Revolution) (Nihon hyōronsha, 1920). The Chinese translation appears to be a retranslation of the Japanese. No details about the translator Zhou Quan are known. (c, g)

A41. *Gongchandang libailiu* (Communist Saturday), Liening (Lenin), auth.; Wang Jing, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original text is Lenin's *Great Initiative (Including the Story of “Communist Saturday”)* (1919). This work by Lenin appeared earlier in a Japanese translation by Yamakawa Hitoshi and Yamakawa Kikue, “Kyōsantō doyōbi” (“Communist Saturday”), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (November 1921), but it is unclear if the Chinese version is based on it. Details on translator Wang Jing are not known. (c, g)

A42. *Nüxing zhongxin shuo* (A Theory Centered on Women), Sakai Toshihiko, ed.; Li Da, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1922.

This translation comes from chapter 14 of Lester Ward's *Pure Sociology* (1903) and Edward Carpenter's *The Intermediate Sex* (1912), based on the joint Japanese translation by Sakai Toshihiko and Yamakawa Kikue, *Josei chūshin to dōseiai* (Centering on Women and Same-Sex Love) (Arusu, 1919), but only the portion translated by Sakai (the selection from Ward) is a retranslation. Earlier, Sakai's “Josei chūshin setsu” (“A Theory Centered on Women”) was translated in the “Funü pinglun” (“Women's Commentary”), a supplement to *Minguo ribao*, from August 1921 by Xia Mianzun (1886–1946). It later appears to have been published as a single volume by Minzhi chubanshe and circulated widely in China. Chen Wangdao planned to publish the same book in 1920 in the series “Shehui jingji congshu” put out by Yadong tushuguan; although advertisements for it appeared in *Shaonian Zhongguo* 1.12 through 2.2 (set to be printed in December 1920 under the title *Nüxing zhongxin yu*

tongxing'ai (Centering on Women and Same-Sex Love), these plans never came to fruition.

- A43. *Eguo Gongchandang danggang* (Party Platform of the Russian Communist Party), Russian Communist Party, auth.; Ximan, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. This is a translation of the explanation of the various resolutions approved at the eighth congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The translator Ximan is Zhang Ximan (1895–1949). An advertisement for the volume's publication and its table of contents appeared in "Notice from Renmin chubanshe" in *Guangdong qunbao* (March 2, 1922). In an advertisement in "Qingnian zhouban" ("Youth Weekly"), a supplement to *Guangdong qunbao*, dated March 7, 1922, it states that this was a work by "Buhalin" ("Bukharin"), but it is often confused with A36, which appeared at about the same time. On where various editions of this work are held, see Zhang Xiaoman, "Xunzhao Zhang Ximan yi *Eguo Gongchandang danggang* zaoqi Zhongyiben" ("Searching for Zhang Ximan's Early Chinese Translation, *Eguo Gongchandang danggang*"), *Dang de wenxian* 3 (2002). (c, f, g)

- A44. *Guoji laodong yundong zhong zhi zhongyao shishi wenti* (Important and Timely Issues in the International Labor Movement), Jinoweiaifu (Grigorii Zinoviev), auth.; Mo Geng, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. The identity of the original text is uncertain, but it seems to be a report and speeches given by Zinoviev concerning the Comintern congress. Mo Geng was a pseudonym used by Li Meigeng (1901–1934); see Wu Jialin and Xie Yinming, *Beijing dang zuzhi de chuangujian huodong* (Founding Activities of the Party Organization in Beijing) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1991), 163–64; and Shanghai geming lishi bowuguan (Shanghai Museum of the History of the Revolution), ed., *Shanghai geming shi yanjiu ziliao* (Materials for the Study of the History of the Revolution in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1991), 205. An advertisement for its publication and its contents appeared in the March 2, 1922, issue of *Guangdong qunbao*. It includes the requirements for entrance into the Comintern. (c, g)

- A45. *Liening zhuan* (Biography of Lenin), Yamakawa Hitoshi, auth.; Zhang Liang, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, January 1922.

Held in IMH. The original work was Yamakawa Hitoshi's "Reenin no shōgai to jigyō" ("Lenin's Career and Work"), *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (April 1921), later included in Yamakawa's *Reenin to Torotsukii* (Lenin and Trotsky) (Kaizōsha, 1921). The biography was written on the basis on a speech given in

1918 by Zinoviev about Lenin. The Chinese translation is a faithful rendition of Yamakawa's work. The work was reprinted in *Guangdong qunbao* (April 1922) under the same title. Details about the translator Zhang Liang are unknown. (c, g)

- A46. *Laonong zhengfu zhi chenggong yu kunnan* (The Successes and Difficulties of the Worker-Peasant Government), Liening (Lenin), auth.; Mo Geng, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, February 1922.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. The original was Lenin's *The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Government* (1919). As (c) notes, the text carries the title *Erfolge und Schwierigkeiten der Sowjetmacht* and suggests it may have been translated from the German edition of 1920. On the translator Mo Geng (Li Meigeng), see A44. (c)

- A47. *Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun* (Socialism and the Theory of Evolution), Takabatake Motoyuki, auth.; Xia Mianzun and Li Jizhen, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, March 1922.

Held in the Shanghai Library. The original work by Takabatake Motoyuki was *Shakaishugi to shinkaron* (Socialism and the Theory of Evolution) (Baibunsha shuppanbu, 1919), but Takabatake himself based his work broadly on the writings of Arthur Lewis and Karl Kautsky, making it close to a translation. It introduces representative thinkers concerning evolutionary theory and its relationship to historical materialism. It assumes an affinity between Marxism and Darwinism, and it analyzes the present state of affairs in which Marxist historical materialism and evolutionary theory are seen as inseparable. This work by Takabatake was serialized earlier in a translation by Xia Mianzun and Li Jizhen, as "Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun" ("Socialism and the Theory of Evolution"), in *Juewu* (the supplement to *Minguo ribao*, beginning March 10, 1921), and then later published as a single volume. (e)

- A48. *Makesi xueshuo gaiyao* (A Summary of Marx's Theories), Takabatake Motoyuki, auth.; Shi Cuntong, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1922.

Held in the Shanghai Library. The original is Takabatake's *Shakaishugi teki shokenkyū* (Studies in Socialism) (Taishūsha, 1920), and the Chinese translation is excerpted from its first chapter entitled "Marukusu ni kansuru shokenkyū" ("Studies Concerning Marx"). This chapter was a collection that Takabatake put together of his published journal articles. They are brief explanations of historical materialism, the basis of Marx's economics, and the historical development of capitalism. (f, g)

A49. *Disan guoji yian ji xuanyan* (Proposals and Manifestos of the Third International), Third International, ed.; Chen Zeren, trans.; Renmin chubanshe, April 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. It includes “Disan guoji yian” (“Proposals of the Third International”) and “Disan guoji Gongchandang dierci dahui xuanyan” (“Manifesto of the Second Congress of the Third Communist International”). The original author is unknown, but the work is an edited translation of documents concerning the Comintern that appeared in the American serials, *Soviet Russia* and *The Communist*. The translator Chen Deren is Shen Zemin. (c, f, g)

A50. *Laodong yundong shi* (History of the Labor Movement), Shi Guangliang, auth.; Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu (Laodong xuexiao jiaoke yongshu), April 1922.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. This is a pamphlet used as a textbook for workers that recounts the historical changes in the workers’ movement in various countries and the lessons to be gleaned from them. Shi Guangliang was Shi Cuntong. With many translations from Japanese to his credit, Shi seems to have used as a resource *Rōdō undō shi* (History of the Labor Movement) (ca. May 1920), included in the series “Rōdō mondai sōsho” (“Series on Labor Issues”) put out by Baibunsha, pamphlets that were practical guides issued by the circle around Takabatake Motoyuki.

A51. *Shehuizhuyi yu shehui gailiang* (Socialism and Social Reform), R. Yili (Richard T. Ely), auth.; He Feixiong, trans.; Tao Menghe, rev.; Shangwu yinshuguan, May 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. The original is Richard T. Ely (1854–1943), *Socialism and Social Reform* (1894). The translation had appeared serially earlier in *Xuedeng* (from May 12, 1920) under the same title and was subsequently published as a book. In Japan, Ely’s work is quoted by Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911) in his *Shakaishugi shinzui* (The Essence of Socialism) and was translated by Abe Isoo (1865–1949) as *Shakaishugi to shakai kairyō*, in *Shakai seisaku niron* (Two Works in Social Policy) (Dai Nihon bunmei kyōkai, 1909). There is no evidence that the Chinese translation was based on the Japanese edition.

A52. *Makesi jinian ce* (Pamphlet Commemorating Marx); Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu, May 1922.

Held in the collection of the Diplomatic Records Office of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; file 4-3-2-1-4-5: “Kagekiha sonota kiken shugisha

torishimari kankei zakken, shakai undō jōkyō no bu, Shinakoku” (“Matters Concerning Control over Bolsheviks and Other Dangerous Elements, Section on the State of the Social Movement, China”). Issued to commemorate the 104th birthday of Karl Marx, this work is comprised of three essays: “Makesi dansheng 104 zhou jinianri jinggao gongren yu xuesheng” (“Respectfully Announcing to Workers and Students the Commemoration of the 104th Birthday of Marx”); Wilhelm Liebknecht’s “Biography of Marx,” translated by Dai Jitao as “Makesi zhuan,” reprinted from *Xingqi pinglun* 31 (January 1920); and Chen Duxiu, “Makesi xueshuo” (“Marx’s Theories”), which also appeared in *Juewu* (May 5, 1922) and *Xin qingnian* 9.6 (July 1922). According to (c), the CCP distributed altogether 20,000 copies of this work through Communist Party locals nationwide. (c)

A53. *Makesi pai shehuizhuyi* (Marxist Socialism), W. P. Laerjin (W. P. Larkin), auth.; Li Fengting, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, June 1922.

The original work was *Marxian Socialism* (1917) by W. P. Larkin, but the translator Li Fengting, who translated Kawakami Hajime’s *Binbō monogatari* as *Pinfa lun* (see A7), appears to have retranslated Larkin’s work from the Japanese translation by Nakame Naoyoshi, *Marukusu ha shakaishugi* (Marxist Socialism) (Nihon hyōronsha shuppanbu, 1919). In content it discusses in an overall manner the origins of Marxist theory and changes in its development. Larkin does not agree with Marx’s view that labor is the origin of value. Thus, (g) claims that this work has nothing distinctive about it and is full of errors. According to an advertisement for recently published works in *Dongfang zazhi* 17.14 (July 1920), publication of it—listed as *Makesi pai de shehuizhuyi* by Naken (Larkin)—was soon in the offing in a translation by Yihu (Peng Li). The translator appears to have changed. (f, g)

A54. *Laonong Eguo yanjiu* (A Study of Worker-Peasant Russia), Yamakawa Hitoshi and Yamakawa Kikue, auth.; Li Da, ed. and trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, August 1922.

Held in History. The original was *Rōnō Roshia no kenkyū* (A Study of Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Russia) by the Yamakawas (Arusu, 1921). From the historical facts and processes involved in the Russian Revolution through post-revolutionary construction, the authors emphasize such topics as proletarian dictatorship, Soviet organization, labor unions, peasants, educational institutions, and women’s liberation. As an introductory text on Soviet Russia, it was effectively unique at the time. For studies by Yamakawa Hitoshi on the Russian Revolution translated into Chinese, there is an earlier work rendered by Wang Wenjun as *Suweiai yanjiu* (see A32). (g)

A55. *Shehuizhuyi taolunji* (Essays on Socialism), Chen Duxiu and Li Da et al., auth.; Xin qingnian she, September 1922.

This is a collection of twenty-five essays concerning the debates over socialism and anarchism that were published primarily in *Xin qingnian*. It was reprinted in 1974 by the Japanese publisher, Ryūkei shosha. (f, g)

A56. *Funü wenti* (The Woman Question), Sakai Toshihiko, auth.; Tang Bokun, trans.; Minzhi shuju, June 1922.

The original by Sakai Toshihiko was *Fujin mondai* (The Woman Question) (Musansha pamphlet, 1921). Its six essays are translated as “Ziyou ren’ai shuo” (“On Free Love”), “Nüzi guoyou ma” (“Are Women State-Owned?”), “Funü de tianzhi” (“Women’s Calling”), “Funü yu jingji de pingdeng” (“Women and Economic Equality”), “Women de jiatingzhuyi” (“Our Familism”), and “Funü wenti gaiguan” (“Overview of Women’s Issues”). These essays were published earlier in *Funü pinglun* (supplement to *Guomin ribao*), issues 12 (October 19, 1921) to 22 (December 28, 1921). Sakai’s original was a primer full of humor. In addition, Sakai’s work on women was translated by Li Da, *Nüxing zhongxin shuo* (A42). These translations would indicate that, along with Yamakawa Kikue, Sakai was regarded in China at the time as a major commentator on the woman’s question. In addition to his contributions to *Funü pinglun*, we have no details on the career of the translator Tang Bokun.

A57. *Jiazhi jiage ji lirun* (Value, Price, and Profit), Makesi (Karl Marx), auth.; Li Da, trans.; Tao Menghe, rev.; Shangwu yinshuguan, October 1922.

The original work is Karl Marx’s *Value, Price, and Profit* (1898), but it is unclear which edition was used in preparing the Chinese translation. (f, g)

A58. *Rensheng zhexue yu weiwu shiguan* (Philosophy of Life and the Materialist View of History), Kezuji (Karl Kausky), auth.; Guo Mengliang, Xu Liuji, and Huang Zhuo, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, October 1922.

Held in the National Library of China. The original is Karl Kautsky’s *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung* (1906), but the translation was executed on the basis of the English translation by John B. Andrews, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History* (1907). There is the possibility that the Japanese translation by Sakai Toshihiko, *Shakaishugi rinrigaku* (Socialist Ethics) (Heigo shuppansha, 1913) was consulted as well. The book is an explanation from a historical materialist perspective of ethical theories from Greek philosophy and Christian ethics through Kant’s philosophy; it is also an explication of Marx’s materialist view of history. In his afterword to his translation, *Weiwu shiguan jieshuo* (Explication of Historical Materialism) (see A26), Li Da encouraged readers additionally to read this work. This same volume was set to be published in a translation by Li Junpei (affiliated with the Guomindang) under the title *Shehuizhuyi lunlixue* (Socialist Ethics), but this never came to fruition. (g)

- A59. *Zibenzhuyi yu shehuizhuyi* (Capitalism and Socialism), Sailigemen (Edwin R. A. Seligman) and Nilin (Scott Nearing), auth.; Cen Dezhang, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1923.

Held in IMH. The original is a joint work by Edwin Seligman and Scott Nearing (1883–1983) entitled *A Public Debate, “Capitalism vs. Socialism”* (1921). It includes a debate between the two men over socialism. Translator Cen Dezhang (b. 1899) was from Xilin, Guangxi; after earning a master’s degree from Columbia University in the United States, he returned to China. It appears from his career that he obtained a copy of the English original of this work in the United States and translated from it. The same work was translated into Japanese by Kawakami Hajime: “Ichi keizaigakusha to ichi shakaishugisha to no tachiai enzetsu” (“Rival Speeches by an Economist and a Socialist”), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 38 (December 1921).

- A60. *Shehuizhuyi zhi yi* (The Significance of Socialism), Geleixi (J. Bruce Glasier), auth.; Liu Jianyang, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, January 1923.

Held in the Wuhan University Library. The original is J. Bruce Glasier (1859–1920), *The Meaning of Socialism* (Leicester, 1919). It is comprised of explanations of socialist theories. Nothing is known of the career of the translator, Liu Jianyang.

- A61. *Makesi jingjixue yuanli* (Principles of Marxist Economics), Entuomen (Ernest Untermann), auth.; Zhou Fohai, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, April 1923.

Held in the Shanghai Library. The original work was Ernest Untermann’s (1864–1956) *Marxian Economics: A Popular Introduction to Three Volumes of Marx’s “Capital”* (1913), although the translation was from the Japanese translation by Yamakawa Hitoshi, *Marukusu keizaigaku* (Marxian Economics) (Daitōkaku, 1921). This volume is an overview of Marx’s three-volume work, *Das Kapital*. Some two-thirds of the text is taken up by the author’s dissection of human history on the basis of historical materialism, thus making the work a history of the development of capitalism on the basis of historical materialism. Untermann’s work also was due out from Renmin chubanshe in a translation by Yang Shou, but that plan never materialized. (f, g)

- A62. *Weiwu shiguan qianshi* (Simple Explanation of Historical Materialism), Liu Yizhi, auth.; Xiang Jingyu, rev.; Shanghai shudian, April 1923.

Held in the National Library of China. This is an elementary text offering a simplified explanation of the meaning of historical materialism and a synopsis of the theory of class struggle. The Shanghai shudian was a CCP-affiliated book shop. Background on the translator Liu Yizhi is unknown. (f, g)

- A63. *Shehuizhuyi qianshuo* (Simple Explanation of Socialism), Mei Sheng, auth.; Xingwu, ed.; Jiaoyu yanjiuhui, April 1923.

Held in IMH and in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. Mei Sheng is given as author, but in fact the work is a translation (actually only chapter 2, “Socialism”) of Takabatake Motoyuki’s *Shakai mondai sōran* (Overview of Social Issues) (Kōbun shoin, 1920). It is comprised of a definition of socialism, the differences between Communism and collectivism, an explanation of socialist theories, and the directions being undertaken by socialist political parties in various countries. Takabatake’s work had earlier appeared in Chinese translations by Li Da (A23) and Meng Xi (A24). Details about translator Mei Sheng and reviser Xingwu are not available.

- A64. *Shehuizhuyi yu jinshi kexue* (Socialism and Modern Science), Anruige Foli (Enrico Ferri), auth.; Fei Juetian, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, May 1923.

Held in the Shanghai Library. The original work is Enrico Ferri’s (1856–1929) *Socialismo e scienza positiva: Darwin, Spencer, Marx* (1894). The Chinese edition, however, is a retranslation from the Japanese edition, *Kinsei kagaku to shakaishugi* (Modern Science and Socialism) (1921) by Kageda Saburō, which is itself a retranslation of the English translation by Robert Rives La Monte that appeared in 1909 as *Socialism and Modern Science (Darwin-Spencer-Marx)*. The Chinese translator Fei Juetian was Fei Bingduo, from Huangmei, Hubei. He was part of the circle around the journal *Guomin* while a student at Beijing University. He became a member of the socialism study group at Beijing University when it formed in December 1920 (*Beijing daxue rikan*, December 4, 1920).

- A65. *Ziben de lirun ji ziben de fasheng* (Capital Profit and Capital Generation), Peng Shoupu, trans.; Makeshizhuyi yanjiuhui (Marxism study group), May 1923.

Held in the National Library of China. According to the translator’s note, the original work was published in Russia and known as *Makesi xueshuo* (Marx’s Theories), but he does not make clear what this refers to. Two essays translated by Peng Shoupu, “Ziben de lirun” (“Capital Profit”) and “Ziben de chansheng” (“Capital Production”), were carried in the journal *Jinri* 2.4 (December 1922) and 3.1 (February 1923), and this work appears to be their publication as a separate volume. The publisher is given as “Makesi yanjiuhui” of Beijing; this was another organization from the Communist-affiliated Marxism Study Group of Beijing University. The “Zhongguo gongchanzhuyi tongzhizhui” (“Association of Chinese Communist Comrades”) of Hu Egong and others concentrated at the journal *Jinri* was founded in May 1922 (see Yang Kuisong and Dong Shiwei, *Haishishenlou yu damo lizhou: Zhongguo jindai shehuizhuyi sichao yanjiu* [Mirage and Oasis, Studies in Modern Chinese Socialist Trends], 185–187). No

details on the translator Peng Shoupu are known, but he did write frequently for *Jinri*, and he was a member of the “Zhongguo gongchanzhuyi tongzhahui” organized by Hu Egong, Peng Zixiang, and others.

- A66. *Jinshi shehuizhuyi lun* (On Modern Socialism), Yili (Richard T. Ely), auth.; Huang Zunsan, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, June 1923.

The original text is Richard T. Ely’s *French and German Socialism in Modern Times* (1883), although judging by the title of the Chinese translation and the translator, this is probably a retranslation of the Japanese translation by Kawakami Kiyoshi, *Kinsei shakaishugi ron*, ed. Tajima Kinji (Hōsōkaku shoin, rpt. 1919). The Japanese edition first appear in 1897, and a 1923 date for a translation seems rather late, but Huang Zunsan had this old volume at hand and executed the Chinese translation recalling the popularity of socialism at that earlier time. Huang is well known as the author of *Sanshinian riji* (Diary of Thirty Years); for details on his career, see this work by Huang, as well as its Japanese translation by Sanetō Keishū and Satō Saburō, *Shinkokujin Nihon ryūgaku nikki* (Diary of a Chinese Who Studied in Japan).

- A67. *Chen Duxiu xiansheng jiangyanlu* (Recorded Lectures by Mr. Chen Duxiu), Zhongguo shehuizhuyi qingniantuan Guangdong qu zhixing weiyuanhui (Guangdong regional executive of the Socialist Youth Corps of China), ed.; Guangzhou Dingbu tushushe, September 1923.

Held in the National Library of China. It is comprised of three sections—“1. Women weishenme xiangxin shehuizhuyi?” (“Why Do We Believe in Socialism?”); “2. Women xiangxin hezhong shehuizhuyi?” (“What Kind of Socialism Do We Believe In?”); and “3. Shehuizhuyi ruhe zai Zhongguo kaishi jinxing?” (“How Will Socialism Begin to Develop in China?”)—and an appendix, “Shehui zhi lishi de jinhua” (“The Historical Evolution of Society”). As the title indicates, these were all speeches by Chen Duxiu that were originally published as “Shehuizhuyi piping, zai Guangdong gongli fazheng xuexiao yanci” (“Critique of Socialism, Speeches Given at the Public Law and Administration School in Guangdong”) in *Guangdong qunbao* (January 19, 1921). (f)

- A68. *Furen he shehuizhuyi* (Women and Socialism), Yamakawa Kikue, auth.; Qi Senhuan, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, November 1923.

The original work is Yamakawa Kikue’s *Josei no hangyaku* (Women’s Treason) (Santokusha, 1922) and ten essays by Yamakawa—such as “Shakaishugi to fujin” (“Socialism and Women”), “Fujin undō no yon chōryū” (“Four Trends in the Women’s Movement”), and “Musun kaikyū no fujin undō” (“The Proletarian Women’s Movement”)—that appeared in a number of journals. Some of

these essays appeared earlier in *Funü zazhi* in Qi Senhuan's translations—such as “Wuchan jieji de funü yundong” (“The Proletarian Women's Movement”), *Funü zazhi* 9.1 (January 1921). The volume appends a biography of Yamakawa. Qi Senhuan translated other articles by Yamakawa into Chinese as well—for example, “Huijiaoguo de funü wenti” (“Women's Issues in Muslim Countries”), *Chenbao fujian* (November 14, 1922). Otherwise, no details about Qi are known.

A69. *Shehuizhuyi zhi sichao ji yundong* (Intellectuals Trends and the Movement for Socialism), 2 vols., Liedelai (Harry W. Laidler), auth.; Li Ji, trans.; Tao Ligong, rev.; Shangwu yinshuguan, November 1923.

Held in IMH. The original work is Harry Laidler's (1884–1970) *Socialism in Thought and Action* (1920). It is comprised of two parts: “Shehuizhuyi zhi sichao” (“Intellectuals Trends in Socialism”), a socialist critique of various socialist theories and capitalism; and “Shehuizhuyi zhi yundong” (“The Socialist Movement”), on the origins of internationalism, attitudes toward World War I of various socialist parties, and an overview of the socialist movement in various countries from 1914 through 1919. There is as well a fifteen-page appendix at the end of the volume with titles and explanations of English-language writings on socialism. Li Ji translated this as a continuation of his translation, *Shehuizhuyi shi* (History of Socialism) (see A14); he completed his work in March 1921, and an announcement of its publication appeared in *Xin qingnian* 9.1 (May 1921), but publication was actually delayed.

A70. *Eguo geming shi* (History of the Russian Revolution), Zhu Zhenxin, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, November 1923.

The original work is unknown. According to an advertisement in *Minguo ribao* (January 18, 1924), it was a detailed and exhaustive discussion of the causes and effects of the Russian Revolution. Zhu Zhenxin also contributed “Suweiai Eluosi de guoqu yu xianzai” (“Past and Present of Soviet Russia”) to *Laonong Eguo zhi kaocha* (Investigation of Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Russia) (see A75), which appears to have a connection with the content of this volume.

A71. *Shehuizhuyi chubu* (Rudiments of Socialism), Keerkapu (Thomas Kirkup), auth.; Sun Baigang, trans.; Zhonghua shuju, November 1923.

Held in the Jinbunken. The original work was Thomas Kirkup's *A Primer of Socialism* (1913), but the probability is high that the Chinese translation was executed on the basis of the Japanese translation by Machino Namiki, *Shakai shisō no henkaku* (Changes in Social Thought) (Shimoide shoten, 1921). To the digest of Kirkup's *A History of Socialism* (see A14), this work adds information on socialist thought at the time, with a simple overview from ancient economies

through the origins of socialist theories and outlines of various socialist factions (including the Bolsheviks). The translator Sun Baigang translated works of Japanese literature, including Kurata Hyakuzō's (1891–1943) *Shukke to sono deshi* (The Priest and His Disciples).

A72. *Shehuizhuyi shensui* (The Essence of Socialism), Kōtoku Shūsui, auth.; Gao Lao, trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1923.

The original was Kōtoku Shūsui's *Shakaishugi shinzui* (The Essence of Socialism) (Chōhōsha, 1903). This work demonstrates the highest level of research into socialism in Meiji-period Japan, but research at levels higher still continued in the era of Taishō democracy by such scholars as Sakai Toshihiko, Takabatake Motoyuki, and Yamakawa Hitoshi. The popularity of Kōtoku Shūsui, who was widely introduced to China in the late Qing, was maintained to a considerable extent in this era as well. The translator's name Gao Lao was a pseudonym used by the famous Du Yaquan (1873–1933), editor of *Dongfang zazhi*. This volume had earlier been published under the same title in a 1907 translation by Shuhun Yao, and Gao Lao's translation appeared serially in *Dongfang zazhi* 8.11–9.3 (1912). It was then compiled into book form and published separately.

A73. *Makesizhuyi yu weiwu shiguan* (Marxism and Historical Materialism), Fan Shoukang, Shi Cuntong et al., trans.; Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1923.

This is a collection of essays concerning Marxism in translation, previously published in *Dongfang zazhi*, including Fan Shoukang's rendering, "Makesi de weiwu shiguan" ("Marx's Historical Materialism"), 18.1 (January 1921), by Kawakami Hajime, originally entitled "Marukusu no shakaishugi no riron-teki taikei, sono san" ("The Theoretical System of Marx's Socialism, Part 3"), *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 3 (March 1919); and Shi Cuntong's rendering, "Weiwu shiguan zai Makesixue shang de weizhi" ("The Place of Historical Materialism in the Study of Marx"), 19.11 (June 1922), by Kushida Tamizō, "Marukusugaku ni okeru yuibutsu shikan no chii" ("The Place of the Materialist Conception of History in the Study of Marx"), *Warera* 2.10 (October 1920).

A74. *Jindai shehuizhuyi* (Modern Socialism), Dongfang zazhishe, ed.; Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1923.

This volume is comprised of seven essays previously published in *Dongfang zazhi*, including: Louis Levine, Qian Zhixiu, trans., "Lun gongtuanzhuyi zhi youlai jiqi zuoyong" ("On the Origins and Functions of Syndicalism"); Laoren, "Xin zuhezhuyi zhi zhaxue" ("Philosophy of the New Unionism"); Xichen, "Bi-anti zhi shehuizhuyi" ("The Socialism of Arthur J. Penty"); Xichen, "Keerheji-erte shehuizhuyi" ("[George Douglas Howard] Cole's Guild Socialism").

A75. *Laonong Eguo zhi kaocha* (Investigation of Worker-Peasant [Soviet] Russia), Dongfang zazhishe, ed.; Shangwu yinshuguan, December 1923.

Held in the IMH. This work is comprised of three essays concerned with Soviet Russia previously published: Zhu Zhenxin, “Suweiai Eluosi de guoqu yu xianzai” (“Past and Present of Soviet Russia”), originally in *Dongfang zazhi* 19.11; Lin Keyi, “Eguo weishenme gaixing xin jingji zhengce” (“Why Did Russia Change to a New Economic Policy?”), originally in *Dongfang zazhi* 19.15; and Luoluo and Xi Chen, “Laonong Eguo zhi mianmianguan” (“Soviet Russia Viewed from Numerous Aspects”) (unclear where it initially appeared).

B1. *Zhengzhi zhuyi tan* (Discussion of Political Ideologies), Chen Duxiu, auth.; Shi Cuntong, auth.?.; Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP. A fourteen-page pamphlet, the inset page has Shi Cuntong as author, the publisher as Shanghai yinshuju, and the printer as Shanghai shehuizhuyi yanjiushe (a date of publication is not given). The content is the essay “Tan zhengzhi,” which Chen Duxiu published in *Xin qingnian* 8.1 (September 1920); it appears to be a pamphlet prepared after the publication in *Xin qingnian*. Why the front page gives “Shi Cuntong” as the author is unclear.

B2. *Liangge gongren tanhua* (Two Workers Converse), Anlike Malaitesitai (Enrico Malatesta), auth.; Li Shaomu, trans.; Renmin chubanshe.

Held in the collection of the Commemorative Hall at the site of the First National Congress of the CCP and the National Library of China. No parenthetical information. According to an advertisement in *Xin qingnian* 9.6 (July 1922), this work had already been published by Renmin chubanshe. The translation seems to have been of Malatesta’s (1853–1932) *A Talk Between Two Workers*. This was an introductory pamphlet written in question-and-answer format, which, although of an anarchist bent, is thoroughly anticapitalist. Nothing is known of the career of translator Li Shaomu. (a, b)

APPENDIX 3

Shi Cuntong's Deposition

Following his arrest in December 1921, this deposition was given by Shi Cuntong when interrogated by the Metropolitan Police Department in Tokyo. It is included as an appendix entitled “Keishichō ni okeru Shi Sontō no chinjutsu yōryō” (“Essential Points of the Deposition of Shi Cuntong Given at the Metropolitan Police Department”) to “Shi Sontō no tsuihō tenmatsu” (“Circumstances of the Deportation of Shi Cuntong”), *Gaiji keisatsu hō* 10 (1922). Police additions are given in parentheses; author's and/or translator's notes are in brackets.

ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE DEPOSITION OF SHI CUNTONG GIVEN AT THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

A. Background

I (Shi Cuntong) left school in the third year of the First Hangzhou Normal School in Zhejiang Province and immediately joined the Beijing Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps located at No. 7 Doujikeng, Qihelou, Beijing. After about three months, I joined the editorial staff of *Xingqi pinglun* at No. 17 Sanyili, Baier Road, Shanghai. I left the journal because of pulmonary tuberculosis, and then came to Japan on July 10, 1920.

While receiving medical treatment, I studied at the Common Culture Academy [Dōbun shoin] in Tokyo, but that spring [1921] I withdrew and threw myself into the study of socialism.

B. Contacts with Socialist Groups in Shanghai

The socialist groups in Shanghai with which I had contacts were the Communist Party, the Socialist Youth Corps, and the Socialist University. Inasmuch as these were all secret groups, they had no specific offices, and I would communicate with comrades in various places using the address of the group's responsible person or a committee member as a contact point.

There were two Communist parties in Shanghai. One was founded by Chen Duxiu and followed a pure Marxism; the other was an organization associated with Huang Jiemin and followed a Marxism flavored with anarchism. I, however, was in touch with the former.

The Socialist Youth Corps was founded in August 1920 with the objective of effecting a movement. At present, Li Da largely takes care of its business at the residence at No. 625 Fudeli, Chengdu Road South, Shanghai, and Li Renjie is in charge. Li Da is also known as Li Heming, and Li Renjie is also called Li Hanjun. Both men have studied here [Japan].

The Socialist University is a correspondence school for ideological propaganda, founded in May 1920 by seven of us: Chen Duxiu, Yu Xiusong, Wu Ming (Wuwu), Li Renjie, Shen Ding (Xuanlu), Wang Zhongfu, and myself. The membership is the same as that of the Socialist Youth Corps, although the former are engaged primarily in practical action, and the latter aim at ideological propaganda.

Initially, we had contact in Shanghai with representatives of the Russian Bolsheviks [probably, Voitinsky] and received about one thousand yen each month for expenses. They also compensated our officers with thirty yen monthly. The year before last [actually, 1920] contacts with them broke down, and we are now not receiving any assistance at all from those representatives. We have about sixty students now. Among them, from China proper are eleven from Changsha, nine from Wuchang, ten from Jinan, seven from Guangzhou, five from Beijing, and eighteen from Shanghai. From outside [China], there are two from Japan, two from France, and one from Russia. And, *there are two students in Japan: Zhou Fohai at Number Seven High School in Kagoshima and myself.*

The organizations mainly used newspapers and magazines as means of propaganda. The Socialist University, on the other hand, mostly adopted correspondence.

There was also an Esperanto school in the French Concession as a school propagating other ideologies. It published *Ziyou* as its organ, and Xie Jinqing and I were the journal's representatives in Japan. Right now it has suspended publication, and we have no contact at present whatsoever.

The journal *Gongchandang* which was banned for importation to Japan is printed at an unknown site. I cannot say for certain if it is connected with the aforementioned Communist Party or not. I have a subscription through the Gonghe Bookstore in Guangzhou.

Among the Chinese students in Japan at present, aside from Zhou Fohai and myself, we have no other comrades at all, and thus I have become the Shanghai Communist Party's representative in Japan. I am not a representative

to other students in Japan, but to forge communication between the Shanghai Communist Party and Japanese socialists.

C. My Relations with Chinese Ideologists

While studying at Hangzhou Normal School, I published an article entitled “Feixiao” [Anti-filiality] which rejected Confucianism and repudiated filial piety. This essay was, however, quite well received by Chinese youth, and I gradually became recognized among ideologists. I gained opportunities to make contact with comrades and became friendly with them. Principal among them were Chen Duxiu, Dai Tianchou, Li Da, Zhang Guotao, Yu Xiusong, Huang Bihun (a woman), Li Chuo, Zhou Fohai, Xie Jinqing, Li Renjie, Yang Mingzhai, Li Heming, Zhemin [Fei Zhemin], Li Lingdan, and Shao Lizi, among others. I exchanged letters with them even after coming to Japan. I particularly respect Chen Duxiu and Dai Tianchou. These two men have provided me with living expenses.

Xie Jinqing (presently in Shanghai and an important person under police surveillance) is an acquaintance of mine but not a comrade. He is an anarchist, as are Luo Huo and Chen Chunpei. Their views are, however, slightly different from the group associated with Ōsugi Sakae.

Huang Bihun is a woman, thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, a legislator from Xiangshan County, Guangdong Province. She is an important figure in the women’s educational federation of Shanghai and Guangzhou. Her husband works in a company from Shanghai, but he is now an official in Guangdong.

Yu Xiusong is a fellow student. We worked together on the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps in Shanghai [*sic*, Beijing] and on the staff at *Xingqi pinglun* in Shanghai, but he left for Moscow in January [1921] and I have no news of him since.

Shao Lizi is editor of *Juewu*, a supplement to *Guomin ribao* in Shanghai. While resident in Shanghai, I contributed pieces to *Juewu*, and he contributed pieces to *Xingqi pinglun*, a weekly newspaper with which I had contacts. Our relations have grown accordingly.

D. Contacts with Japanese Socialists

Japanese socialists with whom I have had contact until now include Sakai Toshihiko, Takatsu Masamichi, Ii Kei (another name for Kondō Eizō, a corruption from the Romanized capital letters E. K.), Miyazaki Ryūsuke, Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Takase Kiyoshi.

I first met Sakai Toshihiko around December of the year before last [1920]. I was asked by Li Da to forward a letter to Sakai regarding an inquiry to the blank spots [censored] in an article Sakai had contributed to the journal *Kaizō*. With an introduction arranged by Xie Jinqing, I went to visit Sakai together with a Korean by the name of Kwōn [probably Kwōn Hui-guk].

The next time was when I was asked in February of last year [1921] by Li Renjie in Shanghai to purchase a copy of a work entitled *Kūsōteki oyobi*

kagakuteki shakaishugi (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific), which Baibunsha was due to bring out at the time; and when I introduced Zhang Taili who had recently been dispatched from Shanghai by a representative of the Russian Bolsheviks.

I met Takatsu Masamichi three or four months ago at the YMCA in Kanda Mitoshiro-chō and at the Chinese YMCA, but I never visited his home.

Miyazaki Ryūsuke's father [Miyazaki Tōten] was an acquaintance of Dai Tianchou, and I came to know both father and son through Dai. From to time, I visited them at their home.

I went with my friend Tang Bokun to visit Yamakawa Hitoshi around September of last year [1921] at his home. Later, I asked him about some spots in an essay he had written for *Kaizō* in which passages had been blotted out, and finally sometime in November or early December when Zhou Fohai, then in Kagoshima, was on his way to Shanghai, I carried a letter addressed to Yamakawa from the Russian Bolshevik leader S (Semeshko?); because Zhou was unable to make the trip to Tokyo, I was asked to hand deliver it, and so I brought the letter to Yamakawa.

At that time, Yamakawa said to me: "As you will acknowledge, numerous Japanese socialists are now under indictment, and the Japanese delegate who arrived from Irkutsk has also been indicted. Please have your friends in Shanghai inform the Japanese who is the Irkutsk delegate now residing in Shanghai of this matter, and I trust that your return home will be a safe one." I recalled who that Japanese was at the time, but forget now.

E. My Relations with Zhang Taili

Zhang was also known as Zhang Fu. He is from Jiangsu Province; he abandoned his studies at Beiyang University in Tianjin in midstream. He is now a member of the Shanghai Socialist Youth Corps, though not a leader.

On October 5, he came to visit me carrying a letter of introduction from Zhou Fohai who was then in Shanghai and charged with a task by S (apparently, Semeshko), the Russian Bolshevik in Shanghai. He appealed to me for an introduction to Sakai, and the following day I went with Zhang to visit Sakai Toshihiko at his home and introduced Zhang to him and to Ii (Kondō). He delivered directly into Sakai's hands ten 100-yen notes issued by the Bank of Chosen which he said were for propaganda expenses. I was asked by Ii to change 500 yen of this money [i.e., half of it]; the following day I went to a branch of the Bank of Chosen to change the money, and then walked to Sakai's home and handed the money over to Ii.

I received 100 yen from Zhang in Bank of Chosen currency and used it to pay my rent which was in arrears.

About the 13th of that month, Zhang boarded the train at Tokyo station and headed for Shanghai. I have had no contact with him since.

Abbreviations

A number of files from the Diplomatic Record Office of the Gaimushō (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) used in this study are listed in the notes and bibliography under the following alphabetical listings:

- A: “Kagekiha sonota kicenshugisha torishimari kankei zakken, honpōjin no bu, shugisha meibo” (“Matters Concerning Control Over Bolsheviks and Other Dangerous Ideologists, Section for Japanese, Name List of Ideologists”), file 4-3-2-1-1-1.
- B: “Kagekiha sonota kicenshugisha torishimari kankei zakken, gaikokujin no bu, Shinakokujiin” (“Matters Concerning Control Over Bolsheviks and Other Dangerous Ideologists, Section for Foreigners, Chinese”), file 4-3-2-1-2-1.
- C: “Kagekiha sonota kicenshugisha torishimari kankei zakken, shakai undō jōkyō, Shina” (“Matters Concerning Control Over Bolsheviks and Other Dangerous Ideologists, Circumstances Surrounding the Social Movement, China”), file 4-3-2-1-4-5.
- D: “Yōshisatsu gaikokujiin no kyodō kankei zassan, Shinakokujiin no bu” (“Matters Concerning the Behavior of Foreigners Worthy of Observation, Section for Chinese”), file 4-3-1-2-5.
- E: “Gaikokujiin taikyo shobun kankei zakken, Eikokujiin” (“Matters Concerning the Deportation of Foreigners, British”), file 4-2-6-21-3.
- F: “Gaikokujiin taikyo shobun kankei zakken, Shinakokujiin” (“Matters Concerning the Deportation of Foreigners, Chinese”), file 4-2-6-21-8.
- G: “Zai honpō Shinkoku ryūgakusei kankei zassan, zatsu no bu” (“Matters Concerning Chinese Students in Japan, Various Issues”), file 3-10-5-3-6.

At many points in the notes and bibliography, after the document’s title (rendered in English translation), simply “document X” is given. This “X”

indicates a number in the various documentary collections on the Comintern and China:

- VKP(b), *Komintern i Natsional'no-Revoliutsionnoie Dvizheniie v Kitaie: Dokumenty*, T. I. (1920–1925) (Moscow: AO “Buklet,” 1994); T. II. (1926–1927) (Moscow: AO “Buklet,” 1996); T. III. (1927–1931) (Moscow: AO “Buklet,” 1999).
- RKP(B), *Komintern und die national-revolutionäre Bewegung in China: Dokumente. Bund I. (1920–1925)* (Munich: F. Schöningh, 1996); *Band 2. (1926–1927)* (Munich: F. Schöningh, 1998).
- Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi diyianjiubu, trans. *Liangong (Bu)*, *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1920–1926)* (The Soviet Communist Party [Bolsheviks], the Communist International, and the National Revolutionary Movement in China, 1920–1926) (Beijing: Beijing tushuguang chubanshe, 1997); *Liangong (Bu)*, *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1926–1927)* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguang chubanshe, 1998).
- Li Yuzhen, trans. *Liangong*, *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo (1920–1925)* (The Soviet Communist Party, the Communist International, and China, 1920–1925) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1997), vol. 1.

Notes

INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

1. Yuan Guangquan, trans., *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*.
2. Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Wo zenyang xiezuo *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*,” *Bainian chao* 7 (2001).
3. My “Introduction to the Chinese edition” was later published under the title “*Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* chuban hou de buchong shuoming” in *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu*, 6: 501–503.
4. Zhu Wentong, “Ye tan dui ‘Yuanquan’ bushi Li Dazhao biming wenti de kaozheng”; Wu Erhua, “Guanyu ‘Yuanquan’ bushi Li Dazhao de kaozheng wenti zhi wojian”; Xu Quanxing, “Youguan ‘Yuanquan’ de kaozheng ji qita, dui *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* de yidian pinglun.”
5. In fact, in note 29 to chapter 1, I point out that there were writings in China that mentioned the achievements of Chen Puxian (Yuanquan), and my 1991 essay cited in this note also mentions a number of such Chinese writings.
6. Wang Wenqing, “Dui ‘Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi’ de jidian butong yijian,” *Bainian chao* 6 (2006).
7. Tian Ziyu, “*Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* shifei de sange wenti,” *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 1 (2007); Tian Ziyu, “Ye tan xuefeng yu fangfa, dui Xu Quanxing xiansheng de huiying,” *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 5 (2009).
8. Xu Quanxing, “Xuefeng yu fangfa, dui Tian Ziyu xiansheng chidao de huiying,” *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 3 (2009).
9. Document 9 in K. Shevelev, “K 80-letiiu obrazovaniia Kompartii Kitaia, novye dokumenty,” *Problemy Dal’nego Vostoka* 4 (2001). The document can be found in Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 495.154.59.4–5).

10. For an examination of the Chinese representatives at the early congresses (the first four) of the Comintern, see Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Shoki Komin-terun taikai no Chūgoku daihyō,” in *Shoki Komin-terun to Higashi Ajia*, which offers a more detailed discussion of this issue.

INTRODUCTION

1. Sometimes the building’s address is given as 3 Shudeli, Rue Admiral Bayle, because it was an apartment house located at the intersection of Rue Wantz and Rue Admiral Bayle.

2. On the discovery and confirmation of this site after the founding of the People’s Republic of China as the location of the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party, see Shen Zhiyu, “‘Yida’ huizhi shi zenyang zhao-daode,” *Shanghai*; and Ye Yonglie, *Hongse de qidian*, 1–12.

3. *Shanghai yūki*, in *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū*, 5:47–48. On this meeting between Akutagawa and Li Hanjun, see Aoyagi Tatsuo, “Ri Jinketsu ni tsuite: Akutagawa Ryūnosuke *Shina yūki* chū no jinbutsu,” *Kokubungaku gengo to bungei*; Shan Yuanchao, “Shanghai no Akutagawa Ryūnosuke: Kyōsantō no daihyōsha Ri Jinketsu to sono sesshoku”; and Sekiguchi Yasuyoshi, *Tokuhain Akutagawa Ryūnosuke*.

4. *Shanghai yūki*, in *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū*, 5: 48–49.

5. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1:134; English translation, Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party: The Autobiography of Chang Kuo-t’ao*, 137. See also “Maring’s Report to the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the Profintern” (May 31, 1923), in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 539; and in Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyi Guo-Gong hezuo*, 191.

6. *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū*, 11:147–148. Reading this letter, it would appear that it was Sawamura who had introduced Li to Akutagawa. On Sawamura, see Hagino Shūji, “‘Shinatsū’ ni tsuite”; and Hagino Shūji, “Aru ‘Shinatsū’ no kiseki, Sawamura Yukio ni tsuite.”

7. In their essay, “Shinian lai dang de chuangli shiqi yanjiu shuping,” Xue Cheng and Feng Chunyang estimate that between 1991 and 2001, the number of articles dealing with the founding of the CCP reached over 1,500. Taking full account of such a huge quantity of materials is impossible, but for now, in addition to the essay by Xue and Feng, see Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Zhonggong chuangjian shi yanjiu shuping.”

8. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi yishi, 22. On the propriety of this official view, there have been debates even in China. For example, see Wang Xueqi and Zhang Jichang, “Dui Zhongguo Gongchandang shi Makesi-Lieningzhuyi tong Zhongguo gongren yundong xiangjiehe de chanwu de zai-renshi”; and Cao Zhongbin and Du Jun, “Lun Zhongguo Gongchandang shi Makesi-Lieningzhuyi tong Zhongguo gongren yundong xiangjiehe de chanwu, yu Wang Xueqi, Zhang Jichang shangque.”

9. Mao Zedong, “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship, Commemorating the 28th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party” (June 30, 1949), in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, 413.

10. One example in China of the reception of Western civilization via the intermediacy of Japan concerns the thought of Liang Qichao. See the detailed studies in Hazama Naoki, *Kyōdō kenkyū Ryō Keichō: Seiyō kindai shisō juyō to Meiji Nihon*.

11. Li Dazhao, “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan,” 15. This phrase is based on the opening portion of part 1, chapter 8 (“Nankai naru Kaaru Marukusu” [“Karl Marx, Difficult to Understand”]) of a work by the Japanese economist Fukuda Tokuzō (1874–1930), *Zoku keizaigaku kenkyū*. See Gotō Nobuko, “Ri Taishō to Marukusushugi keizaigaku.”

12. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi,” 313.

13. Murata Yōichi, *Kominterun shiryōshū*, 308–315, 625. Virtually the only article solely on the Baku conference is Itō Shūichi, “Bakū no Tōhō shominzoku taikai ni tsuite.”

14. This by no means says that all the documents in the Moscow archives have been opened to scholars. For example, even among the materials held in the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI, formerly the Russian Center for Study and Preservation of Documents of Contemporary History), which now contains the most frequently used documents, materials (1,222 files) classified in Archive 514 (Chinese Communist Party) are generally closed for the reason that priority for their use lies with the CCP.

15. Since 1994 the Institute of Far Eastern Studies (Institut Dal’nego Vostoka) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Free University in Berlin have begun publishing collections of Soviet archival documents concerned with the Chinese revolution. See VKP(b), *Komintern i Natsional’no-Revoliutsionnoe Dvizhenie v Kitaie: Dokumenty*, T. I. (1920–1926); T. II. (1926–1927); T. III. (1927–1931); German translation: RKP(B), *Komintern und die national-revolutionäre Bewegung in China: Dokumente. Band 1. (1920–1925); Band 2. (1926–1927)*; Chinese translation: Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi diyiyanjiubu, trans., *Lianggong (Bu), Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1920–1926)*; *Lianggong (Bu), Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1926–1927)*; Li Yuzhen, trans., *Lianggong, Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo (1920–1925)*, vol. 1.

16. For the best work on these two individuals to date, see on Voitinsky, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Soviet Academy of Sciences, Mōri Kazuko and Honjō Hisako, trans., *Chūgoku kakumei to Soren no komontachi; Weijingsiji zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao*. On Maring, see *Malin zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao*; Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*; and Li Yuzhen, *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*.

17. Known in Chinese as “Zhonggong zhuzai Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang’an.” For details on the return of these documents, see Pei Tong, “Yijiuwuliu nian fu-Sulian jieshou dang’an zhuiyi.”

18. From 1990, just prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, through the following years, a number of these documents appear to have been repatriated to China. See Ma Guifan, “Fu-Su chayue Gongchanguiji dang’an qingkuang shulüe”; and “Su-Gong Zhongyang dang’an gongzuo daibiaotuan xiang Zhongyang dang’anguan yijiao yipi dang’an ziliao.” However, these materials have not as yet been made public.

19. “*Yida*” *qianhou*, eds. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming bowuguan dang shi yanjiushi.
20. Mori Tokihiko, “Chūgoku ni okeru kinkō kengaku undō kenkyū no dōkō”; and Mori Tokihiko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō ryo-Ō shibu no seiritsu.”
21. Concerning the initial thirteen members at the founding meeting of the CCP, a series of biographies, one for each man, was published in 1997: Zheng Hui and Zhang Jinglu, *Zhonggong Yida daibiao congshu*.
22. “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui,” 556.

1. THE RECEPTION OF MARXISM IN CHINA

1. For details concerning the dissemination of socialist thought in China in the late-Qing years, see Hazama Naoki, *Chūgoku shakaishugi no reimei*; and Martin Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907*.
2. Zhou Fohai, “Shixing shehuizhuyi yu fazhan shiye.”
3. Yang Jiyuan, “Mao Zedong”; Takeuchi Minoru, *Mō Takutō*, 49–56.
4. Carr, 1917: *Before and After*, 8. Japanese translation by Minamizuka Shingo, *Roshia kakumei no kōsatsu*, 16–17.
5. Carr, 1917: *Before and After*, 9.
6. For an examination of the importance attached to theory, principles, and ideology in contemporary revolution and the enormous influence they have exercised in actual movements, as well as a discussion of how “intellectuals” as leaders of revolutionary movements have tended to garner legitimacy and authority on the basis of “knowledge,” see Gouldner, *The Future of Intellectuals and the New Class*; Japanese translation by Harada Tōru, *Chi no shihonron*. In this chapter, I place considerable weight on the modern quality in which “guidance based on knowledge” and the important role shouldered by intellectuals can be stunningly found in virtually every country in which there has been a revolution of Marxist origins.
7. Minami Hiroshi and Shakai shinri kenkyūjo, *Taishō bunka 1905–1927*, 299.
8. Shimizu Yasuzō, *Shina shinjin to reimei undō*, 162, 167.
9. Luo Jialun, “Jinri Zhongguo zhi zazhi jie,” *Xinchao* 1.4 (April 1919).
10. Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju yanjiushi, ed., *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao*.
11. The rate of illiteracy in China in the 1920s has been estimated at roughly 80 percent. See Hazama Naoki et al., *Dēta de miru Chūgoku kindai shi*, 34. Also, Patterson has estimated that the percentage of people who “were capable of reading and digesting magazines and newspapers” in China in the early 1920s was about 1 in 400. Cited in Chen, *The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai*, 61.
12. Zhang Zhaokui, *Zhongguo chuban shi gaiyao*, 299.
13. Chen Wangdao, “Huiyi dang chengli shiqi de yixie qingkuang.”
14. “Wenhua shushe diyici yingye baogao,” 53–54; and “Wenhua shushe shewu baogao,” 64.

15. For a useful overview of supplements to Chinese newspapers, see Wang Wenbin, *Zhongguo baozhi de fukan*, although the entries on each supplement are unfortunately meager.

16. For a detailed analysis of newspapers in publication during the May Fourth period, see Koseki Nobuyuki, *Goshi jiki no jaanarizumu*.

17. On the history of translations into Chinese of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, we have the following literature: Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju Ma-En shi, *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo zai Zhongguo de chuanbo*; Beijing tushuguan Ma-Lie zhuzuo yanjiushi, *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo Zhongyiwen zonglu*; and Beijing tushuguan, *Liening zhuzuo zai Zhongguo*. In addition, for essays concerned with socialism that were published in China, see *Shehuizhuyi sixiang zai Zhongguo de chuanbo (ziliao xuanji)*. However, a problem remains as to the basis for the translations given in these bibliographies and collections. In other words, in most instances, Chinese translations at the time were actually retranlations from Japanese or English, but we have no information on which texts were used.

18. Han Yide and Yao Weidou, *Li Dazhao shengping jinian*, 72.

19. In terms of factional affiliations, *Chenbao* and *Shishi xinbao* were associated with the Research Clique—that is, heavily influenced by the group connected to Liang Qichao (1873–1929). On the political and cultural activities in the Republican period of Liang and his associates in the Research Clique, see Zhang Pengyuan, *Liang Qichao yu Minguo zhengzhi*.

20. It is impossible to list here all of the prior studies of Marxism in China, but the history of research on the reception of Marxism by Chinese in Japan has been comprehensively treated in relation to research on Li Dazhao's thought in Maruyama Matsuyuki, "Sankō bunken mokuroku"; Gotō Nobuko, "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku kindai shisō shi kenkyū"; and Li Quanxing et al., *Li Dazhao yanjiu cidian*.

21. See Koseki Nobuyuki, *Goshi undō no jaanarizumu*, 107.

22. Wang Jionghua (1988) assumes that the translator of "Mashi weiwu shiguan gaiyao" was Li Da (1890–1966), one of the principal members of the CCP in its formative era, but because Li Da was then a student in Japan and he contributed no other pieces to *Chenbao*, this assumption seems unwarranted.

23. Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju Ma-En shi, *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo zai Zhongguo de chuanbo*, 248.

24. Kawakami Hajime, "Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu."

25. "Mashi Zibenlun shiyi" was published as a separate volume in September 1920. Where there were blank spots in the Japanese text, Chen Puxian (pseud. Yuanquan) filled in the spaces at the time of publication in China. He wrote a letter to Takabatake requesting the Japanese words that were missing, but he never received a reply. See Chen Puxian, trans., *Makesi jingji xueshuo*, 3.

26. Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju yanjiushi, *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao*, 98; *Li Dazhao zhuan*, 58.

27. "Li Shouchang qishi."

28. The popular view that Li participated in editing *Chenbao* or *Chenbao fukan* apparently originates in a mistaken note in Cheng Gang, "Li Dazhao

tongzhi kang-Ri douzheng shi lüe,” stating that Li served as a senior editor for *Chenbao*. This was widely reported, and, combined with the belief that he contributed articles to *Chenbao fukan*, this led to claims such as “He helped in establishing a special column in *Chenbao* devoted to Marxist studies” (see Zhang Jingru et al., *Li Dazhao shengping shiliao biannian*, 75); and “Under Li Dazhao’s influence, articles such as ‘Jinshi shehuizhuyi bizu Makeshi zhi fendou shengya’ (“The Struggling Career of Marx, Founder of Modern Socialism”) appeared among the people who had originally been involved with *Chenbao*” (see Li Longmu, *Wusi shiqi sixiang shilun*, 198).

29. For a discussion of past explanations of the pen name “Yuanquan” and my own background research to warrant the statement that this was Chen Puxian’s pseudonym, see Ishikawa, “Ri Taishō no Marukusushugi juyō.” In recent years, Chinese scholars have come to the same conclusion about Chen Puxian; see, for example, Tang Baolin, *Makeshizhuyi zai Zhongguo 100 nian*, 86–87.

30. For information on Chen’s life and career, see Ye Mingxun and Huang Xuecun, “Zhuiyi Chen Bosheng xiansheng”; Jiang Liangfu, *Lidai mingren nianli beizhuan zongbiao*; Shina kenkyūkai, *Saishin Shina kanshin roku*; Gaimushō jōhōbu, *Gendai Chūka minkoku Manshū teikoku jinmei roku*; and Hashikawa Tokio, *Chūgoku bunkakai jinmin sōkan*.

31. As far as I have been able to tell, there is only one piece that offers any insight into the Li-Chen relationship: Liang Shuming, “Huiyi Li Dazhao xiansheng,” 89. Liang notes only that in April 1927, when Li was captured and executed by Zhang Zuolin (1875–1928), Chen went to the temple where Li’s remains were being held. This would enable us to conjecture in a vague way that the two men continued their relationship after the May Fourth era.

32. *Chenbao fukan*, November 6, 1919.

33. *Chenbao fukan*, November 18, 1919.

34. Neither of these pieces was signed, but from their content we can discern them to be the work of Chen Puxian.

35. Yuanquan, “Dongyou suigan lu (shi).”

36. Yuanquan, “Shenme jiaozuo weixian sixiang.”

37. “Liminghui (Yiyue wuri Dongjing tongxun) Jiye boshi.” This piece carried what appears to be a translation of a letter from Yoshino addressed to the *Meizhou pinglun* group, and in it there are mentions of Li and his colleagues sending Yoshino *Meizhou pinglun* as well as Yoshino promising to present them with *Reimeikai kōenshū* (Collection of Dawn Society Speeches). On this essay, see Matsuo Takayoshi, “Goshi ki ni okeru Yoshino Sakuzō to Ri Taishō”; and Matsuo Takayoshi, *Minponshugi to teikokushugi*.

38. Li Dazhao, letter to Hu Shi (dated March 1919), in *Li Dazhao wenji*, 286.

39. Mingming (Li Dazhao), “Zhu Liminghui,” 283–284.

40. On the exchanges between Li Dazhao and Yoshino Sakuzō, as well as the Beijing University student delegation’s visit to Japan, see Matsuo Takayoshi, “Minponshugisha to Goshi undō”; and “Goshi ki ni okeru Yoshino Sakuzō to Ri Taishō.” See also Wang Xiaoqiu, “Li Dazhao yu Wusi shiqi de Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu”; and Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Yoshino Sakuzō to 1920 nen no Pekin daigaku gakusei hō-Nichi dan.”

41. I learned of this article from Matsuo, “Minponshugisha to Goshi undō.”
42. From July to August 1919, Chen made two trips to Japan, and on one occasion he received an invitation and paid a visit to Yoshino; the two men spoke of an exchange between Chinese and Japanese professors and students. See Yuanquan, “Fangwen Jiye Zuoao boshi ji.” In entries in Yoshino’s diary for August 8, 11, and 29, we find mention of Chen Puxian’s visit. See *Yoshino Sakuzō senshū*, 214, 217.
43. “Zhi Gongqi Longzhu” (dated April 27, 1920), privately held by Miyazaki Tomoo. This letter can also be found in *Li Dazhao wenji*, 294, but in the names of the senders—Chen Qixiu, Chen Puxian, and Li Dazhao—the character for “Pu” in Chen Puxian’s name is written incorrectly.
44. Hazama Naoki, *Chūgoku shakaishugi no reimei*, 88–90.
45. Feng Ziyu, *Shehuizhuyi yu Zhongguo*, 11.
46. Article in *Jiji shinpō*, June 9, 1919. I learned of this article from Kinbara Samon, *Shōwa e no taidō*.
47. Seki Chūka et al., *Zasshi “Kaizō” no yonjū nen*, 40–46.
48. “Marukusu shuppankai o attō suru *Shihonron kaisetsu*,” *Kaihō* (January 1920).
49. Wang Guangqi, “Gongdu huzhutuan.”
50. “Shanghai Shishi xinbao Beijing Chenbao gongtong qishi.” According to this article, no Chinese newspaper until this point had placed a special correspondent in Europe or the United States. Next to Chen Puxian, we find the name of Qu Qiubai (1899–1935), a correspondent to Russia who would later become a leader of the CCP.
51. That the first half of Li’s “Wo de Makesizhuyi guan” was based on Kawakami’s essay and the latter half largely on Fukuda’s work has been demonstrated, respectively, each with charts comparing language, in Li Dazhao, “Watakushi no Marukusushugi kan (jō),” trans. Saitō Michihiko, and Gotō Nobuko, “Ri Taishō to Marukusushugi keizaigaku.” For specialized essays on Li Dazhao and the influence of Kawakami Hajime on Chinese Marxism, see Zheng Xuejia, “Heshang Zhao yu Zhongguo Gongchanzhuyi yundong”; Yang Kuisong, “Li Dazhao yu Heshang Zhao, jian tan Li Dazhao zaoqi de Makesizhuyi guan”; and Gotō Nobuko, “Ri Taishō to Nihon bunka: Kawakami Hajime Taishō ki no zasshi.”
52. In his memoirs, Gao Yihan (1884–1968), a friend of Li Dazhao, recounted that Li came into contact with Marxism through Kawakami Hajime when he was studying in Japan (1914–1916); this memoir would indicate that even before the May Fourth Movement, Li had accepted Marxism. See Gao Yihan, “Huiyi Li Dazhao tongzhi.” That this supposition is incorrect is clearly shown by Gotō Nobuko in her essay “Ri Taishō to Nihon bunka,” which examines the content of Gao’s memoir.
53. At this time in 1919, although Kawakami Hajime had introduced Marxism in the journal *Shakai mondai kenkyū*, he expressed doubts about the materialist view of history in Marxism; it was not just material reform, but the need for the liberation of the human soul through ethics, he argued. Sakai Toshihiko was critical of Kawakami’s ideas at this time, calling it the “dualism of spirit and flesh,” and pointing out a deeply rooted, moralistic tendency. See Sakai, “Kawakami Hajime kun o hyōsu.”

54. On the relationship between Li Dazhao and Kayahara Kazan, see Ishikawa, “Ri Taishō no Marukusushugi juyō” and “Tōzai bunmei ron to Nit-Chū no rondan.”

55. Li’s essay “Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong” quotes from the translations and essays of Sakai Toshihiko—contained in Sakai’s *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara*—indicating that Li had seen this work by Sakai in this period.

56. On the Japan Socialist League, see Fujii Tadashi, “Nihon shakaishugi dōmei no rekishiteki igi, ‘daidō danketsu’ kara ‘kyōdō sensen’ e.”

57. Li Dazhao’s joining the Japan Socialist League and the role played in it by Maruyama Kōichirō are introduced in Yamabe Kentarō, “Pari komiyūn hyakunen to Nihon,” and Gotō Nobuko, “Ri Taishō shiryō shūi, narabi ni oboegaki.”

58. Aside from Li Dazhao, participants with Chinese- or Korean-sounding names include Lü Panshi, Zhao Wenmo, Chen Quanrong, Zhang Shengwu, Huang Dengming, Lin Juewen, and Liu Laizhen, among others. On the topic of Chinese and Koreans who joined the Japan Socialist League, see Matsuo Takayoshi, “Kosumo kurabu shōshi.”

59. On Maruyama’s activities in Beijing, see Iikura Shōhei, “Pekin shūhō to Junten jihō”; and Yamashita Tsuneo, “Hakkō no senkusha Maruyama Konmei.”

60. Shimizu Yasuzō, “Kaioku Ro Jin, kaisō no Chūgokujin (1).”

61. Fukenshi sei (pseud., Shimizu Yasuzō), “Ri Taishō no shisō oyobi jinbutsu.”

62. Naimushō Keihokyoku, “Honpō shakaishugisha museifushugisha meibo.” At the same time, Maruyama was meeting with such writers as Zhou Zuoren (1885–1967) and Lu Xun (1881–1936), and from about 1922, he was the first in Japan, through the pages of *Pekin shūhō*, to translate and introduce the results of the literary revolution in the writings of Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, Xie Bingxin (1900–1999), and others. In this manner, Maruyama, among the Japanese then resident in Beijing, energetically supported the new literature in China. In 1924, however, he contracted nephritis and passed away that September in his native Nagano. He was only twenty-nine years of age.

63. Gotō Nobuko, “Ri Taishō ni okeru katoki no shisō, ‘Busshin ryōmen no kaizō’ ni tsuite”; Saitō Michihiko, “Busshitsu hendō to dōtoku hendō.” Saitō is doubtful if Li’s quotations from Sakai came from the banned number of *Shin shakai*, arguing that it would have been natural, since Sakai’s essays were collected later and openly published (August 1919) in *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara*, for Li to have read Sakai’s work not in *Shin shakai* but in *Yuibutsu shikan no tachiba kara*.

64. Li Dazhao, “Yaxiya qingnian de guangming yundong,” 176–77.

65. In *Li Dazhao wenji*; Yamakawa’s essay appeared in *Chūgai* (February 1919).

66. In *Li Dazhao wenji*; Yamakawa’s essay appeared in *Kaihō* (June 1919).

67. “Faqi Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui qishi.”

68. “Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui tonggao (si).” There are numerous errors and misprints in the titles and authors given on this list. To get an accurate sense of the publishing situation of works on socialism at this time, one needs to compare this with other materials.

69. Zhu Wushan, “Huiyi Beida Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui.” On the baby chick introduced here as something from Kawakami Hajime, this reference comes from Kawakami, *Yuibutsu shikan kenkyū*, chapter 1.

70. Shao Piaoping was a journalist for the newspaper *Jingbao* (Capital News); he diligently worked to introduce socialist thought in the Beijing area during the May Fourth era and reported on the Russian Revolution. In 1920 he published three works with Taidong tushuju or the Commercial Press—*Zonghe yanjiu geguo shehui sichao*, *Xin Eguo zhi yanjiu*, and *Shiyezhe wenti* (see appendix 2, where these works are introduced)—which were the result of his reports while resident in Japan as an advisor to the *Ōsaka asahi shinbun* from late 1919. He thus served as an intermediary in bringing Japanese currents of thought to China. For more detail, see Xu Wen, *Shao Piaoping zhuanlie*.

71. According to Chen Puxian, “Cong Beijing dao Xigong,” he left Beijing as correspondent to Great Britain on November 20, 1920, and headed for Britain via France. There is also the view that Chen’s trip to Britain was a European voyage supported by the bourgeois class in the post-May Fourth era. Also see Xu Deheng, “Wusi yundong liushi zhounian.” Chen returned to China in October 1922, and from November 1 resumed his job for *Chenbao*. See “Chen Puxian qishi,” *Chenbao*.

72. “Genron dan’atsu no kigeki, Shina LT sei yori.” This letter that Shanghai socialists sent to Sakai Toshihiko noted that the suppression of Marxist materials by the Beijing government did not directly extend as far as Shanghai.

73. Strictly speaking, the GMD had not yet formally been launched—Sun Yat-sen’s group, the Zhonghua Gemingdang (China revolutionary party), was reorganized into the Zhongguo Guomindang in October 1919—and thus we probably should not refer to those affiliated with Sun as members of the GMD, but for convenience sake, we shall refer to them as aligned with the GMD.

74. For greater detail on the cultural activities of those associated with the GMD in the era of the May Fourth Movement, see Lü Fangshang, *Geming zhi zaiqi*, and Liu Yongming, *Guomindang ren yu Wusi yundong*.

75. Xie Yingbo (1882–1939), also affiliated with the GMD, similarly describes the establishment in Shanghai before the May Fourth Movement of the “Marxist Socialist Forum” and dubs himself “the first to advocate a Communist faction in China.” See “Xie Yingbo zhi Daguangbao han.” While resident in the United States (1914–1916), Xie entered the Rand School on Jiang Kanghu’s introduction. After returning to China, he took over principal responsibility for the “Preparatory Office of the Chinese Socialist Party” which was planning to rebuild the Chinese Socialist Party, while awaiting Jiang’s return (June 1917). Before this rebuilding was complete, though, Jiang returned after a month or more in the United States, and ultimately the Chinese Socialist Party was never rebuilt. Xie refers to a “Socialist forum” in his autobiography (“Renhai hangcheng”) and in *Guangzhou minguo ribao* seems to be either a latter-day imitation of Jiang’s Socialist Party or the Guangdong Socialist Youth Corps to which he contributed in early 1922. Although he claimed to be active, we cannot ascertain the content of his contribution. See his “Renhai hangcheng” and “Shehuizhuoyijia zuzhi zhengdang zhi choubei.”

76. “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1919 nian 8-yue 21-ri).” Liang’s essay appeared in *Xinmin congbao* 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58.

77. For example, Hu Shi, Liao Zhongkai, and Hu Hanmin, “Jingtian zhidu youwu zhi yanjiu.”

78. For an understanding of socialism in the late Qing and 1911 era as closely tied to Chinese tradition, see the aforementioned work by Hazama Naoki, *Chūgoku shakaishugi no reimei*, 133–136.

79. Of those connected to the editors of *Jianshe*, both Hu Hanmin and Zhu Zhixin used the pen name “Minyi,” but the *Zhu Zhixin ji* (Writings of Zhu Zhixin) that was published in 1921, the year after his death, brings together all the essays published under the name “Minyi” in *Jianshe* as the writings of Zhu. Also, *Zhu Zhixin ji*, a 1979 edition of Zhu’s work edited by the Department of Historical Studies, Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, Guangdong, includes essays under the pseudonym “Minyi” (including the letter that appeared in *Jianshe* 1.6) as that of Zhu Zhixin. To be sure, Hu Hanmin also worked with the editors of *Jianshe*, and one cannot completely discount the possibility that “Minyi” was Hu’s pen name, but the fact that the journal itself considered writings under the name “Minyi” to be Zhu’s work leads me to consider the “Minyi” here to be Zhu Zhixin.

80. On Dai Jitao’s Marxist research in the May Fourth period, see Lü Fangshang, *Geming zhi zaiqi*, and Yumoto Kunio, “Goshi undō jōkyō ni okeru Tai Kitō, ‘jidai’ no hōkō to Chūgoku no susumu michi.”

81. *Jianshe* 1.4–3.1 (November 1919–December 1920); *Juewu* (November 2–7, 1919). Dai’s translation, *Makesi Zibenlun jieshuo*, was apparently scheduled to appear as a separate volume after the serialization (see “Translator’s Introduction,” in Li Hanjun, *Makesi Zibenlun rumen*), but its actual publication was put off until 1927: Kaociji (Kautsky), *Zibenlun jieshuo* (Explanation of *Das Kapital*).

82. Li Da, “Zhongguo Gongchandang de faqi he diyici, dierci daibiao dahui jingguo de huiyi,” 7; “Yuan Zhenying de huiyi”; *Chen Gongbo Zhou Fohai huiyilu hebian*, 27–28.

83. On Wang Guangqi and the work-study movement, see Ono Shinji, “Goshi undō zengo no Ō Kōki.”

84. Li Shouchang (Li Dazhao), “Dushishang gongdutuan de quedian,” 174.

85. [Chen] Duxiu, “Gongdu huzhutuan shibai de yuanyin zai nali?”

86. Chen Duxiu, “Gao Beijing laodongjie.”

87. For Chen’s focus on Dewey’s ideas concerning autonomy and advocacy of their application to China, see his “Shixing minzhi de jichu” and “Wo de jie jue Zhongguo zhengzhi fangzhen.”

88. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1:97; English translation, Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 103.

89. [Shi] Cuntong, “Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo.”

90. Dai Tianchou [Jitao], “Sanminshugi.” The date of his letter to Sakai is given as January 7, 1919, but from the note given in a separate piece of mail sent to the new year’s issue of *Xingqi pinglun* (which began publication in June 1919 and ceased in June 1920), this should have been January 7, 1920. The translation of Kautsky by Li Junpei that is mentioned in the letter was carried in the journal *Minxing* but never completed. Translator’s note: Four terms—*Political*

Revolution, Social Revolution, Socialism, and *Karl Kausky* (misspelled)—all appear in English in the original.

91. Dai Jitao's essay "Zibenzhuyi xiamian de Zhong-Ri guanxi" originally appeared in *Heichao* 2.1 (July 1920), but I cite it here from its reprinting in *Juewu* (July 17, 1920).

92. Hu Shi, "Guiguo zagan."

93. Dai Tianchou, "Hankyō." The publisher of *Kaihō* was Daitōkaku.

94. Taira kinen jigyōkai, *Taira Teizō no shōgai*, 101–102; Miyazaki Ryūsuke, "Shinsō no minkoku kara," *Kaihō*. Miyazaki and Li Hanjun had been friends since their days at Tokyo Imperial University.

95. [Dai] Jitao, "Fang Sun xiansheng de tanhua"; and [Dai] Jitao, "Duifu Buerseweike de fangfa."

96. See the section of Dai Jitao, *Sun Wen zhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu*, concerned with "Minshengzhuyi" ("Principle of People's Livelihood"); Benjamin I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, 54; Japanese translation by Ishikawa Tadao and Oda Hideo, *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi*, 35.

97. On Zhu Zhixin's introduction of Marxism, see the aforementioned work by Hazama Naoki, *Chūgoku shakaishugi no reimei*, chapter 3, for details.

98. She, trans., "Gongchandang de xuanyan," *Meizhou pinglun* 16; Li Zepeng, "Makesi he Anggesi Gongchandang xuanyan," *Guomin* 2.1.

99. On Chen Wangdao's career, see Deng Mingyi, *Chen Wangdao zhuan*.

100. One important work would be Bert Andréas, *Le Manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels, Histoire et bibliographie 1848–1918*.

101. For bibliographic research on the Japanese translation, *Kyōsantō sengen*, see Ōshima Kiyoshi, "Nihongo ban Kyōsantō sengen shoshi"; Shioda Shōbee, "Kyōsantō sengen Nihongo yaku o megutte"; Ishidō Kiyotomo, "Sakai Toshihiko to Kyōsantō sengen sono ta."

102. Chen Wangdao, "Guanyu Shanghai Makeshuyi yanjiuhui huodong de huiyi, Chen Wangdao tongzhi shengqian tanhua jilu." Chen moved from Hangzhou to Yiwu on April 13, 1920, according to Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi yanjiushi, comp., *Zhongguo Gongchandang Shanghai shi*, 44.

103. Chen Wangdao, "Huiyi dang chengli shiqi de yixie qingkuang," 20.

104. "Yu Xiusong riji," entry for June 27 and June 28, 1920, in *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu*, 278–279.

105. Wu Shihao, "Chen Wangdao fanyi de Gongchandang xuanyan chuban shijian lüekao"; Ren Wuxiong and Chen Shaokang, "Gongchandang xuanyan Chen yi chuban shijian buzheng." The proofreading work of Chen Duxiu and Li Hanjun is mentioned in [Shen] Xuanlu, "Da ren wen Gongchandang xuanyan de faxingsuo."

106. Zhonggong Zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju Ma-En shi, *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo zai Zhongguo de chuanbo*, 14; Deng Mingyi, *Chen Wangdao zhuan*, 38.

107. Chen's translation, *Gongchandang xuanyan*, had its second printing in September 1920, a month after it initially appeared in print, offering a sense of its popularity. The aforementioned essay by Shen Xuanlu, "Da ren wen Gongchandang xuanyan de faxingsuo," resulted in many questions from readers when it initially appeared.

108. Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 155.
109. Luo Zhanglong, "Huiyi Beijing daxue Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui," in *"Yida" qianhou*, 192–193.
110. On overseas students in Japan and the founding of the CCP, see Wang Qisheng, "Qujing Dongyang, zhuandao runei, liu-Ri xuesheng yu Makesizhuyi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo"; Jin Anping, "Jindai liu-Ri xuesheng yu Zhongguo zaoqi gongchanzhuyi yundong"; and Peng Huancai, "Liu-Ri xuesheng yu Zhongguo Gongchandang de chuangli."
111. Shao Lizi, "Dang chengli qianhou de yixie qingkuang, 192–193.
112. Li Da, "Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de sixiang douzheng qingkuang," 52.
113. Bao Huizeng, "Huainian Li Hanjun xiansheng."
114. In *Xingqi pinglun* 50 (May 1920).
115. In *Juewu* (January 23, 1922).
116. In *Juewu* (June 6, 1922).
117. Li Hanjun, "Yizhe xu." For the citation, see the original text held in the "Commemorative Hall of the Site of the First Meeting of the Chinese Communist Party" in Shanghai.
118. Li Hanjun, "Yanjiu Makesi xueshuo de biyao ji women xianzai rushou de fangfa."
119. Li Hanjun, "Hunpu de shehuizhuyizhe de tebie de laodong yundong yijian."
120. Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong), "Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti," 34–35; Deng Mingyi, *Chen Wangdao zhuan*, 13. Evidence that Shi Cuntong contacted Sakai and Yamakawa is provided in chapter 4, although I have not been able to verify if in fact Chen Wangdao had any contact with them.
121. Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 152–153.
122. See Chen Wangdao's appended note to Jinqing (Xie Jinqing), "Ribenshehui yundongjia de zuijin qingxiang"; "Genron dan'atsu no kigeki, Shina LT sei yori."
123. Inasmuch as this piece does not appear in *Yamakawa Hitoshi zenshū*, he probably wrote it specifically for *Xin qingnian*. Although this journal also requested an original piece from Sakai Toshihiko, it noted that he was unable to comply because of a host of commitments. In addition, shortly after it was founded, the CCP put together a pamphlet comprised of the views of Sakai and Yamakawa on the Washington Conference (1921–1922) and distributed 5,000 copies primarily in Shanghai; see "Zhonggong zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui shuji Chen Duxiu gei Gongchan guoji de baogao (1822 nian 6 yue 30 ri)," in *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji*.
124. CT (Shi Cuntong), "Jieshao Shehuizhuyi yanjiu."
125. "Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao da-hui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu, 369–370.
126. Yichun, "Eguo guojipai shixing zhi zhenglüe," *Laodong* 2 (April 1918); Chiping, "Eluosi shehui geming zhi xianfeng Lining shilüe," *Laodong* 2 (April 1918). One early example of fairly detailed personal histories of Lenin and Trotsky would be Imai Masayoshi (trans. Chaoran and Kongkong), "Liening yu

Tuoluosiji zhi renwu jiqi zhuyi zhi shixian,” which appeared in *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.2 (September 1919).

127. (a) Jin Lüqin, “Eguo wenti,” *Xuedeng*, May 15, 16, 19, 1919, original “Appeal to Peasants” (1903), retranslated from the English translation by Robert Crozier Long (1872–1938); (b) Lüqin (Jin Lüqin), “Baoerxueweike zhi suo yaoqiu yu paichi,” *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.1 (September 1919), original “The Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat” (1917), retranslated from the English edition of Robert Crozier Long; (c) Zheng Zhenduo, “Eluosi zhi zhengdang,” *Xin Zhongguo* 1.8 (December 1919), original “The Political Parties in Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat” (1917), retranslated from the English translation that appeared in Clara E. Fanning (1878–1968), comp., *Selected Articles on Russia: History Description and Politics* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1918); (d) Lüqin (Jin Lüqin), “Jianshezhong de Suweiai,” *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2.6 (March 1920), original “The Present Tasks of Soviet Power” (1918), retranslated from English. Items (a) and (d) are both missing from *Liening zhuzuo zai Zhongguo* (1919–1992 nian wenxian diaoyan baogao). For a record of the career of Jin Lüqin (Jin Guobao, 1894–1963), translator of Lenin’s writings in this period, see Zhong Feng, “Jin Lüqin, zuizao Zhongyi Liening zhuzuo de ren.”

128. For a pioneering study of explanations of the Russian Revolution by Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Takabatake Motoyuki, and other Japanese socialists, as well as the spread to Japan of Bolshevik documents, see Murata Yōichi, “Saisho ni Nihon e shōkai sareta Rēnin no bunken.” For a highly detailed account, see Yamanouchi Akito, “Borisheviki bunken to shoki shakai-shugi: Sakai, Takabatake, Yamakawa.”

129. Appended note by Dai Jitao to “Lining de tanhua,” *Xingqi pinglun* 16 (September 1919).

130. The first introduction of the full text of the Manifesto appeared in the Shanghai Russian-language newspaper *Shankhaiskaya zhizn'* on March 25, 1920; see Tian Baoguo, *Minguo shiqi Zhong-Su guanxi*. The outlines of the Manifesto were published in Chinese earlier on February 24 in *Minguo ribao*. The full text was reported on April 3 in *Chenbao* in Beijing and on April 5 in various Shanghai newspapers.

131. As to the question of whether or not the Karakhan Manifesto contained language clearly indicating uncompensated return of the Chinese Eastern Railway, see Itō Shūichi, “Daiichiji Karahan sengen no ibun ni tsuite”; Fujii Shōzō, “Chūgoku kakumei to daiichiji Karahan sengen”; and M. S. Kapitsa, “So-Chū kankei shi no jūyō bunsho.” According to the following sources, there was a Chinese-language version of the Karakhan Manifesto printed by Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in August 1919, and it clearly noted the unremunerated return of the Chinese Eastern Railway: Li Yuzhen, “Cong Su-E diyici dui-Hua xuanyan shuoqi”; and Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*.

132. “Duiyu Eluosi laonong zhengfu tonggao de yulun,” *Xin qingnian* 7.6 (May 1920).

133. The translation came from *The Liberator* (June 1920 issue). The original text dates to 1919: “Speech at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), Report on the Party Platform.”

134. “Guanyu *Xin qingnian* wenti de jifeng xin”; Ren Jianshu et al., *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 223.

135. “Guanyu *Xin qingnian* wenti de jifeng xin”; Geng Yunzhi and Ouyang Zhesheng, *Hu Shi shuxin ji*, 265.

136. Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 149.

137. Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 149.

138. On the “New Age Series,” see Chen Shaokang and Xiao Binru, “Jieshao *Xin shidai congshu* she he *Xin shidai congshu*.” The front cover of *Kyōsantō sen-gen* (*Communist Manifesto*), published secretly around 1923 in Japan and now held in the Kawakami Archive, Library of the Department of Economics, Kyoto University, was patterned after the logo of the Socialist Party of America, but the two hands shaking were over the Pacific Ocean, not the Atlantic.

139. Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū, Katakama Sen Borisheviki Amerika refuto uingu*, 167, 310. Many of articles given in this book’s bibliography concerning American socialism form the basis for its thorough investigation of documents.

140. The Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company in Chicago was known as a long-established shop for books on socialism in America. Founded in 1886, it began publishing socialist-related works in 1899 and distributed cheaply all manner of socialist writings that until then were few in number and quite expensive. He made a major contribution to socialism in the United States. See Kerr, *What Socialism Is*.

141. Although the year of this work’s publication is uncertain, a copy held in the Department of Economics of Kyoto University was purchased in 1917. The work was reprinted in 1927. It is possible that around 1920 they saw the logo of the Socialist Party of America on this pamphlet.

142. Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*, 178–184. In what follows, unless otherwise indicated, material concerned with the Communist movement and the activities of political parties in America is based on this book.

143. Tōyama Shigeki et al., *Yamabe Kentarō, kaisō to ibun*, 222.

144. Ke Bainian, “Wo yi Makesi he Engesi zhuzuo de jian dan jingli,” 29.

145. Concerning the period in which Yun Daiying received Chen’s request and translated Kautsky’s work, in a column entitled “Women de xiaoxi” (“Our News”) that was published in the first issue (dated October 1920) of *Huzhu*, organ of the Huzhushe (Mutual Aid Society), the following note appeared: “Recently, [Yun] Daiying has set aside each day seven hours to reading and writing. . . . The book he is translating, *Jieji douzheng* (*The Class Struggle* [= *Das Erfurter Programm*]), should be ready in translation in about half a month.” See *Wusi shiqi de shetuan*. This dates roughly to the autumn of 1920. I learned of this item from Mr. Tian Ziyu of Hubei University.

146. Kautsky, *The Class Struggle* (*Erfurt Program*).

147. In the first issue of *Gongchandang*, there is a translation of an essay by Arthur McManus, “The Tasks awaiting the Communist Party,” from the first issue of *The Communist* (August 5, 1920); see Zhenhuan, “Gongchandang weilai de zeren.”

148. On English translations of *State and Revolution*, see the aforementioned essay by Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū*, 301–302.

149. These two essays, “The Program of the American Communist Party” and “The Manifesto of the American Communist Party,” are in fact the “agreements” and “program” of May 1920 of the United Communist Party of America, which came into existence when the unity faction of the American Communist Party merged with the American Communist Labor Party. See *Revolutionary Radicalism. Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, Filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York*; and Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*, 218–222.

150. “The Comintern’s Appeal to the IWW” first appeared in *The Solidarity* (August 14, 1920 issue); see Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*, 435. The translation in *Gongchandang*, however, appears to have been done on the basis of the text in *The One Big Union Monthly*.

151. Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 154.

152. Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 153.

153. Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū*, 117–128.

154. There are documents on the introduction of the Second and Third Internationals in China in *Shehuizhuyi sixiang zai Zhongguo de chuanbo (ziliao xuanji)*. For a study, see Xu Youli, “Wusi qianhou Zhongguo baokan dui Gongchan guoji de jieshao.”

155. Ren Jianshu et al., *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 25–26.

156. Ren Jianshu et al., *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan*, 154–164. For an assessment of the place of this essay in the overall history of *Xin qingnian*, see Nomura Kōichi, *Kindai Chūgoku no shisō sekai, “Shin seinen” no gunzō*, 296–320.

157. “Tongxin,” *Qingnian zazhi* 1.1 (May 1915).

158. Wilhelm Liebknecht, *No Compromise, No Political Trading*.

159. Chen Duxiu, “Shehuizhuyi piping (zai Guangzhou gongli fazheng xuexiao yanjiang)” 241–256.

160. Sakai Toshihiko, “Jihyō.”

161. Sakai Toshihiko, “Kaigai jichō.”

162. All in *Li Dazhao wenji*, vol. 2.

163. For greater detail, see Ishikawa, “Tōzai bunmei ron to Nit-Chū rondan.”

164. Reinsch, *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century; as Influenced by the Oriental Situation* (1900). There was a partial Japanese translation of this work by Takata Sanae (1860–1938), *Teikokushugi ron* (1901), but Li cited from the original.

165. As Arif Dirlik points out, Li’s view that “the French Revolution was the manifestation of a universal psychological transformation of the world’s humanity in the nineteenth century, and the Russian Revolution was a sign of a universal psychological transformation of the world’s humanity in the twentieth century” was anticipated by a piece by “Laoren” entitled “Lining zhi jiepou”: “The French Revolution gave birth to civilization of the nineteenth century, and the Russian Revolution is about to cause a shift in world developments in the twentieth century.” Dirlik, *The Origins of Chinese Marxism*, 27.

166. Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū*, 304–305; Yamanouchi Akito, “Borisheviki bunken to shoki shakaishugi.”

167. This work by Trotsky was later retranslated from the English edition by Shewo as “Guangyipai yu shijie heping,” *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.7 (December 1919), but the translation was never completed.

168. Translator’s note: I have cited the words directly from Steffens’s “Introduction” (*The Bolsheviks and World Peace*, 9, 13), although Li Dazhao’s citation of them is slightly different and does not indicate that the two sentences appear four pages apart—hence the inserted elipses (JAF).

169. Translator’s note: This citation comes directly from Li Dazhao’s rendering, not the original. Thanks to the author of this volume, Ishikawa Yoshihiro, for providing me with the name and citation of this “American socialist”: Alexander Trachtenberg, a Russian refugee living in New York, “Trotzky’s ‘The War and the International,’ Alias ‘The Bolsheviks and World Peace,’” *The Evening Call* 11.35 (February 9, 1918).

170. “Bolshevism de shengli”; “Bolshevism” in English in Li’s original.

171. In *Li Dazhao wenji*. The actual publication of the issue (9.3) of *Xin qingnian* (imprint date of July 1, 1921) was between late August and September. My conclusion is based on a note about the first congress of the CCP by Gongbo (Chen Gongbo), “Shiri luxing zhong de chun Shenpu,” in the same issue of *Xin qingnian* and because in early September, Guangzhou received a copy of *Xin qingnian* that contained an advertisement for issue 5 of *Gongchandang* (*Guangdong junbao*, advertisement dated September 2, 1921).

172. The original works: Lenin and Trotzky, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*; Lenin, *The Soviets at Work: The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Problems of the Socialist Revolution*; *State and Revolution* (unclear which English edition was consulted); Trotzky, *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*; Trotsky, *From October to Brest-Litovsk*; and *The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk*. Details concerning the publication and contents of the English editions of these books, including *State and Revolution*, can be found in Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū*, 295–307.

173. See Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to intanashonaru shi kenkyū*.

174. For further details, see appendix 2, items A34 and A35.

175. Lizerovitch’s article, “Wu yi,” appeared in *Xingqi pinglun* 48 (May 1920). On his activities in Shanghai, there is an as yet unpublished study that used the British foreign office archives: Li Danyang, “Zai-Hu hongse Eqiao: Lizeluoweiqi.”

2. SOVIET RUSSIA, THE COMINTERN, AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1. For more about Liu Zerong (Liu Shaozhou) and Zhang Yongkui, see Li Yuzhen’s pioneering study, “Guanyu canjia Gongchan guoji diyi, erci daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao”; see also Liu Yishun, “Canjia Gongchan guoji ‘Yida’ de liangge Zhongguoren”; and Liu Yishun, “Canjia Gongchan guoji Yida de Zhang Yongkui qingkuang jianjie.” Liu left memoirs of his activities in Soviet

Russia and his participation in the Comintern congress: Liu Zerong, “Huiyi tong weida Liening de huiwu”; Liu Zerong, “Shiyue geming qianhou wo zai Sulian de yiduan jingli.”

2. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, fanyishi, *Gongchan guoji youguan Zhongguo geming de wenxian ziliao* (1919–1928), 12–14.

3. “List of Delegates to the First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow.” The two representatives’ names are given as Lau-Siu-Djau and Chan-Su-Kooy.

4. Li Yuzhen, “Lü-E Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng de geming huodong.”

5. For writings concerned with the movements of Chinese residents in Russia and their organizations, I have consulted the following: Itō Shūichi, ed., “Jūgatsu kakumei go no sūnenkan ni okeru Soveto-Chūgoku-Chōsen kinrōsha no kokusaishugiteki rentai ni tsuite”; A. I. Katunova, “K voprosu o kontaktakh predstavitelei kitaiskoi sekti RKP(b) s obranizatsiami KPK: Po novym dokumentam 1921–1922”; Xue Xiantian and Li Yuzhen, “Lü-E Huaren Gongchandang zuzhi jiqi zai-Hua jiandang wenti”; Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 43–53; and Li Yuzhen, “Lü-E Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng.”

6. *Der zweite Kongreß der Kommunistischen Internationale: protokoll der Verhandlungen von 19. Juli in Petrograd und vom 23. Juli bis 7. August 1920 in Moskau*, 780. Of the two Chinese representatives at the second congress, the name “An En-hak” is frequently mentioned with Chinese characters pronounced “An Yanxie.” It has recently been established that he is the same as An Longhe. See Li Yuzhen, “Lü-E Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng de geming huodong.”

7. Archives of the Russian National and Political History (formerly Center for Research and Preservation of Materials on Contemporary History), file 489.1.14.122. After a number of twists and turns, the Far Eastern Bureau was established in Irkutsk in January 1921.

8. Itō Shūichi, “Kominterun to Ajia (ichi): Dainikai taikai ni kansuru oboegaki”; Itō Shūichi, “Kominterun to Ajia (ichi): Dainikai taikai ni kansuru oboegaki (ni).”

9. M. A. Persits, “Vostochnye internatsionalisty v Rossii i nekotorye voprosy natsional’no-osvoboditel’nogo dvizheniia (1918-iyul’ 1920)””; Japanese translation by Kokusai kankei kenkyūjo, “Roshia ni okeru Tōhō no kokusai-shugisha minzoku kaihō undō no jakkan no mondai (1918–1920 nen 7-gatsu).”

10. K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma.”

11. E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, 117.

12. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive concerning efforts afoot among East Asian peoples outside the country, September 1, 1920, Moscow” (document 4).

13. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4); Ueda Hideaki, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no kōbō*, 98, 108. The former gives February 1920 as the date when Vilensky-Sibiryakov reached Vladivostok; the latter gives March.

14. K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma.”

15. Hara Teruyuki, *Shiberia shuppei, kakumei to kanshō, 1917–1922*, 527–529; Ueda Hideaki, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no kōbō*, 108.
16. Yuri M. Garushians, “Bor’ba Kitaiskikh Marksistov za sozdaniie Kom-munisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.”
17. Maurice Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*, 115, 282.
18. A. A. Myuller, *V plameni revoliutsii (1917–1920 gg.)*, 144–145. The sec-tion of this work concerning contacts with Li Dazhao has been translated into Chinese: “Li Dazhao yu Buerteman.”
19. Meisner, *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*, 115.
20. V. N. Kuchko, “N. G. Burtman, revoliutsioner, internatsionalist,” 203–209; Lu Yuan, trans. and ed., “Buerteman qiren.”
21. L. K-n, “Niuma Burtman”; the author of this memorial given as “L. K-n” was Burtman’s school friend with whom he was involved in political activities.
22. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, and Its Activities, December 21, 1920, Irkutsk” (document 8).
23. See previous note; L. K-n, “Niuma Burtman.”
24. Sources used for information about Popov include Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 55–56; Li Danyang and Liu Jianyi, “Yinglun hanggao, zaoqi lai-Hua de Su-E zhongyao mishi kao”; and Li Danyang and Liu Jianyi, “Zaoqi lai-Hua de Su-E zhongyao mishi, Popofu,” unpublished draft. Recently, M. V. Kriukov, a relative of Popov, published a detailed biography of him: *Ulitsa Mol’era, 29: Sekretnaia missiia polkovnika Popova*.
25. H. Owen Chapman, *The Chinese Revolution, 1926–27: A Record of the Pe-riod under Communist Control as Seen from the Nationalist Capital, Hankow*, 45.
26. Luo Chuanhua, *Jinri Zhongguo laodong wenti*, 39.
27. C. Martin Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen: Frustrated Patriot*, 115–116.
28. “Zai Shanhai Satō shōsa yori sōchō ate denpō (1920 nen 10-gatsu 7-ka)” and “Gai kōhi dai-351-gō Shanhai hōmen ni okeru kagekiha ra ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 3-gatsu 18-nichi),” both in file C.
29. “Shanhai ni okeru kagekiha narabi ni Chōsenjin no jōkyō (Taishō 10-nen 8-gatsu 4-ka Naimushō ni oite hirakaretaru kakufuken kōtō kachō kaigi sekijō ni oite Keihokyoku gaiji kachō Ōtsuka naimu shokikan kōjutsu).”
30. “Zai Shanhai Satō shōsa yori sōchō ate denpō (1920 nen 3-gatsu 12-nichi),” in file C.
31. “Yamazaki chū-Shanhai sōryōji yori Uchida gaimu daijin ate denpō (1920 nen 5-gatsu 15-nichi),” in file C.
32. Hara Teruyuki, *Shiberia shuppei*, 274, 348.
33. Ueda Hideaki, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no kōbō*, 144–145; Henry Kittredge Norton, *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*, 148.
34. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).
35. Unless it cannot be confirmed, the following is based on G. V. Efimov, *Sun’ Yatsen, Poisk puti: 1914–1922*, 118–119; and Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 56–59, 131–134. Documents concerning Potapov’s activities in

China are stored in the Russian State Archives on Social and Political History (file 514.1.6).

36. “Shanghai de dai-38-gō chōhōsha (Rokoku shikan) no hō (1920 nen 4-gatsu 19-nichi),” in file C.

37. On the dates of his time in China, see “Shanghai kyōdō sokai kei-satsukyoku yori zai-Shanghai Amerika sōryōji e no hōkoku (1920 nen 11-gatsu 11-nichi),” in *Chen Jingsun xiansheng nianpu*, entry for 1920; and in Haifeng renwen ziliao bianjizu, ed., *Haifeng renwen ziliao*, 175. On his activities in China, see “Lu Yongxiang fudian (1920 nian 3-yue 13-ri),” 618–619.

38. On Chen Jiongming’s enlightened administration in southern Fujian, see Saga Takashi, “Chin Keimei shihai ka no shin bunka undō, Binnan gohōku o chūshin ni.”

39. Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 131; *Chen Jingsun xiansheng nianpu*, entry for April 29, 1920; also in Haifeng renwen ziliao bianji zuzhi, ed., *Haifeng renwen ziliao*, 175. Although the envoy’s name is given as “General Lubo” in *Chen Jingsun xiansheng nianpu*, this would be Potapov. For a detailed study, see Liu Dexi, “Su-E, Gongchan guoji yu Chen Jiongming de guanxi”; and Qiu Jie, “‘Lubo jiangjun’ jiqi tong Sun Zhongshan, Chen Jiongming de huijian.” There are as well memoirs by envoys from Soviet Russia who personally delivered handwritten letters from Lenin to Chen, although whether these letters remain extant cannot be ascertained. See Chen Qiyu, “1919 nian Sulian pai diyige daibiao dao Zhangzhou.”

40. Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen*, 115.

41. Allen S. Whiting, *Soviet Policies in China, 1917–1924*, 116, 305. Chen Jiongming’s letter to Lenin (dated May 10, 1920) carried in *Vestnik NKID* has been translated in full by Li Yuzhen in his *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 132–133. As we see from the language used in this letter—“I firmly believe that Bolshevism is good news for the people. I shall use all my strength to spread Bolshevism throughout the world”—Chen expressed complete support for Bolshevism. In the same issue of *Vestnik NKID*, in addition to Chen’s letter can be found a letter from Yao Zuobin and Huang Jiemin addressed to Lenin, and it too appears to have been delivered by Potapov. See Li Yuzhen, “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli zhi qian de Su-E mishi,” 367.

42. As concerns this relationship, see the following studies: Liu Dexi, *Liangge weiren he liangge dalu*; Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*; Mikhail Kriukov, “The Winding Road to Alliance: Soviet Russia and Sun Yatsen (1918–1923);” and N. L. Mamaeva, *Komintern i Gomin’dan, 1919–1929*.

43. Wl. Wilenski (Sibirjakow), “Am Vorabend der Entstehung der kommunistischen Partei in China.”

44. “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1).

45. “Shanghai den dai-38-gō chōhōsha (Rokoku shikan) no hō (1920 nen 4-gatsu 19-nichi),” in file C.

46. “Potapov’s report to Chicherin, December 12, 1920, Moscow” (document 7).

47. Duluosiji, “Women yao cong nali zuoqi?,” trans. Zhenying; the original text from which this translation was made was L. Trotsky, “What Should We Begin With?” The translator, Zhenying, was in fact Yuan Zhenying.

48. Editor's note to "Voitinsky's letters, June 1920, Shanghai" (document 1); Efimov, *Sun' Yatsen*, 117–119.

49. Ma Guifan, "Weijingsiji diyici lai-Hua de shenfen bushi Gongchan guoji daibiao."

50. Unless I specifically note otherwise, the history of local organizations of the Russian Communist Party and operational units for China in Siberia and the Russian Far East is based on the following works: I. N. Suotenikewa (Sotnikova), "Fuze Zhongguo fangmian gongzuo de Gongchan guoji jigou"; G. M. Adibekov, E. N. Shakhnazarova, and K. K. Shirinia, *Organizatsionnaia Struktura Komintern, 1919–1943*; Horie Norio, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no yume*; Yamanouchi Akito, "Shoki Kominterun no soshiki kōzō (ni): Higashi Ajia kankei."

51. The history of party groupings is based on Shindin and Spirin, eds., *Sibirskoie biuro TsK RKP (b), 1918–1920 gg: sbornik dokumentov*, 59, 253–254, 304–305. I would like to thank Yamanouchi Akito for advice in collecting these documents and with respect to the history of the groupings.

52. "Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party" (document 8).

53. Suotenikewa, "Fuze Zhongguo fangmian gongzuo de Gongchan guoji jigou."

54. Li Yuzhen, "Lü-E Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng de geming huodong."

55. Adibekov, Shakhnazarova, and Shirinia, *Organizatsionnaia Struktura Komintern, 1919–1943*, 30. Maring left Moscow for China in March 1921.

56. Suotenikewa, "Fuze Zhongguo fangmian gongzuo de Gongchan guoji jigou."

57. "Plans of the Siberian Bureau, Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) concerning the organization and activities of the Japan section of the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, from December 25, 1920 forward" and "Letter from Smirnov to Zinoviev, November 13, 1920," in M. P. Malysheva and V. S. Poznanskii, eds., *Dal'nevostochnaia politika sovetskoi Rossii, 1920–1922 gg.*, 147–151, 155–156.

58. On the diplomatic negotiations between the Far Eastern Republic and China, see M. A. Persits, *Dal'nevostochnaia respublika i Kitai*; Li Jiagu, *Zhong-Su guanxi (1917–1926)*, chapter 3.

59. "Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party" (document 8).

60. Horie, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no yume*, 87.

61. See V. I. Glunin, "Grigorii Voitinskii."

62. The Eastern Institute (Vostochnyi institut) was established in Vladivostok in 1899, and in 1920, it became the Oriental Department of the National Far Eastern University.

63. In his interview with Robert North, Zhang Guotao reported that, in addition to Voitinsky, the Comintern also sent a Korean by the name of Kim. See Xenia J. Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927*, 90. In his *Chōsen Kyōsanshugi undō shi, 1918–1948*, Sō Tae-suk argues that this Kim

is probably Kim Man-gyŏm. In his memoirs, S. A. Dalin, who was active in the Russian Far East at this time, states that “Serebryakov” was “Kim Man Gem” — clearly the same as Kim Man-gyŏm; see Dalin, *Kitaiskiie memuary: 1921–1927*, 34. This Kim belonged to the Irkutsk clique of the Korean Communist Party. In order to resolve the issue of the Chinese Eastern Railway, he was sent in 1926 to Fengtian by the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party to engage in negotiations with Zhang Zuolin. He later worked as an important diplomatic official.

64. “Voitinsky’s letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, August 17, Shanghai” (document 2).

65. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 85–87; English translation, Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 93–94; Luo Zhanglong, “Huiyi dang de chuangli shiqi de jige wenti”; Zhang Shenfu, “Zhongguo Gongchandang jianli qianhou qingkuang de huiyi.”

66. Qiwu Laoren (Bao Huiseng), “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou de jianwen.” Among the participants at the first congress of the CCP, Bao has left by far the most detailed memoirs. These were subsequently collected as *Bao Huiseng huiyilu* and published in 1983. At a time when there were scarcely any original materials available, the relative importance his memoirs occupied in research on the history of the founding of the CCP was overwhelming (especially, the aforementioned “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou de jianwen”). As new original documents have been uncovered, it has become clear that confusions of memory and possibly dramatic effects are scattered here and there among them. Bao’s memoirs have been seen by some as less trustworthy than other interested parties of the time, such as Dong Biwu; see Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru, “Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi Yida daibiao shi shisan ren de yijian?” Early on, “Qiwu Laoren” was considered to have been Dong Biwu’s pseudonym, but the Hong Kong scholar Deng Wenguang was the first to demonstrate that it was, in fact, Bao Huiseng’s pen name. See Deng Wenguang, “Yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku,” which was later included in Deng’s *Xiandai shi kaoxin lu, yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku (chugao)* and his *Zhonggong jiangang yundong shi zhuweni*.

67. For a biography of Yang Mingzhai, see Yu Shicheng and Zhang Shengshan, *Yang Mingzhai*; this work also includes a variety of source materials, but evidence of his time spent in Russia remains unclear here.

68. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 85–86; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 93–94.

69. *VKP(b), Komintern i Natsional’no-Revoliutsionnoe Dvizhenie v Kitaie: Dokumenty, T. I. (1920–1925)*, 768; Steve A. Smith, *A Road Is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927*, 16, 232.

70. Respectively: Dalin, *Kitaiskiie memuary*, 31; and A. I. Kartinova, “Internatsional’naia pomoshch’ rabochemu klassu Kitaia (1920–1922 gg.).”

71. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi”; Dong Biwu, “Chuangli Zhongguo Gongchandang.”

72. On Ivanov’s career, see V. N. Nikiforov, “Aleksii Alekseevich Ivanov (Ivin); Xu Wanmin, “Yi Wen yu Yi Fengge bian”; and Li Danyang, “Yinglun hanggao, zuizao yu Li Dazhao jiechu de Su-E daibiao: Yiwannuofu.” According

to documents extant at Beijing University, Ivanov was officially hired to teach there starting in September 1919; see Guan Haiting and Chen Po, “Guanyu Boliewei he Yifannuofu de ruogan cailiao.” Early in the 1920s, there was another man working at Beijing University by the name of Ivanov (A. I. Ivanov, Chinese name Yi Fengge, known for his research on Xixia artifacts from Khara-Khoto), who is frequently confused with A. A. Ivanov.

73. Dalin, *Kitaiskii memuary*, 31. This was first introduced in China in *Weijingsiji zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao*, 460–461.

74. “Voitinsky’s letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 2).

75. Qiwu Laoren (Bao Huiseng), “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou de jianwen.”

76. Liu Yushan et al., *Zhang Tailei nianpu*, 30.

77. Zhang Ximan, *Lishi huiyi*, 5.

78. “Guan Qian guanyu Beijing wuzhengfudang huzhutuan jihui huodong ji chouzi fu-E diaocha deng qing zhi Wang Huaqing cheng (1921 nian 2-yue),” 499. According to Beijing University documents, he was appointed there as a Russian-language teacher in January 1921; see Guan and Chen, “Guanyu Boliewei he Yifannuofu de ruogan cailiao.”

79. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 85–86; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 93–94.

80. “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1); “Voitinsky’s letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 2).

81. “Smirnov’s request of the Far Eastern Bureau Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to raise foreign capital for activities related to the Comintern in Shanghai, after December 21, 1920” in Malysheva and Poznanskii, eds., *Dal’nevostochnaia politika sovetskoi Rossii, 1920–1922* gg., 180.

82. Zhang Ximan, *Lishi huiyi*, 5; Guan Shanfu, “Guanyu Boliewei he Yifannuofu de jidian qingkuang.” According to Guan, after breaking off contact with Soviet Russia, Polevoy remained in Beijing and continued teaching Russian at Beijing University into the 1930s. A biography of Polevoy has recently been published; see A. Khisamtdinov, “Vernyi drug kitaiskogo naroda Sergei Polevoy,” 149–158.

83. Gao Xingya, “Wusi qianhou de Beijing daxue Eyu xi.”

84. “Yūrin yori Sobieto Roshia seifu ate shokan (1921 nen 10-gatsu 7-ka izen)” (Letter from Yurin to the Soviet government, before October 7, 1921); this letter is included, as correspondence of radicals that the Chinese government had seized, in “Kōkei dai-27941-gō, kagekiha no Kyokutō senden ni kansuru ken (1921 nen jūgatsu nanoka),” in file C.

85. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

86. Li Xin and Chen Tiejian, eds., *Weida de kaiduan*, 321.

87. Known popularly as “nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiangdang shuo” (“theory that Chen in the south and Li in the north had planned together to form a

party”). See Yu Chongsheng, “‘Nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiandang’ de shijian he didian”; and Zhuang Youwei, “Shishu ‘nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiandang’.”

88. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi yishi, ed., “*Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi (shangjuan)*” *ruogan wenti shuoming*, 41; Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi yishi, ed., “*Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi (shangjuan)*” *zhushiji*, 30.

89. “Zhongda relie zhuidao nanbei lieshi.”

90. On Chen Duxiu after he returned to Beijing, see *Hu Shi koushu zizhuan*, 185–186; Su Changju, “Guanyu Chen Duxiu zhuan (shang) yishu zhong jichu shishi de dingzheng yu shangque.” There is as well a note in Hu Shi’s diary (February 9, 1920, entry) that reads, “[Busy] with something to do with CTS [Chen Duxiu], didn’t teach.” This enables us to see Hu Shi’s efforts on behalf of Chen. See “Hu Shi, richeng yu riji,” 244.

91. Gao Yihan, “Li Dazhao tongzhi lüezhuan.”

92. Gao Yihan, “He Dazhao tongzhi xiangchu de shihou”; Gao Yihan, “Li Dazhao tongzhi husong Chen Duxiu chuxian.” These reminiscences were later collected as Gao Yihan, “Huiyi Li Dazhao tongzhi.”

93. We know Gao Yihan was in Japan at the time from a letter dated February 13, 1920, that he sent to Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu from Japan. See *Hu Shi yigao ji mizang shuxin*, 178–179.

94. In addition to Gao Yihan’s memoirs, often cited as “corroboration” for the “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” is the following memoir of Zhang Zhi, a member of the Young China Association (Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui): “Guanyu Ma-Liezhuyi zai Tianjin chuanbo qingkuang,” 98; and in Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui, ed., *Shanghai Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu*, 71:

Mr. Chen Duxiu, Mr. Li Dazhao, and another man, an anarchist comrade (he was from Shanxi Province, but I have forgotten his name), had just then [early 1920] arrived in Tianjin from Beijing. . . . The following evening, Li and Jiang [Jiang Panruo, a Tianjin anarchist] went with the Shanxi comrade, a Nankai school friend named Hu Weixian, and me to the home of a Soviet comrade in the special zone. We spoke for about an hour about the underground activities in Beijing and Tianjin. Then, the following day a news item entitled “Party Men Meet to Scheme Evil Deeds” appeared in the Tianjin newspaper, *Yishibao*. Mr. Li Dazhao rushed to the home of Mr. Jiang to inform him of this, and the matter ended without being exposed. He soon thereafter returned to Beijing. . . . Mr. Chen Duxiu had important business to attend to and left before them for Shanghai. He was thus unable to attend the meeting.

This memoir would appear to convey the information that Chen Duxiu fled to Tianjin in the company of Li Dazhao in February 1920, but judging from this also, there would seem to be a problem with the claim that on this occasion they spoke about forming a Communist party. Also, I have been unable to confirm if *Yishibao* in fact carried a story as indicated. To derive the “Chen in the south and Li in the north thesis” from this vague memoir is, thus, rather far-fetched.

95. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 87; see also note 2 in Zhang's work. Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 94, 692, n. 76.

96. Documents 1 and "Voitinsky's letter to the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party" (document 2). Document 2 contains the phrasing "Comrade Li who was publisher of *Zhongguo shehuizhuyi xinwen* . . . and a member of the Shanghai Revolutionary Bureau." The editor of a collection of documents in Russian is unclear, but the editor of the Chinese edition was Li Zhenying, and this Li was probably Li Hanjun. In any event, it was certainly not Li Dazhao.

97. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 83; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 89. An enthusiastic response of Chinese groups to the "Karakhan Declaration" was included as "Duiyu Eluosi laonong zhengfu tonggao de yulun."

98. On the situation of Russian residents in Harbin and the activities of the Harbin soviet of laborers and soldiers, see Hara Teruyuki, *Shiberia shuppei*, 144–151; Li Xinggen et al., *Fengyu fuping, Eguo qiaomin zai Zhongguo (1917–1924 nian)*; and Xue Xiantian et al., *Zhong-Su guojia guanxi shi ziliao huibian (1917–1924 nian)*, 328–334.

99. No extant document provides an accurate date for Voitinsky's arrival in Shanghai. Chen Gongpei offers the following in his memoir: "Prior to May Day that year [1920], I met him [Voitinsky] at the offices of *Xingqi pinglun*." See Chen, "Huiyi dang de faqizu he fu-Fa qingong jianxue deng qingkuang." We also have testimony from a Korean contact whose name is given as "a certain An" (An-mou), who, along with Yang Mingzhai, was part of Voitinsky's group when it came to Shanghai (see Fang Lu, "Qingsuan Chen Duxiu"); this "An" is probably either An Kong-gün or An Pyöng-ch'an, who were both linked to the Korean Communist Party, but there is no definitive proof. There is also no basis in fact for the popular theory that Voitinsky and his party stopped in Jinan (Shandong Province) en route from Beijing to Shanghai and met with students there; on this, see Liu Jianhui, "Weijingsiji yijiuerling nian siyue daoguo Jinan ma?"

100. "Voitinsky's letters, June 1920, Shanghai" (document 1).

101. "Kōshin dai-286-gō dai-2-bu Kyokutō zen shakaitōkyoku happyō sengsho shosai shinbun kirinuki sōfu no ken (1920 nen 6-gatsu 10-ka)," in file C.

102. Bao Pu, "Piping Zhongguo chuban de guanyu Eguo geming de shuji (xu)."

103. V. N. Nikiforov, "Abram Yevseyevich Khodorov"; Whiting, *Soviet Policies in China*, 116–118; Huang Ping, *Wangshi huiyi*, 3–4; "E daibiao yu ge bao-jizhe zhi tanhua"; Shi Keqiang (K. V. Shevelev), "Sun Zhongshan yu yuandong dianxunshe (1920–1921)"; Li Danyang and Liu Jianyi, "Huoduoluofu yu Su-E zai-Hua zaoqi sheli de dianxunshe."

104. There is a theory that a Communist Party member by the name of Alekseev or Alexieff began the activities of Rosta in China; see Li Yunhan, *Cong rong-Gong dao qingdang*, 65; Wilbur, *Sun Yat-sen*, 117, 326–327. The basis for this view is Fuse Katsuji, *Soueeto tōhō saku* (270–272); Fuse reports that in the fall of 1921, a Communist by the name of "Areksēefu" on a trip to China opened a branch office of the Rosta News Agency in Guangzhou and a Russian-language school, and in March of that year met with Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou, at which time he secretly concluded an agreement for mutual assistance between Soviet

Russia and the southern government. It is doubtful if Areksēefu ever really existed. Around April 1921, Khorodov and Stoyanovich interviewed Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou; see “Son Bun no shirarenai intabyū.” Perhaps the activities of Khorodov and Stoyanovich have been mistaken for those of someone named Areksēefu.

105. The facts that the Dalta News Agency and the *Shankhaikaia Zhizn'* company were in the same building and that they were working in tandem are confirmed by a thorough investigation undertaken by the Shanghai consular police; see Kinoshita Gisuke, *Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha ippan (Taishō 11-nen 6-gatsu)*, 15–16, in file C. According to this investigation, Tsentrosyuz was located at the corner of what is now Jiujiang Road and Jiangxi Road, and the Dalta News Agency and the *Shankhaikaia Zhizn'* were located at what is now the corner of Changzhi Road and Tanggu Road in the Hongkou district of Shanghai. For more about *Shankhaikaia Zhizn'*, see Li Danyang and Liu Jianyi, “‘Shanghai Ewen shenghuo bao’ yu Buershenweike zaoqi zai-Hua huodong.”

106. Kinoshita, *Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha ippan (Taishō 11-nen 6-gatsu)*, 12.

107. “Tokubetsu yōshisatsunin jōsei shirabe, Taishō 10-nendo” (“Investigation of a Situation Involving Persons Especially Worthy of Observation, 1921”) and “Saikin ni okeru yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shirabe” (“Circumstances Surrounding Persons Worthy of Observation Recently, Investigation of January 1922”), both in Matsuo Takayoshi, ed., *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku*, 62, 110.

108. Kinoshita, *Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha ippan (Taishō 11-nen 6-gatsu)*, 1–2.

109. Negotiations between the Chinese government and the Far Eastern Republic (the Yurin delegation) had not as yet reached the point of establishing diplomatic ties when in November 1922 the Far Eastern Republic was annexed into Soviet Russia. China and Soviet Russia established formal diplomatic ties in 1924.

110. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4).

111. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4).

112. There is no mention of the establishment of the “East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern” in Shanghai in 1920 even in Adibekov, Shakhnazaroba, and Shirinia, *Organizatsionnaia Struktura Kominterna: 1919–1943*, which is an organizational history of the Comintern.

113. For details on the “China Industrial Association” and the Shanghai labor movement around the time of the May Fourth Movement, see Eda Kenji, *Goshi jiki no Shanghai rōdō undō*, no. 17 in *Goshi undō no kenkyū* series.

114. “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1).

115. “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1).

116. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive, September 1, 1920, Moscow” (document 3); “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4).

117. “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1).

118. In the translator’s notes to the Chinese edition (translation of Number One Research Section, CCP Central Committee Party History Research Department), this man was Boris I. Pankratov (C. Pankeladuofu, 1892–1979), according to the research of Yuri Garushiants. Pankratov was known as a

Soviet scholar of East Asian studies; he graduated from the Eastern Institute in Vladivostok in 1916, and while working as a teacher of Russian in Hankou from 1918, he studied Chinese dialects in Hunan and Hubei. In the 1920s and 1930s, he worked at the Russian College of Law and Administration in Beijing, Rosta News Agency, and the Soviet Embassy in Beijing. See Documentation Information Center, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, ed., *E-Su Zhongguoxue shouce (shang)*, 447; Peng Zexiang, “Zishu.”

119. In the Chinese translation of “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1), it states that it was Qunyi shushe.

120. I. M. Musin, *Ocherki rabochego dvizheniia v Kitaie: Voprosy kitaiskoi revoliutsii*, 228; also cited in K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia.”

121. “Shou Zhu Weishao lingshi dian, Minguo 9-nian 6-yue 17-ri” (cable received from Consul Zhu Weishao, June 17, 1920), and “Fa Zhu Weishao lingshi dian, Minguo 9-nian 6-yue 19-ri” (cable from Consul Zhu Weishao, June 19, 1920), in *Zhong-E guanxi shiliao, yiban jiaoshe, Minguo jiunian*, ed. Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, 50.

122. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4).

123. “Vilensky-Sibiryakov’s report to the Comintern Executive” (document 4). Somewhat later, the Party’s Siberian Bureau held discussions about the activities of the Eastern Peoples’ Section at a meeting on October 12 and recommended “focusing attention on the formation of Communist organizations in China and Korea.” See M. A. Persits, “Vostochnye internatsionalisty v Rossii i nekotorye voprosy natsional’no-osvoboditel’nogo dvizheniia (1918-iyul’ 1920)”;

Japanese translation by Kokusai kankei kenkyūjo, “Roshia ni okeru Tōhō no kokusaishugisha minzoku kaihō undō no jakkan no mondai (1918–1920 nen shichigatsu).”

124. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

125. At the end of this report, we find “Comrade Li of the *Chinese Socialist Newspaper (Kitaiskaia sotsialisticheskaiia gazeta)* is a member of our Shanghai Revolutionary Bureau.” Although it is unclear what precisely this newspaper was, “Comrade Li” is surely Li Hanjun.

126. In the second issue of the journal *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* (June 23, 1921), published in Irkutsk by the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern Executive, there is a piece entitled “Sotsialisticheskaiia literatura v Kitaie” (“Socialist Writings in China”), and the titles of books and journals published in China at the time are introduced by means of Chinese renderings of the Russian. Among them was *Shei shi gongchandang*. In addition, Document 8 lists as the author of “What Is Communism?” one “Minin,” but it is unclear who this was.

127. Li Desheng, *Yige bing de shuohua*; details about the author, Li Desheng, are unclear. The content of this pamphlet is the same as *Bingshi xuzhi* (What a Soldier Needs to Know, recounted by Li Desheng), which was issued in April 1919 by the anarchist organization Zhenlishe. On the title page, contents, and distribution details, see Chinese Number Two Archives, *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi he Zhongguo shehuidang*, title page, 19–28, 30, 33. In the aforementioned

“Sotsialisticheskaiia literatura v Kitaie,” there is a title given as *Yige bingshi de tanhua* (A Soldier’s Story).

128. The official Chinese title was apparently “Shiyue geming gei le women shenme” (see “Sotsialisticheskaiia literatura v Kitaie”), but I have been unable to verify this with the work itself, and the source for the assertion remains unclear.

129. A summary of the news distributed by the “Zhong-E tongxinshe” is included as “Zhong-E (Hua-E) tongxinshe xinwengao mulu.” On the activities of this news agency, see Fang Xing, “Xin minzhuzhuyi geming shishang de diyige xinwen tongxunshe, Shanghai ‘Zhong-E (Hua-E) tongxinshe’”; and Ren Wuxiong, “Jiandang shiqi de Zhong-E tongxinshe he Hua-E tongxinshe.”

130. “Benbao jizhe yu Hua-E tongxinshe zhu-Hua jingli zhi tanhua.”

131. [Chen] Duxiu, “Zhen de gongren tuanti.”

132. Shen Yixing, Jiang Peinan, and Zheng Qingsheng, eds., *Shanghai gongren yundong shi*, 76–82.

133. “Tongxin,” *Laodong jie* 7; “Shanghai jiqi gonghui kai faqihui jilüe”; “Shanghai jiqi gonghui chengli ji.”

134. [Chen] Duxiu, “Zhen de gongren tuanti.”

135. The manifesto and regulations of the “Gaizao lianhe” were carried in *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2.5 (November 1920).

136. “Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui xiaoxi.”

137. Chen Xiaocen, “Wusi yundong zhong chansheng de Tianjin Juewushe.”

138. On a number of occasions, Voitinsky sent messengers (Koreans) from Shanghai to Japan in an effort to make contact with Japanese socialists. Voitinsky seems to have had on his mind Ōsugi Sakae, Sakai Toshihiko, and Yamakawa Hitoshi. See “Voitinsky’s letters, June 1920, Shanghai” (document 1); and “Voitinsky’s letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 2).

139. Ōsugi Sakae, *Jijoden, Nihon dasshutsu ki*, 284–295; “Saikin ni okeru yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shirabe,” 104. On the identity of the envoy “M,” Iwamura Toshio notes: “It is unclear if Mr. M is the same person as Mamaev” (the first character of whose name in Chinese was “Ma”); see Iwamura, *Kominterun to Nihon Kyōsantō no seiritsu*, 78, 105. There is also a theory that it was “Yi Ch’un-suk”; see Robert A. Scalapino, *The Japanese Communist Movement, 1920–1966*, 12; Keihokyoku, “Chōsenjin kinkyō gaiyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu,” 124. Asukai, the editor of Ōsugi Sakae’s autobiography, also adopts the “Yi Ch’un-sik” thesis.

140. Among Japanese scholars, many have taken the view that the “Russian named T” was Cheren; see Ōsugi Sakae, *Jijoden, Nihon dasshutsu ki*, 292–295. Inumaru Giichi (*Daiichiji Kyōsantō shi no kenkyū, zōho: Nihon Kyōsantō no sōritsu*, 79) claims that the basis for this view is not clear, and background on just who this “Cheren” was remains altogether vague.

141. Bai Jianwu, *Bai Jianwu riji*, 277 (entry for October 10, 1920): “Yesterday, representatives of Soviet Russia, Polevoy and Voitinsky, came and we discussed China at present and in the future. They explained the organizational lineages in Russia.” On October 9, Bai Jianwu had met with Li Dazhao—they had been particularly close friends during their days at the Beiyang College

of Law and Political Administration—and thus Li provided Voitinsky with an introduction.

142. Voitinsky, “Wo yu Sun Zhongshan de liangci huijian,” 109–113; the original appeared in *Pravda* (March 15, 1925). On the dating of the meetings with Sun, Voitinsky wrote only “autumn 1920,” but he noted “shortly after” their meeting that “Sun left for Guangzhou”; Sun departed for Guangzhou on November 25. Thus, it would have to have been in November.

143. Voitinsky, “Wo yu Sun Zhongshan de liangci huijian,” 109–113.

144. “Guangzhou Gongchandang de baogao”; Tang Baolin and Lin Mao-sheng, *Chen Duxiu nianpu*, 135; Voitinsky, “Wo yu Sun Zhongshan de liangci huijian.”

145. “Report of Sokolov-Strakhov on the Guangzhou government, April 21, 1920” (document 9).

146. “Report of Sokolov-Strakhov on the Guangzhou government, April 21, 1920” (document 9).

147. Dalin, *Kitaikiie memuary: 1921–1927*, 27–32.

148. It is theorized that Voitinsky’s second trip to China took place from November to December 1923; see, for example, *Weijingsiji zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao*, 472–473; Zhou Wenqi and Chu Liangru, *Teshu er fuza de keti: Gongchan guoji, Sulian he Zhongguo Gongchandang guanxi biannian shi*, 66. In November–December 1923, however, Voitinsky was attending a meeting of the Comintern Executive in Moscow and could not have visited China; see “Minutes of a Meeting of the Comintern Executive, November 26, 1923” (document 95).

149. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

150. “Smirnov’s Request of the Far Eastern Bureau, Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) to Raise Foreign Capital for Activities Related to the Comintern in Shanghai, after December 21, 1920,” in Malyshova and Poznanskii, *Dal’nevostochnaia politika sovetskoi Rossii, 1920–1922 gg.*, 180.

151. In addition, there is K. N. Sokolov-Strakhov, who met Voitinsky in Shanghai in January 1921 and later, based on intelligence Voitinsky gave him, reported on the political scene in Guangzhou. Other than the fact that he was in Blagoveshchensk in November 1920, his route of travel to and the length of time he stayed in China remain unclear.

152. Peng Shuzhi, “Beiyiwang le de Zhonggong jiandang renwu”; the original appeared in Claude Cadart and Cheng Yingxiang, *L’Envol du Communisme en Chine: Mémoires de Peng Shuzhi*, 162–166. See also Peng Shuzhi, “Zhongguo diyige Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi shi zenyang xingcheng de?” 43.

153. Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), “Chi-E youji,” August 17, 1924.

154. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

155. The International Council of Trade Unions was created in Moscow in July 1920 as a provisional organ, and in July of the following year on its foundations the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) was founded; see

Murata Yōichi, *Kominterun shiryōshū*, 578, 603. In November 1920, the Council instructed Smurgis, then living in Chita, to establish there a Far Eastern Secretariat of the International Council of Trade Unions; see Kovalev and Kartunova, “Novye materialy o pervom c”ezde Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.” Information about Fromberg is based on A. I. Kartunova, “Profintern i profsoyuznoie dvizheniie v Kitaie (iz istorii ix vzaimootnoshenii)”; and “Novye materialy o pervom c”ezde,” mentioned immediately above.

156. Maring mentioned Fromberg’s name as a comrade with whom he worked in Shanghai; see “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive” (dated July 11, 1922), in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 306; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 60.

157. Wu Jialin and Xie Yinming, *Beijing dang zuzhi de chuangjian huodong* (239): “With assistance from the Profintern representative Fromberg [C. Fulaimubao], the organization of the Communist Party in Beijing launched *Gongren zhoukan*” (Workers Weekly). However, this source offers no basis for such an assertion. While we do not know how long Fromberg’s activities continued in China, according to official Japanese documents, he was the general manager of Dalbank, the Soviet bank in Shanghai in 1927; see “Shanghai ni okeru rōnō Rokoku Daribanku sōsa oyobi fūsa jiken.”

158. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

159. In Xu Xiangwen, “Cong Su-E de Yazhou zhanlüe kan Zhonggong ‘Yida’ yiqian de jiandang huodong,” the author claims that Voitinsky’s recall was a concession carried out to advance diplomatic negotiations between the Far Eastern Republic and the Beijing government, though this may be too cynical a view. It is hard to imagine that Voitinsky’s activities would have constituted a threat to the Beijing government that might be used in diplomatic negotiations.

160. The actual publication of issues 3 and 4 of *Gongchandang* was later than April and May 1921 as printed on the magazines’ covers; see Chart 2 in chapter 1.

161. Because one of the plates for issue 3 of *Gongchandang* was confiscated by the French Concession police in Shanghai, it is missing one page. A piece entitled “Special Announcement of Our Company” in issue 8.6 of *Xin qingnian* declared that, because of a “special reason,” they were henceforth moving the place of printing to Guangzhou. According to “Notes from the Editorial Office” in issue 9.1, this “special reason” was that the entire manuscript of issue 8.6 had been confiscated by the authorities before printing had been completed. This “Special Announcement,” however, was an expedient to delude the authorities, for the journal continued to be printed secretly thereafter in Shanghai. See Mao Dun, *Wo zouguo de daolu*, 1: 157; and Chen Wangdao, “Guanyu Shanghai Makesizhuyi yanjiuhui huodong de huiyi, Chen Wangdao tongzhi shengqian tanhua jilu.”

162. “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive,” in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 309; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 62.

163. Bao Huiseng, “Dang de ‘Yida’ qianhou,” 117. Li Da made a similar point; see his “Li Da zizhuan (jielu).”

164. Kondō Eizō, *Komuminterun no misshi*, 128–129.

165. That this “Mr. Huang” was Huang Jiemin was established by Li Dan-yang, “Chaoxianren ‘Ba-ke-jing-chun’ lai-Hua zudang shulun.”

166. “Saikin ni okeru yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shirabe,” in Matsuo, ed., *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku*, 106. On his way home from Shanghai, Kondō was apprehended by the Japanese police in Shimonoseki.

167. Looking at the political program now, portions of it resemble the Chinese Socialist Party formed in 1912, and it is certainly imaginable that it was an imitation of the latter.

168. Yang Kuisong, “Youguan Zhongguo zaoqi Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de yixie qingkuang”; Yang Kuisong and Dong Shiwei, *Haishishenlou yu damo lizhou: Zhongguo jindai shehuizhuyi sichao yanjiu*, 185–187; Yang Shiyuan, “1920 nian de ‘Chongqing Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi’ xijie.”

169. *Chenbao fujian*, August 26, 1924 and August 28, 1924. Bao Pu (Qin Diqing) was an anarchist, but in 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth Corps in Shanghai (linked to the “real” Communist Party), and the following year he went to study in Russia. The letter of protest of the Socialist Youth Corps in Moscow that Bao Pu mentions (signed by Bao Pu, Ren Bishi, and thirty-three others) can still be found in the archives in Moscow; see Russian State Archives on Social and Political History (file 514.1.7.12 and file 495.154.81.10).

170. *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji*, 60.

171. The Congress of the Toilers of the East was held in Moscow, January 21–February 1, 1922, with a closing session in Petrograd on February 2. It was convened at Comintern initiative, calling together revolutionary groups from various countries in the East, in opposition to the Washington Conference. On the general contours of the Congress, see S. A. Gorbunova, “C”ezd narodov Dal’nego Vostoka i revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie v Kitaie”; Japanese translation: “Kyokutō minzoku taikai to Chūgoku no kakumei undō”; Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, chapter 4, contains much detail. On the Chinese delegates to this Congress, see Yang Kuisong, “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti,” an investigation based on original materials.

172. CP, “Wo guanchaguo de Eluosi.”

173. Cui Xingwu, “Zhang Minquan shifou dao Mosike?”

174. Zhang Minquan (Zhang Meizhen) was an Esperantist and anarchist active in the May Fourth era. Although his name frequently appears in the reportage of the time, neither his dates nor place of origin (one theory claims he was Hunanese) are known. From the available materials, we can determine that he was a leader of the National Salvation Corps of Chinese Students in Japan, a group founded in 1918; he traveled from Shanghai to Guangdong and Southeast Asia to spread the national salvation message in the fall of 1919; returning home around February 1920, he propagandized on behalf of anarchism in Zhangzhou, Fujian, in March and April; arrested by Chen Jiongming’s forces on April 20, he was expelled to Shanghai, and there he was connected with

the Esperanto Xin-Hua School. After turning up at numerous organizations as an “activist element,” such as attending the founding meeting of the Shanghai Friendly Society of Industry and Commerce in October 1920, he received some financial assistance from comrades in the middle of June 1921 and set off to Moscow to attend the Comintern congress. He seems to have passed away soon after returning from Moscow. According to Li Danyang and Liu Jianyi, “Yinglun hanggao, zaoqi lai-Hua de Su-E zhongyao mishi kao,” “Zhang Minquan” was the same person as “Zhang Mochi,” an anarchist activist at the time, and “Sheng Guocheng,” an anarchist who served as an editor of *Minsheng*, but they do not give their sources for this conclusion. In 1922, Zhang Mochi was active as a central figure in the Sino-Korean Peoples’ Mutual Aid Society. See Son An-sök, “1920 nendai, Shanhai no Chū-Chō rentai soshiki: ‘Chū-Kan kokumin gojoshia sōsha’ no seiritsu, kōsei, katsudō o chūshin ni.” There are materials as well that claim that Zhang Minquan was from Wuhua, Guangdong; that he joined the Guomindang in 1921; that he was in Guangzhou around 1926 at the time of the first United Front; that he later went to study in the Soviet Union; and that from 1949 he was in Taiwan. See Zhonghua minguo liu-E tongxuehui, ed., *Liushinian lai Zhongguo liu-E xuesheng zhi fengshuang chuoli*, 38–39, 527–528; it is unclear if this Zhang Minquan is the same as the one we have been considering.

175. Unless noted otherwise, the following discussion of relations between the Comintern and Korean Communists is based on Mizuno Naoki, “Komintē-run to Chōsen, kakutai no Chōsen daihyō no kentō o chūshin ni.”

176. “Zhonggong zhu-Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang’an,” in the Central Archives. There is a similar document in the Moscow archives as well; see Archives of the Russian National and Political History (file 495.154.81.9).

177. Yang Kuisong, “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti.”

178. Wl. Wilenski (Sibirjakow), “Am Vorabend der Entstehung der kommunistischen Partei in China.”

179. As pronounced in German, this would be (in English) “Yao Zuo Zin.” Among the other names mentioned are (in the original and in *pinyin* in parentheses) “Di-Kan” (Di Kan), “Kai-Bei-Dsin” (Kang Baiqing), “Wan-Dei-Shi” (Wang Dexi), “Fan-Fu-Guan” (Feng Fuguang), and “Tzen-Tsao-Schen” (Chen Zhaoshen), all of whom were on the board of the National Student Union in early 1920. Clearly, “Jao-Tso-sin” was Yao Zuobin. On the names of the board members of the Student Union, see “Liang xueshenghui xiaoxi”; “Xuesheng zonghui lishihui kaihui.”

180. According to Vilensky-Sibiryakov, of the seven constituent members of “the executive of the student organization formed by student delegates from the entire country” (namely, the board of the National Student Union), three, including Yao Zuobin, were members of the “Datongdang,” and one was from the “Zhenlishe.” Also, Vilensky-Sibiryakov made contact in Shanghai with, among others, Di Kan and Cheng Tianfang, leaders of the Shanghai Student Union. See Cheng Tianfang, “Li Gongsinian.”

181. “Lu Yongxiang fudian (1920 nian 3-yue 13-ri),” 616–619.

182. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the

Russian Communist Party” (document 8). Among Japanese diplomatic records, we find the fact recognized that Yao Zuobin “represented” the National Student Union and “to forge links with the Russian Bolsheviks, he traveled to Harbin and Vladivostok in April this year [1920]”; see “Gai hi otsu dai-225-gō yōchūi Shinajin no dōsei ni kansuru ken, 1920 nen 8-hatsu 9-ka,” in file D. According to the protest letter by the members of the Socialist Youth Corps attacking Yao Zuobin in Moscow, Yao’s trip to Vladivostok was a consequence of a decision reached at a meeting of the National Student Union, and he was given 400 yuan at the time for expenses; see Russian State Archives on Social and Political History (file 514.1.7.12).

183. “E xuesheng qingqiu shijie tongqing.”

184. “Shanghai ni okeru shisō dantai.”

185. Huang Jitao, “Huang Jiemin tongzhi zhuanlüe.” This biography, which is based on interviews with Huang Jiemin, says simply that the “Xin Ya tongmengdang later changed its name to Datongdang,” but it does not indicate when this change occurred.

186. Chen Qiyong, “1919 nian Sulian pai diyige daibiao dao Zhangzhou.”

187. On Wang Xitian’s career, see Niki Fumiko, *Shinsai ka no Chūgokujin gyakusatsu*.

188. On the Cosmo Club, see Matsuo Takayoshi, “Kosumo kurabu shōshi.”

189. Yamaga Taiji, *Tasogare nikki* (Twilight diary), section 1.4: “Himitsu kessha Daidōtō” (Datongdang, secret society); this entire section of Yamaga’s diary is transcribed in Sakai Hirobumi, “Yamaga Taiji to Chūgoku: *Tasogare nikki* ni miru Nit-Chū anakisuto no kōryū.” According to Yamaga, the Datongdang was “an association of people working for freedom and peace,” and it “sought comrades around the globe transcending nationality and class.”

190. Liu Zerong, “Shiyue geming qianhou wo zai Sulian de yiduan jingli,”

219. In addition, issue 1.2 of *Jiefang yu gaizao* (September 1919) carried a work by Imai Masayoshi (trans. Chaoran and Kongkong), “Liening yu Tuoluosiji zhi renwu jiqi zhuyi zhi shixian,” which explained Bolshevism as “the principle of pure equality” (*datongzhuyi*).

191. Wang Jueyuan, *Zhongguo dangpai shi*, 94. In addition to the political program of the Datongdang, this book introduces in basic terms the fact that its members included Chinese, Koreans, Taiwanese, Vietnamese, Indians, and others, but it gives no sources upon which it bases this information.

192. Huang Jitao, “Huang Jiemin tongzhi zhuanlüe.”

193. Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 57.

194. Huang Jitao, “Huang Jiemin tongzhi zhuanlüe.” Unless indicated otherwise, the biographical information on Huang comes from this source.

195. A theorist of the Korean independence movement, Cho So-ang (Cho Yong-ŭn) was especially known for the “principle of three equalities” (*samgyunjuŭi*). After studying at Meiji University, he returned home for a time and took a teaching position at Pōphak Chōnsu School; he later went to China to pursue the independence movement. In April 1919, when the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was founded in Shanghai, he served as secretary general of the State Council. In the early 1920s, he made contact with the Comintern, as did other personnel in the provisional government; his name,

for example, appears as one of a number of Korean Communists in a report submitted by Maring to the Comintern. See “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive,” in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 314; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 66–67. With Kim Ku, Yi Tong-yǒng, and others, in 1929, he founded the Korean Independence Party, and after the Provisional Government moved to Chongqing, he served as foreign minister, becoming increasingly important in the political sphere. Cho So-ang mentions contacts with Huang Jue (Huang Jiemin) in his autobiography as well; see Cui Zhongzhi, *Sanjunzhuyi yu sanminzhuyi*, 12.

196. On this opposition movement and the National Salvation Corps, see Zhang Huizhi, “Wusi” *qianxi de Zhongguo xuesheng yundong*, for details.

197. On April 18, 1920, Huang took part with Chen Duxiu in the “Preparatory Conference to Commemorate Labor” (see *Minguo ribao*, April 20, 1920); on May 1 he served as chairman of the “Conference to Commemorate May Day” (see *Minguo ribao*, May 3, 1920), and on May 16, he was the head of the general affairs division and external representative of the China Industrial Association (see *Minguo ribao*, May 19, 1920).

198. On the Sino-Korean Mutual Aid Society (Zhong-Han huzhushe or Zhong-Han guomin huzhushe) with branches established in Shanghai and elsewhere in China from early 1921, see Ono Shinji, “San’ichi undō to Goshi undō”; and Son An-sōk, “1920 nendai, Shanhai no Chū-Chō rentai soshiki.”

199. Later, Huang Jiemin continued working with the China Industrial Association, participated in editing literacy textbooks for the YMCA, and participated in the May Thirtieth Movement. Thereafter, he returned to Jiangxi, organized the “Jiangxi Revolutionary Society,” supported the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army, and served as head of the water utilization office in the Jiangxi provincial government. After the Guomindang turned anti-Communist in 1927, he became dissatisfied with Jiang Kai-shek’s autocracy, resigned his post in the Guomindang, and returned to his hometown to live in seclusion. With the founding of the People’s Republic of China, he served as a member of the Central Committee of the Guomindang Revolutionary Committee and as the assistant head of the Supervisory Office of the Jiangxi Provincial People’s Government.

200. “Shanghai ni okeru shisō dantai.”

201. Yamaga Taiji, *Tasogare nikki*, section 1.4: “Himitsu kessha Daidōtō.”

202. Wl. Wilenski (Sibirjakow), “Am Vorabend der Entstehung der kommunistischen Partei in China.”

203. Archives of the Russian National and Political History (file 489.1.14.122).

204. The Korean Socialist Party changed its name in Shanghai to the Korean Communist Party in May 1921. For details, see Mizuno Naoki, “Kominterun to Chōsen, kakutai no Chōsen daihyō no kentō o chūshin ni.”

205. Sō Tae-suk, *Chōsen Kyōsanshugi undō shi, 1918–1948*, 13.

206. Wang Ruofei, “Guanyu da geming shiqi de Zhongguo Gongchandang.”

207. For an examination establishing that “Ba-ke-jing-chun” was indeed Pak Chun-sun and Pak’s contributions to the Chinese Communist movement, see Li Danyang, “Chaoxianren ‘Ba-ke-jing-chun’ lai-Hua zudang shulun.”

208. Zhou Enlai, “Gongchan guoji he Zhongguo Gongchandang (1960 nian 7-yue),” 303.

209. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 82, 130; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 89–90, 122.

210. “Voitinsky’s letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 2).

211. For studies on the relationship between the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in Shanghai and the Chinese Communist movement, see Mu Tao and Sun Kezhi, *Da Han minguo linshi zhengfu zai Zhongguo*; Li Danyang, “Chaoxianren ‘Ba-ke-jing-chun’ lai-Hua zudang shulun”; and Son Ch’un-il, “Sanghae imsi chŏngpu wa Chungguk Kongsandang ch’anggon ŭi ch’ogi haltong (1919 nyŏn 9-wŏl~1921 nyŏn 7-wŏl)” —all rudimentary analyses so far. In the memoirs of Liu Weidan, a revolutionary after the 1911 Revolution (who joined the CCP in 1925), we read, “At the introduction of two Korean comrades, Kim Ip and Mr. Yi, I entered the Korean Communist Party in Shanghai in [May] 1925.” See Wang Weizhou, “Wo de huiyi.” It is unclear if this is true.

212. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8).

213. Three biographies of Krasnoshchekov have appeared in recent years: Uesugi Kazunori, *Roshia ni Amerika o tateta otoko*; Horie Norio, *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no yume*; and B. I. Mukhachev, *Aleksandr Krasnoshchekov*.

214. “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive,” in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 312–313; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuozuo*, 65.

215. On Chinese Communists and their activities in Blagoveshchensk, see “Amuer Huaqiao qingxiang gongchan”; V. M. Ustinov, “Kitaiskie kommunisticheskie organizatsii v Sovetskoi Rossii (1918–1920 gg.)”; Itō Shūichi, ed., “Jūgatsu kakumei go no sūnenkan ni okeru Soveto-Chūgoku-Chōsen kinrōsha”; Xue Xiantian, “Guanyu lü-E Huagong lianhehui jiguanbao *Datongbao*”; and Yu Minling, “Sulian jingnei chuban de Zhongwen qikan, 1918–1937.”

216. Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 85. Although biographies of Jiang Kanghu—such as Wang Peiwei, *Jiang Kanghu yanjiu* (172)—mention that Jiang and Krasnoshchekov had been friends since their years of residence in the United States, there is no evidence indicating that Jiang’s return to China enjoyed the authority of the Bureau of Chinese Communists in the Russian Communist Party.

217. “Liu Qian’s Report to the Amur Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, October 5, 1920” (document 6).

218. Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 85.

219. A. I. Kartunova, “K voprosu o kontaktakh predstavitelei Kitaiskoi sekti RKP(b) s organizatsiiami KPK: Po novym dokumentam 1921–1922.”

220. Li Yuzhen, *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji*, 371.

221. *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji*, 60. According to this work, after Liu Qian’s death, the former branch of the Chinese Socialist Party in Heihe, Heilongjiang Province (it is not clear if this was in line with Jiang’s Socialist Party), fled to Russian soil and was reorganized in the “Chinese Communist Party.”

222. Liu Zerong was scheduled to be a member of the newly founded Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern (*Dal'nevostochnaia politika sovetskoi Rossii, 1920–1922 gg.*, 155, 176), and on December 13, he arrived with Zhang Silin of the Chinese government in Manzhouli; Qu Qiubai, “Ou-E guike tan,” in *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, 149. After returning home, he withdrew from the Communist movement and worked in the foreign office of the Chinese government.

223. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party” (document 8). The low estimation of Liu Zerong can be found in a “Letter from Bela Kun to Smirnov (October 1, 1920),” in *Dal'nevostochnaia politika sovetskoi Rossii, 1920–1922 gg.*, 142.

224. “Tokubetsu yōshisatsunin jōsei shirabe, Taishō 10-nendo” and “Saikin ni okeru yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shirabe,” 62; “Taishō 11-nen, Chōsen chian jōkyō, sono ni (kokugai),” 424.

225. “Shanghai ni okeru Kyōsantō no jōkyō,” 9.

226. “Keishichō ni okeru Shi Sontō no chinjutsu yōryō”; see also below, appendix 3, “Deposition of Shi Cuntong.”

227. “Taishō 11-nen, Chōsen chian jōkyō, sono ni (kokugai),” 371; “Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha narabi ni Chōsenjin no jōkyō (Taishō 10-nen 8-gatsu 4-ka, Naimushō ni oite hirakaretaru kaku fukēn kōtō kachō kaigi sekijō ni oite, Keihōkyoku gajikachō, Ōtsuka naimu shokikan kōjutsu)” claimed that Pak, Yi, and Yao left Shanghai on June 19.

228. Kondō, *Komuminterun no hisshi*, 131–132.

229. Mizuno, “Kominterun to Chōsen, kakutaikai no Chōsen daihyō no kentō o chūshin ni.”

230. On the background to the formation of the Irkutsk branch of the Korean Communist Party, see Hara Teruyuki, “Roshia kakumei, Shiberia sensō to Chōsen dokuritsu undō.”

231. “Torzhestvennoie otkrytie, uchreditel’nogo c’ezda koreiskikh kommunisticheskikh organizatsii.”

232. For an overview of the activities of the National Student Union, see Zhai Zuojun et al., “Xin minzhuzhuyi geming shiqi Zhonghua quanguo xuesheng lianhehui lici daibiao dahui jieshao”; and Zhai Zuojun and Jiang Zhiyan, *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong shi*. Neither source, though, has details on the 1920–1921 period.

233. On the Chinese student movement in the latter half of 1919, one study that examines in detail the transformation of internal consciousness toward societal reform would be Ono Shinji, “Rōkō shinsei no menpō: Minkoku hachinen aki Pekin no shisō jōkyō.”

234. “Gai hi otsu dai-239-gō Shina Shisenshō ryū-Nichi shihi gakusei no bōkō ni kansuru ken (1918 nen 4-gatsu 9-ka),” in file G.

235. “Gai hi otsu dai-390-gō Shina ryūgakusei chū no seiryokusha ra ni kansuru ken (1919 nen 8-gatsu 18-nichi),” in file G.

236. “Xuesheng zonghui huansong Liu Zhenqun jishi.” The sending of Yao Zuobin as representative of the Chinese students in Tokyo seems to have been formally acknowledged at a general meeting of the overseas students in Japan; see “Liu-Ri xuesheng guochihui shengkuang.”

237. Di and Jiang, *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong shi*.
238. Xu Deyan, "Wusi yundong liushi zhounian," 64. We can see reflected here that the National Student Union was a mere stepping-stone for him to rise as an activist in the student movement.
239. "Zuori guomin dahui zhi shengkuang"; "Guomin dahui weiyuanhui jishi."
240. On trends in the Tianjin Student Union, see Kataoka Kazutada, *Ten-shin Goshi undō shōshi*.
241. "Quanguo xueshenghui xuanyan."
242. "Xuesheng lianhehui kaihui ji"; "Xuesheng zonghui pinyibu kaimu"; "Quanguo xueshenghui xuanyan."
243. "Tonggao gedi yizhi bake."
244. "Tiyuchang xuesheng dahui ji"
245. Wushe, "Wei Jing-Jin-Hu xuesheng jiefen." Approval or disapproval of the Beijing government gave birth to a sharp rivalry at the third delegate congress of the National Student Union the next year, 1921; it led to a split in the Union and a temporary dissolution. See Di and Jiang, *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong shi*, 83–86.
246. "Fengbi xuesheng zonghui yu gejie lianhehui." On this day, not only the National Student Union but also the Shanghai Student Union, the National Federation of Various Circles (Quanguo gejie lianhehui), and the Shanghai Federation of Various Circles (Shanghai gejie lianhehui)—all located in the French Concession—were also blockaded.
247. "Quanguo xueshenghui xuanyan."
248. Yao's reprehensible behavior is enumerated in the protest letter written by the members of the Socialist Youth Corps. One accusation is that he accepted bribes from the southern government and switched slogans for the second strike of the National Student Union from "oppose Japanese imperialism" to "overthrow the northern government." See Russian State Archives on Social and Political History (file 514.1.7.12). In addition, in his "Am Vorabend der Entstehung der kommunistischen Partei in China," Vilensky-Sibiriyakov wrote, "The Beijing Student Union considers the Shanghai Student Union as a toy in the hands of southern militarists [meaning here the Guomindang forces], who, hiding behind it [the Beijing Student Union], are concocting further schemes." It is well known that at the time the Communists' view of both Sun Yat-sen and the Guomindang was rather low. Later, the greatest impediment to starting the Guomindang-Communist United Front was the distrust of these Communists for Sun and the Guomindang. One aspect in which the National Student Union's movement in 1920 acted in concert with the political views of the Guomindang is pointed out in Suetsugu Reiko, "Goshi undō to Kokumintō seiryoku."
249. From a conversation with Yu Yuzhi, a leader of the Student Union at the time (thanks to Li Danyang).
250. "Gai hi otsu dai-225-gō yōchūi Shinajin no dōsei ni kansuru ken (1920 nen 8-gatsu 9-ka)," in file D.
251. "Xuesheng zonghui zhi tongdian."
252. "Liang xueshenghui xuanju jinwen."
253. "Xuesheng zonghui dierjie lishihui ji."

254. “Xuesheng zonghui lishi jiaotihui.”
255. Fan Tiren, “Sun Zhongshan xiansheng zai quanguo xuelian diwujie daibiao dahui shang.”
256. “Li Da zizhuan (jielu).” It is uncertain if Li Da knew of Yao’s “Communist Party” and the Datongdang, or if he had any contact with it. It is also unclear if Yao knew of Li’s activities leading to the formation of the CCP.
257. “Xueshenghui baogao dangxuan lishi.”
258. “Gai hi otsu dai-559-gō ryū-Nichi gakusei kyūkokudan no kinjō (1921 nen 4-gatsu 29-nichi),” in file G. As Yao was primarily an activist, I read through the principal newspapers and magazines of the era but was unable to find a single essay that he had written (one of the reasons that the orientation and facts about his “Communist Party” are not well known). This letter is only a few sentences long.
259. “Xuejie huanying Cejinhui daibiao”; “Xueshenghui daibiao chufa kaocha”; “Nanjing xuesheng lianhehui jishi.”
260. “Yuanjiu beibu xuesheng baogaoshu”; “San tuanti cangan Yingchang huochaichang.”
261. “Gai hi otsu dai-1067-gō Shanhai gakusei rengōkai sōkai riji naitei no ken (1921 nen 7-gatsu 11-nichi),” in file G.
262. It is well known that the CCP of Chen Duxiu and others received an immense amount of financial help from the Comintern. The amount received in 1922 surpassed 16,000 yuan or 94 percent of the Party’s administrative expenses; see “Zhonggong zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui shuji Chen Duxiu gei Gongchan guoji de baogao (1922 nian 6-yue 30-ri),” 47.
263. Bao Pu, “Chi-E youji,” August 28, 1924.
264. On the latter half of Yao Zuobin’s unfortunate life (cooperating with the Japanese during the Sino-Japanese War, being branded a “Hanjian” or traitor, and serving as mayor of Qingdao), see my “Chūgoku Kyōsantō shimatsu (zoku): Yō Sakuhin wa ikite ita,” for details.

3. TOWARD THE FORMATION OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. The appellation “Communist group” (*Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu*) is a subsequent, generic term used for the different groups that were active in various places before the CCP’s first national congress. At the time, the members of these groups seem to have dubbed their organizations either “Communist parties” or “Communist party branches.” Thus, even in China there are divergent views about calling the regional organizations that developed before the first national congress “Communist groups.” For more details, see Fang Xiao, ed., *Zhonggong dang shi bianyilu*, 29–31; and Zhonggong Zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi yishi, ed., “*Zhongguo Gongchandang shi (shangjuan)*” *zhushiji*, 35–37. Inasmuch as the names used at the time were unstable, I use “Communist group” and “Communist organization” in this work, but that, of course, does not mean that it was the appellation used at the time.

2. Chen Xiaomei, comp., *Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu*, 9–10; Chen Wangdao, “Huiyi dang chengli shiqi de yixie qingkuang”; Shao Lizi, “Dang chengli qianhou de yixie qingkuang”; Li Da, “Li Da zizhuan (jielu).”

3. For example, Ren Wuxiong, “1920 nian Chen Duxiu jianli de shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, jian tan Shanghai ‘Makesizhuyi yanjiuhui’ de wenti.”

4. For studies that offer a comparative analysis of the differences in the various memoirs concerning the “Shanghai Communist group,” see Honjō Hisako, “Shanghai Kyōsanshugi gurūpu no seiritsu o megutte”; Ajioka Tōru, “‘Chūgoku Kyōsantō shōso’ o meguru jakkan no mondai.”

5. On the discovery of the diary, see An Zhijie and Yu Shouzang, “Zhen-cang qishi yī zai, chongxian zai dang de jinianri: Yu Xiusong lieshi bufen riji beifaxian.”

6. “Yu Xiusong lieshi riji,” 297.

7. Haiyu Guke (Liang Bingxian), “Jiefang bielu”; the original appeared in the Hong Kong publication, *Ziyou ren*, November 24, November 28, December 1, and December 5, 1951; Zheng Peigang, “Wuzhengfuzhuyi zai Zhongguo de ruogan shishi”; “Zheng Peigang de huiyi.” Zheng’s memoirs were clearly written with reference to Liang’s, and thus strictly speaking, only Liang’s memoir can be considered as support for the Socialist League. For a work that brings together the memoir literature of Chinese anarchists, see Saga Takashi et al., eds. and trans., *Chūgoku anakizumu undō no kaisō*.

8. “Tan Zuyin de huiyi”; “Li Changren de huiyi”; Tan Tiandu, “Guangdong dang de zuzhi chengli qianhou.”

9. Ren Wuxiong, “Dui ‘Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng’ de tansuo”; Hu Qingyun, “Hewei Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng”; Shen Haibo, “Shilun Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng”

10. Yang Kuisong, “Cong Gongchan guoji dang’an kan Zhonggong Shanghai faqizu jianli shishi”; Jin Liren, “Zhonggong Shanghai faqizu chengli qianhou ruogan shishi kao”

11. Jin’s explanation appears in Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi yanjiushi, comp., *Zhongguo Gongchandang Shanghai shi*. Jin was one of the editors of this collection.

12. I. M. Musin, *Ocherki rabochego dvizheniia v Kitaie: Voprosy kitaiskoi revoliutsii*, 228. On the same page, the CCP’s first congress is given as August 1921 and the second congress as August 1922; this is not a source upon which one can rely for exact dates.

13. Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong), “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti”; Shen Yanbing, “Huiyi Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu.”

14. Chen Wangdao, “Tan Makesi-Lieningzhuyi zai Zhongguo de shengli.”

15. “Kitaikaia Kompartii na III kongresse Komintern (Doklad Kitaiskoi delegatsii); “Zhang Tailei zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui de shumian baogao,” 552.

16. Katayama Seiji, ed., *Nihon Kyōsantō shi (senzen)*, 18–19; Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō,” esp. the appendix entitled “Furoku: Shi Sontō shōgen” (Appendix: Shi Cuntong’s Testimony).

17. “Doklad Delegatsii Kitaiskogo Sotsialisticheskogo Soyuz Molodezhi na 2-m Kongresse Komintern Molodezhi”; Gongqingtuan Zhongyang qingyun shi

yanjiushi and Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi, ed., *Qingnian Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo qingnian yundong*, 52.

18. “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan diyici quanguo dahui.” As this source notes, “In August 1920, eight young Socialists in Shanghai organized a group to propagandize the practice and ideology of societal reform. This group was called the Shanghai Socialist Youth Corps.”

19. Even in his declaration upon leaving the Party in 1927, Shi Cuntong noted, “In May 1920, when Chen Duxiu, Dai Jitao, and others came up with the idea of founding a Communist party, I was among them.” See Shi Cuntong, “Beitongzhong de zibai.”

20. Although “Zhongfu” was Chen Duxiu’s style name, he is listed separately here, and thus Wang and Chen must be different people. In his testimony in the case of the “Gyōmin Communist Party Incident,” Shi Cuntong again mentioned the name “Wang Zhongfu,” which makes it unlikely that he transcribed it incorrectly.

21. “Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri).”

22. Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong), “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti”; Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong), “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti”; Shi Fuliang, “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan chengli qianhou de yixie qingkuang.”

23. “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui,” comprised of documents concerning the first national congress of the CCP, states as well, “The Communist organization of China was formed from around this time [1920]. Initially, this organization in Shanghai altogether had only five members.” See *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, 556.

24. From Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 495.225.3001); and cited in Yang Fumao, “Yu Xiusong dui chuangujian Zhongguo Gongchandang he Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan de gongxian.”

25. Chen Gongpei, “Huiyi dang de faqizu he fu-Fa qinggong jianxue deng qingkuang.”

26. “Yu Xiusong lieshi riji,” entry for June 19.

27. *Guomin ribao*, *Juewu*, June 19, 1920, includes two send-off poems for Shi Cuntong by Fei Zheming and Sun Zuji, written at Shi’s farewell party on June 16.

28. *Guomin ribao*, *Juewu*, June 16, 1920, carried a notice that Dai Jitao would be leaving for Huzhou on June 17.

29. At the time Chen Duxiu on occasion called his group the “Socialist Party”; see Chen, “Duiyu shiju de wojian.”

30. Li Da completed his studies in Japan and returned to China on August 19, 1920; after paying a visit in Hangzhou, he arrived in Shanghai on September 6. See “Gai hi otsu dai-325-gō, ryū-Nichi gakusei sōkai narabi ni dōkai buntoku shunin Ri Tatsu no kōdō (1920 nen 9-gatsu 10-ka)” and “Gai hi otsu dai-395-gō, ryū-Nichi gakusei sōkai ni kansuru ken (1920 nen 9-gatsu 27-nichi),” both in (G). Li Da’s reminiscences occupy an important place in the memoir literature in studies of the history of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, but one has to treat his descriptions of events before August 1920 with great caution.

31. Zhou Fohai, "Fusang jiyiing su dangnian," 139–140.
32. Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong), "Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti."
33. Chen Duxiu, "Zhen de gongren tuanti."
34. Haiyu Guke (Liang Bingxian), "Jiefang bielu," 8; the original appeared in the Hong Kong publication, *Ziyou ren*, November 24, 1951.
35. "Zheng Peigang de huiyi."
36. Beijing daxue tushuguan and Beijing Li Dazhao yanjiuhui, eds., *Li Dazhao shishi zonglu*, 545. "Tongzhi Lingshuang de yifeng laixin" also appeared in *Xuehui*, the supplement to *Guofeng ribao*; see Zhongguo Renmin daxue Zhonggong dangshixi Zhongguo jinxiandai zhengzhi sixiang shi jiaoyanshi, ed., *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi ziliao xuanbian*, 458–471. According to the last source, the letter was dated March 10, 1923.
37. The original work was Arthur Ransome, *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*. Before the Chinese translation appeared as a single volume, it was serialized in *Chenbao* (November 12, 1919–January 7, 1920).
38. "Guangzhou Gongchandang de baogao," 20.
39. Tan Zuyin, an anarchist active in Guangzhou at the time, recounts in his memoirs that a Russian by the name of Perkin (Bojin) accompanied Huang Lingshuang, on orders from Li Dazhao, to Guangzhou; see "Tan Zuyin de huiyi."
40. Chen Xiaocen, in "Wusi yundong zhong chansheng de Tianjin Juewushe." It was reported that the two persons from the Awakening Society who joined the activities of the Sino-Russian News Agency were Xue Hanyue and Liang Naixian who traveled to Guangzhou with A. Ye. Khodorov in May 1921; see *Guangdong qunbao*, May 17, 1921.
41. "Doklad Delegatsii Kitaiskogo Sotsialisticheskogo Soyuzu Molodezhi na 2-m Kongresse Kominternu Molodezhi," *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* 4 (October 15, 1921). This report notes that the initial name for the Socialist Youth Corps was the "Youth Socialist Revolutionary Party."
42. "Zheng Peigang de huiyi."
43. Fotu (Chen Wangdao), "Riben shehuizhuyi tongmenghui de chuangli," translated and introduced the draft rules for the Japan Socialist League, and notes: "They [i.e., the founders of the Japan Socialist League] have already been in contact with us in China directly."
44. Information on the Foreign Language Institute comes largely from memoir literature. For studies that use this material in a comprehensive fashion, see Chen Shaokang, "Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe de chuanguang jiqi yingxiang"; Aotani Masaaki, "Gaikokugo gakusha (Shanghai) nôto"
45. Zhonggong Zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, ed., *Liu Shaoqi zhuan*, 23–25; Zhonggong Zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi, ed., *Ren Bishi zhuan (xiudingben)*, 29–31; Xiao Jingguang, "Huiyi canjia lü-E zhibu qianhou de yixie qingkuang"; Xiao Jingguang, "Fu-Su xuexi qianhou."
46. Peng Shuzhi, "Beiyiwang le de Zhonggong jiandang renwu." For the original, see Claude Cadart and Cheng Yingxiang, *L'Envol du Communisme en Chine: Mémoires de Peng Shuzhi*, 161–162.
47. "Hunan zhi Eluosi yanjiuhui"; [Qu] Qiubai, "Beida san qingnian fu-E zhi lükuang, yuan fu-Ezhe zhuyi"; Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), "Chi-E youji," August 23, 1924.

48. S. N. Naumov, "A Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party," 450. The original for this source: Kalachev [S. N. Naumov], "Kratkii ocherk istorii Kitaiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii." In addition, the student roster of the Foreign Language Institute is included as Mu Shui, "Waiguoyu xueshe shisheng minglu."

49. "Zuzhi shijieyu xuehui"; "Shijieyu xueshe yiding caozhang"; Hou Zhiping, *Shijieyu yundong zai Zhongguo*, 27.

50. Kinoshita Yoshisuke, *Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha ippan (Taishō jūichinen rokugatsu)*, 27–36, in file C.

51. Wang Dixian, "Guanyu Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe he fu-E xuexi de jige wenti." The aforementioned "Zheng Peigang de huiyi" mentions Chen Duxiu, Shen Xuanlu, and others attending lectures at the New China School. Zheng renders the name of the New China School teacher who came from Russia as "Stoping."

52. Liao Ping (Liao Huaping), "Lü-E tongxin," which is included in Wang Dixian, "Guanyu Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe he fu-E xuexi de jige wenti"; Yuan Wenzhang, "Fu-E shibai de huiyi"; Bao Pu, "Chi-E youji," August 25, 1924.

53. "Shijieyu xuehui zhuidaohui ji."

54. "Eguo tongzhi V. Stopani lai han."

55. "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji," entry for June 29.

56. Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), "Chi-E youji," August 25, 1924, and September 7, 1924.

57. "Shaonian Eren ziqiang zhi jianyan"; "Yige zisha de qingnian."

58. Liao Ping (Liao Huaping), "Lü-E tongxin," in Wang Dixian, "Guanyu Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe he fu-E xuexi de jige wenti."

59. "Shanghai jiqi gonghui jucanhui jishi."

60. "Shanghai jiqi gonghui kai faqihui jilüe"; "Benbu jiqi gonghui kaihui ji."

61. "Shanghai jiqi gonghui chengli ji"; Eda Kenji, "Son Bun no Shanhai kiki kōkai ni okeru enzetsu." The latter source gives "over 300" for the number of those who attended.

62. "Shanghai jiqi gonghui jucanhui jishi."

63. "Shanghai jiqi gonghui kai faqihui jilüe."

64. "Meiguo IWW zhi Shanghai jiqi gonghui shu." This letter was sent in the name of Roy Brown, chairman of the general executive board of the IWW, and was dated December 14, 1920.

65. "Beijing dian."

66. [Chen] Duxiu, "Wuli de yaoqiu"; [Li] Hanjun, "Wo duiyu bagong wenti de ganxiang"; [Li] Hanjun, "Fa zujie dianche bagong gei women de jiaoxun."

67. "Beijing Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de baogao," 10–19. This report was included in the "Archive of the CCP Delegation to the Comintern," which was returned between 1956 and 1957 to the CCP from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. The original documents are in Russian. On the background to this discovery, see Li Ling, "'Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling' Ewenben de lai yuan he chubu kaozheng." At present one can only see the Chinese translation from the Russian; the Russian originals have not been published.

68. In the original (Chinese) it was entitled *Laodongzhe*, but because this was a magazine published in Guangzhou, the Beijing group seems to have mistakenly transcribed its name as *Laodong yin*, inaugurated in November 1920.

69. The original Chinese title was *Jingjixue tanhua*, reflecting the original English title of *Shop Talks on Economics*, but Li Hanjun translated it under the title *Makesi Zibenlun rumen*.

70. It is unclear what the original for *Eguo geming he jieji douzheng* was. *Gongchandang gangling* was probably the same as a work later published under the title *Eguo Gongchandang danggang* (Party Platform of the Russian Communist Party), translated by Ximan (Renmin chubanshe, January 1922); on this last work, see appendix 2.

71. In the report, *Shuguang* is described as “not purely our journal but a mixed serial publication.” *Shuguang* initially appeared in November 1919 around the figure of Song Jie, a student from Shandong. The report’s mention of “our comrade” refers to Song Jie.

72. “Faqi Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui qishi.”

73. In this connection, Voitinsky visited Beijing in October of that year. It is entirely possible—indeed likely—that he was received in the Chinese capital and the Communist organization was then established.

74. Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dang shi yanjiushi, ed., *Beijing qingnian yundong shiliao*, 497–511. A number of Guan Qian’s reports can also be found in *Jindai shi ziliao* 5 (1957); Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindai shi yanjiusuo and Zhongguo di’er lishi dang’anguan shiliao bianjibu, ed., *Wusi aiguo yundong dang’an ziliao*; Zhongguo di’er lishi dang’anguan, ed., *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi he Zhongguo shehuidang*; and *Lishi dang’an* 4 (1991). The most comprehensive would be *Beijing qingnian yundong shiliao*.

75. In his report, Guan Qian refers to the Communist group as both the “Socialist Youth Corps” and the “Communist Youth Group.” Either from its constituent members (Li Dazhao, Zhang Guotao, Liu Renjing, and others) or from the lack of clear distinction between “group” and “party,” it is safe to assume that this conveys the views of the Beijing Communist organizations, either group or party.

76. The actual second congress of the Communist International of Youth convened in Moscow on July 9.

77. Conventional scholarship has it that the first delegate sent by the Communist International of Youth to China was S. A. Dalin, who arrived in China in 1922, but in both his memoirs and in Russian-language collections of documents, the sending of an emissary corresponding to Green is nowhere to be found. See S. A. Dalin, *Kitaiskii memuary: 1921–1927*.

78. “Wanguo qingnian Gongchandang xiegei Shanghai Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan de xin.”

79. “Shiyue geming yingxiang ji Zhong-Su guanxi wenxian dang’an xuanji.”

80. The Shanghai Foreign Language Institute sent to Russia the first such group of seven or eight, including Dong Chuping, and they were apprehended in Manzhouli; He Mengxiong was probably detained with them. See Dong Chuping, “Huiyi Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu.” Among the students arrested were three (Liu Zhongrong, Liu Xi, and Meng Zhiyan) from Sichuan to whom

the Beijing anarchist group had provided funds. On the activities of the anarchist organization in Sichuan at the time, see Yang Shiyuan, “1920 nian de ‘Chongqing gongchanzhuyi zuzhi’ xijie.”

81. According to his “Chi-E youji,” August 23, 1924, Bao Pu, who also attempted to enter Russia at this time, met the thirteen young people in Harbin after their release from jail in Chichihar. They pointed out to Bao Pu and his associates the grave dangers of trying to get to Russia and cautioned him to abandon his plans.

82. Zhu Zheng and Ren Rui, “Zhonggong ‘Yida’ qian dangyuan jianjie”; Wu Jialin and Xie Yinming, *Beijing dang zuzhi de chuangjian huodong*, 106–113; “Beijing Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu you duoshao chengyuan?”

83. S. N. Naumov, “A Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party,” 450–451.

84. In addition, Zhang Shenfu would have been one of the members from the earliest period of the Beijing Communist organization. Because Zhang left Beijing in October 1920 to travel via Shanghai to France, he seems to have dropped out of Naumov’s account. In later years, Zhang left a detailed memoir; see Vera Schwarcz, *Time for Telling Truth Is Running Out: Conversations with Zhang Shenfu*.

85. For investigative research into the Guangzhou Communist group, see “Guangzhou dang de zaoqi zuzhi heshi jianli?”

86. “Guangzhou Gongchandang de baogao,” 20–25. Although the original document is in Russian, we now only have for inspection a Chinese translation of the Russian text that has as yet not been made public.

87. Chen left Shanghai on December 17, 1920, and arrived in Guangzhou via Hong Kong on December 25. See “Chen Duxiu jun qicheng fu-Yue”; “Xiang-gang dian, Chen Duxiu zuo di Ao (26-ri).” Chen was accompanied on this trip to Guangzhou by Yuan Zhenying, Li Ji, and others. English-language readers may find the English title *The Social* somewhat strange. The character *qun* in *Guangdong qunbao* was used on occasion from the late-Qing era onward as a translation for the new concept of “society” (now translated as *shehui*). The publishers of *Guangdong qunbao* probably thought that by attaching this odd English title to their newspaper, they were providing a translation for the term *qun*.

88. M. A. Persits, “Iz Istoriĭ Stanovlennia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia”; K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma.”

89. According to Jiansheng, “Shiji de laodong yundong”: “He arrived at Dongshan, Guangzhou, on September 28, 1920.”

90. “Tan Zuyin de huiyi.”

91. “Voitinsky’s Letter to the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, August 17, Shanghai” (document 2).

92. “Letter from Stoyanovich, September 29, 1920, Guangzhou” (document 5).

93. “Eyu xuexiao zhaosheng guanggao.”

94. Dalin, *Kitaïskiiĭ memuary*, 90.

95. “Tan Pingshan daci.”

96. Luo Zhanglong noted: “At that time the [Communist] Party and the Group were inseparable.” See “Luo Zhanglong tan Beijing tuan ji *Xianqu*.” On

the early relationship between the Communist Party and the Socialist Youth Corps, see my “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.”

97. “Gongchandang Guangzhou bu de chuandan.” There was a report as well in the fall of 1920 that leaflets of the Guangdong Communist Party (Guangdong Gongchandang) were distributed throughout the city of Guangzhou: “Gongchandang de Yueren zhi-Yue zhuzhang.”

98. “Kō dai-174-gō, Shakaishugi seinandan kanshō hōkoku no ken (1920 nen 12-gatsu 8-ka),” in file C.

99. “Lai han.”

100. “Guangzhou Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan zhi zuzhi.”

101. *Biulleteni Dal’ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Kominterna* 2 (1921). This essay was actually written in February 1921.

102. For a detailed look at the background to Chen Duxiu’s visit to Guangzhou and the activities under way there, see Murata Yūjirō, “Chin Dokushū zai Kōshū (1920–1921 nen).”

103. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 128; English translation, Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party: The Autobiography of Chang Kuo-t’ao*, 133.

104. “Chen Duxiu xiansheng zai Gongli fazheng yanjiang ci, shehuizhuyi piping.”

105. These six public letters were collected and published in *Xin qingnian* 9.4 (August 1921). Their initial appearances are as follows: Qu Shengbai, “Zhi Chen Duxiu xiansheng shu”; “Chen Duxiu da Shengbai de xin”; [Qu] Shengbai, “Da Chen Duxiu xiansheng shu”; “Chen Duxiu zaida Qu Shengbai shu”; “Qu Shengbai zaida Chen Duxiu shu”; “Chen Duxiu sanda Qu Shengbai shu.”

106. For details on the “anarchist dispute,” see Cai Guoyu, 1920 *niandai chuqi Zhongguo shehuizhuyi lunzhan*, chapter 4: “Wuzhengfuzhuyizhe yu Makesizhuyizhe de lunzhan” (“The Debate Between Anarchists and Marxists”); Saga Takashi, “Ryū Shifuku shigo no *Minsei* ni tsuite.”

107. [Shen] Xuanlu, “Gao Chenbao jizhe”; Xuanlu, “Da Chenbao gongji wo gerende”; “Yuan Zhenying zhiwen Xia Zhongmin”; [Chen Gong]bo, “Keliande shenghuo he zhuzhang”; [Chen Gong]bo, “Zhenggao Xia Zhongmin jun.” Although Chen Duxiu did not himself write an article, he protested to the director of *Guangzhou chenbao*, Xia Zhongmin, for the slander directed at him and sought an apology within twenty-four hours; see *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.

108. On the journal *Minsheng*, see Hazama Naoki, “*Minsei* kaidai.”

109. For details on trends in *Minsheng* after its revival, see Saga Takashi, “Ryū Shifuku shigo no *Minsei* ni tsuite.”

110. “Li Changren de huiyi.”

111. “Guan Qian guanyu Beijing Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan yu wuzhengfudang huzhutuan huodong qingxing zhi Wang Huaiqing cheng (1921 nian 3-yue 13-ri),” 503.

112. [Chen] Duxiu, “Zhongguo shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi.”

113. Hu Qingyun and Xiao Sheng, “Guanyu Hunan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu wenti de shangque.”

114. “Dong Biwu de huiyi”; Bao Huiseng, “Chuangdang de kaishi ji Wuhan linshi zhibu.”

115. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi”; and Dong Biwu, “Chuangli Zhongguo Gongchandang.”

116. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi”; Dong Biwu, “Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu.”

117. “Xinshe yiqu shu.”

118. Bao Huiseng gave a talk in the spring of the following year based on his experiences on this factory inspection; see his “Wo duiyu Wuhan laodongjie de diaocha he ganxiang”

119. Bao Huiseng, “Huiyi Wuhan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu.” In the text of a speech concerning CCP history that Zhang Guotao wrote about 1929, he relates that local organizations in Hunan and elsewhere, prior to the first party congress, were allocated 20 to 30 yuan of support monthly by the party center in Shanghai; see Zhang, “Zhang Guotao guanyu Zhonggong chengli qianhou qingkuang de jianggao.”

120. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 157.

121. Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 155. For bibliographic information on these three works, see appendix 2 to this book.

122. “Wenhua shushe diyici yingye baogao,” 53–54.

123. “Zhang Wenliang rijì,” 518.

124. “Gei Cai Hesen de xin (1921 nian 1-yue 20-ri).”

125. “Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (dierhao),” 597; Mao Zedong, “Mao Zedong zhi Peng Huang de xin (1921 nian 1-yue 6-ri),” 79. The latter source, however, encouraged Peng’s attendance at the meeting to form the group scheduled for January 13; strictly speaking, we have no documentation that reports that a founding meeting was actually held on that day.

126. “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1920 nian 8-yue 13-ri);” “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1920 nian 9-yue 16-ri).”

127. “Changsha Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu zongshu,” 474–476.

128. Principal among them is “Jinan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu zongshu”; Yu Shicheng and Liu Mingyi, *Zhonggong Shandong difang zuzhi chuangujian shi*.

129. For example, we have memoir materials indicating that encouragement to the Jinan group was offered by Chen Weiren from Beijing or when Voitinsky’s party in April–May 1920 stopped at Jinan on the way to Shanghai from Beijing and made contact there with local socialists. The reliability of this information, though, has been repudiated by Liu Jianhui, “Chen Weiren bangzhu jianli Zhonggong Shandong dang zuzhi de shijian wenti”; Liu Jianhui, “Weijingsiji 1920 nian 4-yue daoguo Jinan ma?”

130. Liu Jianhui, “‘Jinan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu’ chengyuan xintan.” The middle character of Wang Jinmei’s name appears with a different, more complex character in biographical dictionaries and other sources, but the simpler form is correct, according to Shao Weizheng, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renshu de kaocha.”

131. “Li Da zizhuan (jielu).”

132. “Shandong xin wenhua yu Qi-Lu shushe.”

133. “Jinan Qi-Lu shushe guanggao.”

134. Ding Longjia and Zhang Yeshang, *Wang Jinmei*, 25.

135. “Huiwu baogao” and “Women weishenme yao faxing zheizhong banyue kan,” 620–622.

136. I. N. Suotenikewa, “Fuze Zhongguo fangmian gongzuo de Gongchan guoji jigou”; G. M. Adibekov, E. N. Shakhnazarova, and K. K. Shirinia, *Organizatsionnaia Struktura Kominterna: 1919–1943*, 26–28; Dalin, *Kitaiskie memuary*, 27–38. Of these three, Dalin’s memoirs are most thorough.

137. *Biulleteni Dal’ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Kominterna* (published irregularly) first appeared on February 27, 1921, and continued until issue number 9; see K. V. Shevelev, “Predystoriia edinogo fronta v Kitaie i uchreditel’nyi c“ezd KPK,” 208. Only issues 1–7 are now extant.

138. *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* was issued through number five (November 10, 1921).

139. Where the citation is clear, the following were cited: Yicheng, “Yige gongren de baogao”; Ji, “Shanghai shenxin fangshachang yipie”; Yuan Shidu, “Shanghai migui bagong de qingxing”; [Chen] Duxiu, “Zhen de gongren tuanti”; Wu Fang, “Zuijin laodong jie bagong yundong.”

140. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, and Its Activities, December 21, 1920, Irkutsk” (document 8).

141. Tsiui-Bo (Canton), “Polozheniie kitaiskikh rabochikh i ikh nadezhdy na Rossiui”; Iui-Sun-khua, “Zachem ya priekhal v Sovetskuiu Rossiui.” Qu Qiubai’s letter appears in Chinese as “Zhongguo gongren de zhuangkuang he tamen dui Eguo de qiwang,” in *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, but it was not translated from the piece carried in *Biulleteni* but rather a translation from a version published in *Narody Azii i Afriki* 5 (1970).

142. Zhou Yongxiang, *Qu Qiubai nianpu xinbian*, 40–53.

143. Yan-Sion’, “Rabochii vopros v Kitaie.”

144. “Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, and Its Activities, December 21, 1920, Irkutsk” (document 8).

145. B. Shumyatsky, “Iunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzor otchetov o rabote).”

146. B. Shumyatsky, “Iz istorii komsomola i kompartii Kitaia (Pamiati odnogo iz organizatorov Komsomola i Kompartii Kitaia tov. Chzhan-Ta-Laia,” 212. Chinese translation by Zhang Quantian, “Zhongguo Gongqingtuan he Gongchandang lishi pianduan,” 190.

147. “Sotsialisticheskaia literatura v Kitaie.”

148. The following are the forty-two titles given in the listing:

“Communism”: *Gongchandang xuanyan*, *Zibenlun rumen*, *Makesi jingji xueshuo*, *Jieji douzheng*, *Kexue de shehuizhuyi*, *Gongchandang jihua*, *Lü-E liuzhou jianwenlu*, *Xin Eluosi zhi yanjiu*.

“Socialism”: *Shehuizhuyi shi*, *Gongtuan zhuyi*, *Shehui gaizao yuanli*, *Zhengzhi lixiang*, *Dao ziyou zhi lu*, *Shiye zizhi*, *Shehuizhuyi yundong*, *Shehui wenti*, *Geguo shehui sichao*, *Jinshi jingji sixiang shi*, *Zhengzhi sixiang xueshi*, *Kelupaotejin de lixiang*.

“Pamphlets”: *Suweiai Eluosi, Yige bingshi de tanhua, Liangge gongren de tanhua, Zhiye tongmeng, Gao Yuandong shaonian, Shei shi Gongchandang, Gongchandang wuzhengfudang ji yihui, Gongchandang zhizhen, Shiyue geming geile women shenme, Shehui gaizaojia zhi zhuanlüe.*

“Magazines”: *Gongchandang, Xin qingnian, Shuguang, Laodongzhe, Laodong yin, Laodong jie, Laodong yu funü, Xongqi pinglun.*

“Newspapers”: *Qunbao, Minguo ribao, Laibao, Minxing.*

149. Zhongyang dang’anguan, ed., *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, 547–551; photocopies of the original text can be found in *Zhongguo Gongchandang Shanghai shi*, 42. Li Xin and Chen Tiejian, eds., *Weida de kaiduan* (333) claim that the “original text of the ‘Manifesto’ was in Russian,” but the existence of a Russian-language text of the “Manifesto” cannot be confirmed.

150. Li Ling, “‘Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling’ Ewenben de laiyuan he chubu kaozheng.” Issues 6 and 10 of *Dang shi ziliao huibao* (both published in 1958) claimed to include three translated documents from the first national congress of the CCP included in this archive.

151. Yang Kuisong, who in recent years has read extensively unpublished materials concerning the history of the CCP and made remarkable achievements, claims that the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” was drafted either by Voitinsky and the Communist organization in Shanghai (the group that proposed the formation of the CCP) or by Voitinsky alone on behalf of the CCP. Yang thus points to the intermediacy of Voitinsky. See Yang Kuisong, *Zhongjian didai de geming: Zhongguo geming de celiie zai guoji Beijing xia de yanbian*, 25; Yang Kuisong, *Zhonggong yu Mosike de guanxi (1920–1960)*, 7. Although the probability of this scenario is high, he offers no basis to confirm it.

152. The English-language text on the basis of which the Chinese text was rendered has not been discovered.

153. On the Congress of the Toilers of the East and the Chinese delegation to it, see Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, chapter 4; Kawabata Masahisa, “Kyokutō shominzoku taikai to Chūgoku”; Yang Kuisong, “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti.”

154. It has been argued that, in addition to Zhang Guotao, Zhang Tailei was a member of the Chinese delegation attending the Congress of the Toilers of the East, and because of his skill with English, he was this “Chang”; see Tony Saich, ed., *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis*, 95. Zhang Tailei was involved with the preparatory work of this Congress, but in recent years it has been made clear that he did not participate in it; see S. A. Gorbunova, “C”ezd narodov Dal’nego Vostoka i revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie v Kitaie”; Japanese edition: “Kyokutō minzoku taikai to Chūgoku no kaku-me undō”; Qian Yintao, “Zhang Tailei zai 1921 nian”; and Aleksander Pantsov, *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*, 226. The editor of the aforementioned *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (556) also identifies “Chang” as Zhang Guotao.

155. Zhang Guotao arrived in Manzhouli, at the Russian border, on November 7, 1921, and from there entered Russia. About two months later he was resident in Irkutsk. During this period of time, he was pressed to write up a

report for the Congress of the Toilers of the East; see Yang Kuisong, “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti”; and Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 190; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 197.

156. The date of publication of the inaugural issue of *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* is not indicated, but judging from the publication dates of the second (June 23, 1921) and third issues (August 1, 1921), as well as from the contents of the inaugural issue, it would likely have been the latter half of May 1921.

157. B. Shumyatsky, “Kommunisticheskii Internatsional na Dal’nem Vostoke.”

158. One of the few studies that mentions this essay by Shumyatsky is the aforementioned K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma.” According to this work, effectively the same piece by Shumyatsky was carried in *Kommunist* 7 (1921), published also in Irkutsk at this time, except that in the latter version he used “class struggle” in place of “mass struggle,” and “its attack” became “its attack on capitalism.” Shevelev has a line drawn beside the work “recent”; he believes that this was decided upon at the “March meeting of the CCP,” as reported by Zhang Tailei. (Emphasis added.)

159. Following the investigations found in K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi partii Kitaia,” the version found in *Kommunist* is exactly the same.

160. On dating the composition of the articles in the first issue of *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*, see M. A. Persits, “Iz Istorii Stanovleniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.”

161. On the same day as the inaugural issue of *Gongchandang* appeared, Voitinsky published for the first time “Zhongguo laodongzhe yu laonong yihui de Eguo” (signed “Wu Tingkang”) in the 13th issue of *Laodong jie*; in addition to commemorating the Russian Revolution, he called for Chinese workers and peasants to continuously rise up. This essay was carried as a “speech,” but it is unclear where it was given.

162. Many have taken as the epochal event in the formal establishment of the CCP to be the first national congress of July 1921. The account states that “in July 1921 the first national congress of the Communist Party was held in Shanghai, and the Chinese Communist Party was formed.” One must note, though, that this explanation is only possible on the basis of numerous premises. First is the premise that the Communist Party itself only took shape by virtue of a national congress. In this case, though, how is one to explain that, prior to the national congress, the “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto” was adopted and the journal *Gongchandang* was published? Also, how is one to explain the fact that Zhang Tailei, among others, attended the third congress of the Comintern held in June 1921 (prior to the first national congress of the CCP), and he clearly attended as a representative the “Chinese Communist Party”? These facts indicate that the CCP existed prior to July 1921 and that, even though it has been dubbed the “first national congress,” the CCP was not founded by virtue of the July 1921 meeting. Procedurally, although the documents of the first national congress contain the language “the name of this party is the ‘Chinese Communist Party,’” this was not a document announcing the formation of the party.

163. “Kitaiskaia Kompartiia na III kongresse Kominterna (Doklad Kitaiskoi delegatsii).”

164. M. A. Persits, “Iz Istorii Stanovlenniiia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.”

165. Yiqun, trans., “Zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui shang de baogao (1921 nian 6-yue 10-ri, Mosike).” Although the report would have been written in either Chinese or English at the time, neither has yet to be found.

166. Yiqun, trans., “Zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui shang de baogao (1921 nian 6-yue 10-ri, Mosike);” “Zhang Taili zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui de shumian baogao (1921 nian 6-yue 10-ri).” Inasmuch as the Chinese translation is not necessarily accurate, I have supplemented it with the article by Persits, cited above. Seven place names of local Party organizations and portions of the outlines of their organizations were cut from the text as it appeared in *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*.

167. M. A. Persits, “Iz Istorii Stanovlenniiia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.”

168. For Chinese studies of the “March meeting,” see the following: Wang Shuguan, “Zhonggong Yida qian ceng zhaokaiguo sanyue daibiao huiyi”; Wang Shuguan, “Guanyu Zhang Taili zhi Gongchan guoji ‘Sandai’ baogao de jige wenti”; Liu Jianhui and Zheng Yaru, “Zhonggong Yida qian zhaokaiguo sanyue huiyi ma? Yu Wang Shuguan shangque”; Shen Haibo, “‘Zhonggong sanyue daibiao huiyi’ bianxi”; Su Kaihua, “Guanyu Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangli jige wenti de bianzheng”; Su Kaihua, “1921 nian ‘Sanyue daibiao huiyi’ xingzhi bianxi”; Qian Yintao, “Ye tan 1921 nian ‘Sanyue daibiao huiyi,’ yu Su Kaihua shangque”; Qian Yintao, “Wo dui 1921 nian ‘Sanyue daibiao huiyi’ de kanfa.”

169. The former was written and signed by Qu Qiubai and Li Zongwu (a journalist sent to Moscow as a special correspondent with Qu); see *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, 293–299, for the Chinese translation. The latter is the draft based on a report, entitled “Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi gailun,” which Qu prepared at the Lenin International Academy in Moscow between the winter of 1929 and the spring of 1930. It was made public in *Zhonggong dang shi baogao xuanbian*, and later included in *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, 874–924.

170. Li Ling, “Guanyu ‘Zhang Taili zhi Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui de baogao’ de zuozhe, yu Yu Mengkui shangque.” This can be confirmed based on documents held in the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 514.1.7.43).

171. Zhou Yongxiang, *Qu Qiubai nianpu xinbian*, 40–47.

172. *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, 883. The section in the text entitled “Qiubai’s report” appears to point to “The Socialist Movement in China.”

173. Most of the memoirs concerning Zhang have been collected in *Huiyi Zhang Taili*.

174. Because Zhang has long been lauded as a revolutionary hero, his close ties to the CCP from its earliest years have been recorded in his biography and chronological biography. It has recently been pointed out, though, that documents supporting such claims do not in fact exist. See, for example, Qian Tingtao, “Guanyu Zhang Taili ruhe jiaru Zhonggong ji yu ci youguan de yixie wenti.”

175. “Iz istorii komsomola i kompartii Kitaia (Pamiati odnogo iz organizatorov Komsomola i Kompartii Kitaia tov. Chzhan-Ta-Laia),” 194–230.

176. For example, Liu Yushan et al., *Zhang Tailei nianpu*, the most detailed chronological biographical that we have for Zhang at present, is almost completely based on Shumyatsky's memoirs for the entries on the time of Zhang's travels to Russia.

177. Reading through all the issues of *Laodong jie*, there is not one piece by Zhang Tailei.

178. [Chen] Duxiu, "Zhen de gongren tuanti." In addition, one portion of Qu Qiubai's essay, "The Situation of Chinese Laborers and Their Hopes for Russia" (*Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* 1), is cited as the work of Zhang Tailei.

179. M. A. Persits, "Iz Istorii Stanovleniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia." Persits takes as one of the bases for his argument the fact that Zhang's report mentions the "March meeting." Dalin, who was active in Siberia and the Far East in the 1920s, recalls Zhang's arrival in Irkutsk in March 1921; see Dalin, *Kitaiskie memuary*, 34. Dalin, however, only arrived in Irkutsk in August of that year, meaning he probably took this bit of information from Shumyatsky's memoirs.

180. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 495.154.87.12).

181. At roughly the same time, Qu Qiubai and his party were leaving Beijing by land for Russia, and they took over two and one-half months to travel from Tianjin to Irkutsk. Because they frequently stayed for several days in the cities visited en route, the actual travel time would be more on the order of one and one-half to two months.

182. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 533.1.32.5).

183. Chen Xiaocen, "Zhang Tailei yu Tianjin diyige tuan xiaozu" This, too, though, was clearly written after reading Shumyatsky's memoir (although not specifically cited, he quotes several times from Shumyatsky's memoir), but this does not render the account completely untrustworthy. According to the memoir of Zhang's close friend through the years spent at Beiyang University, Wu Nanru, Zhang and he graduated from the university in May 1920 and were both devoted to their studies, having had nothing whatsoever to do with the student movement. Zhang, though, replaced Wu and began working with Polevoy in Tianjin in the winter of 1920 and thereafter had contacts with the early organization of the CCP. See Hua Yang, "Qu Qiubai yu Zhang Tailei zaonian shi."

184. "Kō dai-174-gō, Shakaishugi seinandan kanshō hōkoku no ken (1920 nen 12-gatsu 8-ka)," in file C.

185. B. Shumyatsky, "Tunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzop otchetov o rabote)." Shumyatsky who cited these meeting minutes added an editorial note about *Lai-bao* to the effect that its first number was printed on January 4.

186. The name *Laibao* also appears in the list of materials given in note 148 and in the report Zhang Tailei made to the Comintern.

187. Furthermore, one piece that enables us to conjecture about interactions between Zhang and the members of the Beijing group is Xinmei [Deng Zhongxia], "Changxindian lüxing yiri ji."

188. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 135; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 138.

189. "Guan Qian guanyu Beijing Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan huodong qingxing zhi Wang Huaqing baogao (1921 nian 3-yue17-ri)," 504–505.

190. "Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 6-ri, Haerbin)," 239.

191. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 490.1.208.92). The date on these credentials is May 16, 1921. In this connection, Yu Xiusong's credentials to the Communist International of Youth were issued in Irkutsk on May 16 (file 533.1.32) (translations can be found in Zhonggong Zhejiang shengweidang shi yanjiushi, ed., *Yu Xiusong jinian wenji*, 315–317), but the credentials to be used at the Comintern congress (file 490.1.208.93) were issued by the Executive Secretariat of the Comintern and dated June 4. Neither Zhang nor Yu entered Russia with credentials of an organization of their home country.

192. "Torzhestvennoie otkrytiie, uchreditel'nogo c"ezda koreiskikh kommunisticheskikh organizatsii"; "Uchreditel'nyi c"ezd Koreiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (Torzhestvennoie otkrytiie c"ezda)," 189, 217. In the records of these ceremonies, Zhang Tailei is listed as "Tov. Chzhan" (Comrade Zhang) or "Tov. Ch" (Comrade Ch).

193. Jiang Kanghu, *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji*, 60. Jiang notes of the "Youth Communist Party" that, as was the case with Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong, they were a group of overseas students who came in large numbers from the Socialist Youth Corps, and they did not wish to recognize the delegate status of Zhang and Yu. Reporting that overseas students from the Socialist Youth Corps were arriving in large numbers probably refers to such figures as Yuan Dushi, Bu Shiqi, Wu Fang, and Wang Yifei, among others. See Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (files 490.1.46.17; and 490.1.208.96–97). Having arrived in Moscow a little later than Zhang and Yu, as Jiang describes it, had they sharply distinguished themselves from Zhang and Yu, we would have been better able to see the stance at the time of Zhang and Yu. We do know from Bao Pu's "Chi-E youji," cited earlier, that there was friction between one group of overseas students in the Socialist Youth Corps and Yu Xiusong.

194. "Zhang Tailei, Yu Xiusong gei Jinuoweiyeifu de xin (1921 nian 6-yue)" and "Yu Xiusong gei Gongchan guoji Yuandong shujiju de shengming (1921 nian 9-yue 27-ri)," both documents in the Central Archives.

195. In the case of China, it was not the Communist Party, but when Chiang Kai-shek visited Moscow in 1923, he reported clearly to the Executive Committee of the Comintern that the Guomindang had a whopping 600,000 members and claimed that this figure was supported by a membership list held at party headquarters in Shanghai; see "Shorthand Minutes of the Meeting of the Comintern Executive to Which Guomindang Representative Attends, November 26, 1923" (document 96). On the issue of "exaggeration" in reports at meetings connected with the Comintern and their reliability, see Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, 228–248.

196. B. Shumyatsky, "Iz istorii komsomola i kompartii Kitaia (Pamiati odnogo iz organizatorov Komsomola i Kompartii Kitaia tov. Chzhan-Ta-Laia)," 215. (Emphasis added.)

197. *Protocoll des III. Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale (Moskau, 22. Juni bis 12. Juli 1921)*, 13, 1068.

198. Jiang Kanghu, *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji*, 26; Wang Peiwei, *Jiang Kanghu yanjiu*, frontispiece photograph; Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (files 490.1.32.10; 490.1.201.12; and 490.1.207.48).

199. “Kiang Kang-hu’s Letter to Comrade Zinoviev (June 29, 1921, Moscow),” in Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 490.1.208.95). Original in English.

200. Youren, *Xin E huiyilu*, 92–93. This work is a travel account of a Chinese military man who visited Soviet Russia by himself in 1921; Jiang Kanghu appears in the book as his friend “Hai Tongjun.”

201. “Zhang Tailei’s Letter to Zinoviev (June 1921)” (Central Archives), in Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (files 490.154.81.9-12; and 490.1.208.96-97).

202. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 490.154.81.12-13).

203. Xenia J. Eudin and Robert C. North, *Soviet Advisors and the East, 1920–1927*, 139–140; Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, 79.

204. *Zhang Tailei wenji (xu)*, note of translator (Ma Guifan), 5.

205. Yu Shicheng, “Canjia Gongchan guoji ‘Sanda’ de lingyiming Zhongguo Gongchandang ren shi Yang Mingzhai”; Yu Shicheng and Zhang Shengshan, *Yang Mingzhai*, 17–18, 75.

206. Bao Pu, “Chi-E youji,” August 26, 1924. Bao Pu (Qin Diqing) met Yang Mingzhai in Irkutsk on July 16, 1921.

207. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 495.154.112). Yang Kuisong who first introduced this document gives the name of the observers as Qu Qiubai and “Chen Wenying” (Yang Kuisong, “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti”), but this appears to be the assignment of any Chinese characters that correspond to the Russian transcription of this name; “Chen Weiren” is correct.

208. “Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 1-ri, Beijing)” and “Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 6-ri, Haerbin),” 238–240.

209. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (files 490.1.17.9; and 490.1.208.93). In his “Jiyizhong de riqi” (Dates in my memories), an appendix to “Duoyu de hua (1935 nian 5-yue),” Qu Qiubai noted: “In May 1921, Zhang Tailei arrived in Moscow and mediated my entrance into the Communist Party”; see *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)*, 7: 724. He has Zhang reaching Moscow in May, but that appears to be due to a lapse in memory.

210. Bao Pu, “Chi-E youji,” August 26, August 27, 1924.

211. On Chen Weiren’s activities at the time, see Lü Fangwen, *Chen Weiren zhuan*, 30–48; however, on the background to Chen’s travels to Russia, everything here is based on memoirs and conjecture.

212. Su Kaihua, “Guanyu Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangli jige wenti de bianzheng.”

213. “Doklad Delegatsii Kitaiskogo Sotsialisticheskogo Soyuzu Molodezhi na 2-m Kongresse Kominterna Molodezhi”; “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan daibiao de baogao.” For investigations into the writers of the report to the Communist International of Youth, see Ren Wuxiong, “Yipian zhongyao baogao

de zuozhe kao, jian tan Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang chengli shijian”; and Chen Shaokang, “Dui ‘Yipian zhongyao baogao de zuozhe kao’ zhi buzheng.” These essays confirm that it was primarily the work of Yu Xiusong.

214. Bao Pu, “Chi-E youji,” August 26, 1924.

215. “Jiashu,” in *Zhang Tailei wenji (xu)*, 1. This letter is fragmentary and bears no date. Judging from its content, though, it clearly dates from just prior to his reaching Russia. Aside from the quoted portion, it mentions nothing about his reasons for going to Russia or details concerning it.

216. “Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 6-ri, Haerbin),” 239.

217. Yu Xiusong and Shi Cuntong, with whom he had worked in Hangzhou, Beijing, and Shanghai, met Zhang Tailei who came to Japan in the fall of 1921, and in his deposition after being arrested by the Japanese police, Shi mentioned that this was his first meeting with Zhang; see Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Furoku: Shi Sontō shōgen,” in “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.” Although one cannot say for certain, given the low level of familiarity that Zhang Tailei enjoyed before his trip to Russia (he had not published in any newspapers or magazines), the possibility is high that he and Yu also had never met.

218. On this point, the report of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps to the second Communist International of Youth congress held at roughly the same time was far more detailed than the report on the party to the Comintern.

219. Zhang’s language ability (in English) was recognized, and when at a later date Maring and Borodin came to China from Soviet Russia, he often worked as their interpreter and assistant. In relations between the Comintern and the early CCP, which had no institution for interpreters, there was a certain amount of personal negotiations, and thus they would have been more focused on communication abilities based on the foreign language of CCP members (Zhang in English and Qu Qiubai in Russian).

220. “Kominterun daisankai taikai ni okeru Chō Tairai no enzetsu (1921 nen 7-gatsu 12-nichi),” in *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi shiryōshū*, 52–53. Concerning materials from the third Comintern congress, see Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, 65–80; Itō Shūichi, “Nijisseiki no Ajia to Kominterun”; and Murata Shōichi, *Kominterun shiryōshū*.

221. Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 533.1.32.5). With Yu Xiusong’s credentials to the Communist International of Youth (see note 191 above), on July 13, Dalin requested of the credentials committee of the Communist International of Youth that Yu be named a delegate with voting rights and Zhang Tailei and Chen Weiren be named delegates with speaking rights.

222. After the congress concluded, the report to the Communist International of Youth appeared under the title “Doklad Delegatsii Kitaiskogo Sotsialisticheskogo Soyuz Molodezhi na 2-m Kongresse Kominterna Molodezhi,” in the Irkutsk journal *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka*. A written report of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps (dated July 22, in English) is held in the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 533.1.39.114-30); Chinese translation in the aforementioned *Yu Xiusong jinian wenji*, 198–210.

223. “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan diyici quanguo dahui.”

4. THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

1. “Fa bufang sou Waiguoyu xueshe.” The Foreign Language Institute, though, later placed advertisements to recruit students in *Minguo ribao* (such as on July 15, 1920).

2. “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan diyici quanguo dahui.”

3. Shumyatsky’s telegraphed report to the Comintern Executive (dated March 27, 1921), as cited in M. A. Persits, “Iz Istorii Stanovlenniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia,” 51.

4. In *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 1 (1921). For the period in which this essay was written, I have relied on Persits, “Iz Istorii Stanovlenniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.”

5. The thesis that Nikolsky was a representative of the Profintern is primarily the view on the Chinese Mainland; its source is Bao Huiseng’s memoir of the 1950s, “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou de jianwen”; “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi.” The view that he was a Comintern representative has been proposed; see Zhou Fohai, “Taochu le chidu Wuhan”; and Dov Bing, “The Founding of a Comintern Bureau in the Far East.”

6. A. I. Kartunova, “Zabytyi uchastnik I c’ezda KPK.” For a Chinese study that used this essay, see Li Yuzhen, “Canjia Zhonggong ‘Yida’ de Nikeersiji.” See also Ren Zhige (Ren Wuxiong), “Dushi biji”; this study is revolutionary in China because it revealed that Nikolsky was not a Profintern but a Comintern representative. Because of the limitations of the materials, however, few details about Nikolsky’s life are provided.

7. On the International Council of Trade Unions, see note 155 in chapter 2.

8. Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China: The Role of Sneevliet (Alias Maring)*, 205.

9. “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive” (dated July 11, 1922), in Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*, 306; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 59; hereafter to be referred to as “Maring report.” In this report, Maring notes that he and Nikolsky “arrived at the same time.” Maring arrived in Shanghai on June 3, 1921, so Nikolsky arrived presumably at roughly the same time. On the dating of Maring’s arrival, see note 17.

10. “Maring report.” The orders from Irkutsk, as conveyed by Kartunova, read, “Comrade Nikolsky must attend every meeting of the representatives of the party”; Russian State Archives of the National and Political History (formerly, Center for Research and Preservation of Materials on Contemporary History), files 495.154.133.37, 495.154.133.39. Kartunova adds the explanatory note that this not only indicated attendance at CCP meetings but also at meetings of Korean revolutionary Marxists who were in Shanghai at the time.

11. “Report of Lidin to the Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the state of activities in China, May 20, 1922” (document 21); “Tokubetsu yōshisatsunin jōsei shirabe, Taishō jūnendo,” 61–62.

12. Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*, 306; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*; *Malin zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao*. The documents

edited by Tony Saich are a well-organized collection of materials that are stored at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. A number of problems have been noted in the translation and indexing of these materials; see the review by F. Christiansen in *International Review of Social History*. Also, the documentary collection edited by Li Yuzhen includes diplomatic materials about Maring, translated into Chinese, from the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and the International Institute of Social History.

13. The three men discussed establishing the Far Eastern Bureau in Shanghai, and after a number of twists and turns, it was instituted, as we have seen, in Irkutsk in January 1921.

14. "Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive." After the second Comintern congress, Maring returned to Holland for a short period of time (see Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*, 31).

15. "Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive."

16. Harold R. Isaacs, "Notes on a Conversation with H. Sneevliet: The Chinese Question, 1920–1923," 102.

17. For details on Maring's route of travel to China, see Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*, 31–33; and Yamanouchi Akito, "Katayama Sen no meiyū Ryutoherusu to Intanashonaru (VII)."

18. Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu Diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 2–9.

19. "Helan zhu-Hu daili zonglingshi zhi Hezhu Yindu zongdu de xin (1921 nian 7-yue 11-ri)" ("Letter from the Acting Dutch Consul-General in Shanghai to the Governor of the Dutch East Indies, July 11, 1921"), in *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 13–14; Bing, "Sneevliet and the Early Years of the CCP."

20. Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front*, 33; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu Diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 12–15.

21. For more on Fromberg, see chapter 2.

22. "Hezhu Yindu gaoji fayuan zongjianchazhang zhi Helan zhu-Hu daili zonglingshi de xin (1921 nian 6-yue 30-ri)" ("Letter from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dutch East Indies to the Dutch Acting Consul-General in Shanghai, June 30, 1921") and "Hezhu Yindu gaoji fayuan zongjianchazhang zhi youguan renyuan de xin (1921 nian 7-yue 4-ri)" ("Letter to Parties Concerned from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Dutch East Indies, July 4, 1921"), in *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 11–13.

23. "Zhi Dongjing 'Dongfang jingjixuejia' bianji Sanpu xiansheng de xin (1920 nian 11-yue 4-ri)" ("Letter to Mr. Miura, Editor of the *Oriental Economist*, Tokyo, November 4, 1920"), in *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 49.

24. On *Tōyō keizai shinpō* and Miura Tetsutarō, see Matsuo Takayoshi, "Kaisetsu, Miura Tetsutarō ron."

25. Concerning S. J. Rutgers, an extremely detailed study, including Rutgers's ties to Maring, can be found in Yamanouchi Akito, *Ryutoherusu to Intanashonaru shi kenkyū: Katayama Sen, Borisheviki, Amerika refuto uingu*. This volume (274–275) states that during Rutgers's trip to Japan in 1918, Katayama Sen (then in the United States) provided him with an introduction to Miura (and Rutgers apparently met Miura while in Japan).

26. "Maring report."

27. "Maring report."

28. Maring's letter to the Executive Committee of the Comintern (July 9, 1921), Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (file 514.1.7.2); and as cited in M. A. Persits, "Iz Istorii Stanovlennia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia," 51.

29. Isaacs, "Notes on a Conversation with H. Sneevliet," 102.

30. "Li Da zizhuan (jielu)."

31. Deng Wenguang, "Zhonggong chuangshiren 'nan Chen bei Li' hegu weichuxi 'jiandang dahui,'" rpt. in his *Zhonggong jiandang yundong shi zhuweni*; Wang Qiyang, "Chen Duxiu meichuxi Zhonggong 'Yida' de yuanyin."

32. Chen Shaokang, "Dang de 'Yida' hou Chen Duxiu hui-Hu shijian kao"; Murata Yūjirō, "Chin Dokushū zai Kōshū (1920-21 nen)."

33. "Shū Futsukai yori Shi Sontō ate no shokan (1921 nen 4-gatsu 19-nichi)," in "Gai hi otsu dai-560-gō yōchūi Shinajin no ken (1921 nen 4-gatsu 29-nichi)," in file B.

34. *Xie Juezai riji*, 49.

35. [Chen] Gongbo, "Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu." This same issue of *Xin qingnian* bears a printed publication date of July 1, but Chen Gongbo's article recounts events while residing in Shanghai in late July; the actual publication must have been in August or later.

36. "Nanjing dahui jilüe"; "Huiyuan xiaoxi."

37. Concerning estimates of the routes taken to Shanghai by delegates other than Mao Zedong, He Shuheng, Chen Gongbo, and Liu Renjing, see Shao Weizheng, "Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renlei de kaozheng"; and Li Xin and Chen Tiejian, eds., *Weida de kaiduan*, 433-43.

38. Issues 6 and 10. See also Li Ling, "'Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling' Ewenben de laiyan he chubu kaozheng." The title of the Chinese translation is given here as "Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui" (First national congress of the Chinese Communist Party).

39. The Chinese translation, "Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui," from the Russian text, part of the "Zhonggong zhu-Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang'an" now held in the Central Archives in China, was published only in the 1980s; Zhongyang dang'anguan, ed., *Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui dang'an ziliao*. Later, this document was included in: Zhongyang dang'anguan, ed., *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, 1:556-559. The original Russian text upon which this is based has yet to be published.

40. Kovalev and A. I. Kartunova, "Novye materialy o pervom c"ezde Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia." For studies of the nature and content of this document, see K. V. Shevelev, "K datirovke I c"ezda Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia"; M. A. Persits, "O kharaktere zapiski 'Kongress Kommunisticheskoi Partii v Kitaie'"; Hachiya Ryōko, "Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai bunken no chūyaku to, taikai kaiki daihyō ni tsuite no ronkō"; and Chen Xiaomei and Qi Deping, "Dui 'Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui' de kaozheng." Of these pieces, Hachiya's essay offers an especially fine textual analysis.

41. See the aforementioned piece by Kovalev and Kartunova, "Novye materialy o pervom c"ezde Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia," 151; and Zhongyang dang'anguan, ed., *Zhonggong Zhongyang wenjian xuanji*, 1:556.

42. Maruyama Matsuyuki, “Chūkyō ichizen taikai songi.”
43. C. Martin Wilbur, ed., *The Communist Movement in China: An Essay Written in 1924 by Ch'en Kung-po*, 79; Chinese translation by Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, *Gongchanzhuyi yundong zai Zhongguo*, 98.
44. The first mention of the possibility of the date's having been miswritten appeared in a study by Shevelev, “K datirovke I c”ezda Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia,” 78. Thereafter, in her study, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai,” Hachiya Ryōko again demonstrated that this was an error and should have been July 20. However, no further investigations of a possible error have been conducted, so June 20 is still considered the correct date. Also, Shevelev investigated Russian-language errors in this report, and he made the excellent point that this document was initially composed in English and then translated into Russian by someone who apparently was not proficient in Russian.
45. For example, a bit later, a Russian document notes that M. N. Roy, then in China, received the decision of the eighth general meeting of the Comintern executive at “the end of July” (*kontse iuliia*), but he had already left for Wuhan by late July, so this most likely should have been “late June” (*kontse iunია*). See VKP (b), *Komintern i Natsional'no-Revoliutsionnoie Dvizheniie v Kitaie: Dokumenty, T. II (1926–1927)*, 884.
46. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi”; Bao Huiseng, “Wo suo zhidao de Chen Duxiu.” Bao claims that they also received fifty more *yuan* for the trip home.
47. Maruyama Konmei, *Pekin*, 516.
48. “Zhonggong Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui shuji Chen Duxiu gei Gongchan guoji de baogao (1922 nian 6-yue 30-ri),” 47.
49. Among the writings concerned with the CCP before 1949, one finds here and there pieces that point to 1920 as the year the CCP was formed and clearly distinguish it from the first national congress the next year—for example, “Zhongguo Gongchandang de lishi yu celüe (taolun dagang)”; and Deng Zhongxia, *Zhongguo zhigong yundong jianshi*, which he wrote in 1930.
50. “Yao Jinguo zai ‘Chen Duxiu yu Gongchan guoji’ guoji yantaohui de zongshu (Beijing, 1999 nian).”
51. For example, Ye Yonglie's *Hongse de qidian* reads like a news report when discussing the first national congress, but it is significant for mentioning the research done in China, the discovery of relevant documents inside and outside China, and scholarly interchanges, as well as for providing an outline of the history of scholarship on the subject.
52. The existence of Chen Gongbo's master's thesis became known in China in about 1972 by virtue of C. Martin Wilbur, ed., *The Communist Movement in China*. Details on the background to this can be found in Ye Yonglie, *Hongse de qidian*, 27–28.
53. “Zhongguo Gongchandang de lishi yu celüe (taolun dagang)”; S. N. Naumov, “A Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party,” 452; for the original of the latter, see: Kalachev [S. N. Naumov], “Kratkii ocherk istorii Kitaiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii.”
54. Zhou Fohai, “Taochu le chidu Wuhan,” 378–379.

55. This memoir by Zhou Fohai was later cited by Zhu Zhenxin, who offers a list of eleven names (minus the two unnamed Jinan delegates). Zhu Zhenxin, “Zhongguo Gongchandang yundong zhi shimo”; the same essay was serialized in *Xingshi* 144–147 (August–September 1927). Because it was cited many times, it became the basis for the “eleven attendees thesis” in prewar Japanese research on the CCP. See, for example: Ōtsuka Reizō, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō no seiritsuki ni tsuite”; Ōtsuka Reizō, *Shina Kyōsantō shi*, 1: 18, 23; Hatano Ken’ichi, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō no seiritsu,” 1598.

56. In *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi shiryōshū*, 1: 58–63; the original essay, “Diyci daibiao dahui de huiyi,” appeared in *Gongchan guoji* 7.4–5 (September 1936).

57. Hu Qiaomu, *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian*, 7.

58. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 157.

59. Sinuo (Snow), *Mao Zedong zizhuan*; Shinuo (Snow), *Mao Zedong zizhuan*; Shinuo, *Mao Zedong shengping*. I have not seen these works; the bibliography is based on Zhongguo Renmin daxue tushuguan, ed., *Jiefangqu genjudi tushu mulu*, 86. A close look at *Red Star Over China* reveals that it was written in 1937. The editions of *Mao Zedong zizhuan* published in Yan’an were probably not complete translations of *Red Star Over China* but only of Mao’s autobiographical portion.

60. (Beijing: Xinhua shuju, 1949).

61. To write Mao’s biography, Xiao San frequently interviewed Mao at the time, as detailed in Wang Zhengming, *Xiao San zhuan*, 323–326. Xiao later published revisions to his biography of Mao: “Dui ‘Mao Zedong gushi xuan’ de jige zhongyao gengzheng.” When he revised the list of attendees to “twelve or thirteen men,” he noted that his *Jiefang ribao* article had not been checked before publication by Mao Zedong, for which he took full responsibility. Common sense, however, dictates that Mao would have read his own biography before it was given to the CCP Central Committee. In his subsequent *Mao Zedong tongzhi de shaonian shidai* of 1949, Xiao San revised the list of attendees to “Mao Zedong, . . . altogether twelve men.”

62. Mao Zedong, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diqici quanguo daibiao dahui de gongzuo fangzhen (1945 nian 4-yue 21-ri),” 291.

63. Some believe that Li Da was the origin of the “twelve men thesis” because in his autobiography from around 1949 (written for his application for reentry into the party), he stated that there were twelve men at the first party congress; “Li Da zizhuan (jielu)”; see Ye Huosheng, “Dui ‘Guanyu Zhonggong ‘Yida’ daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa’ yiwen de zhiyi.” However, the “twelve men thesis” was the official party view before this, and for his application to reenter the party, Li Da changed the names of the attendees but just copied the number. It is also obvious that he tried to be faithful to the current thesis of the day because he gave “July 1” as the date for the opening of the congress. Li Da’s autobiography was supporting evidence for the “twelve men thesis.”

64. One work that significantly contributed to strengthening the “twelve men thesis” was Hu Qiaomu’s *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian*. Trying to get this book published, Hu reconfirmed with Mao Zedong the number of those who attended. On that occasion, Hu asked, “There are several theories about the number of people who attended the first national congress, all saying

thirteen, but only Li Da says twelve. He says his reason is that Bao Huiseng was not a delegate. Which of these two theories is correct?" Mao responded, "The twelve men thesis." See "Zai Hu Qiaomu guanyu *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian* yiwen zhong jichu tifa de qingshi xin shang de piyu (1951 nian 6-yue 21-ri)," 367. By the same token, after the publication of Chen Tanqiu's "Diyici daibiao dahui de huiyi," many scholars outside China adopted the "thirteen men thesis." For details, see Hachiya Ryōko, "Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai."

65. "Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu 'Yida' qingkuang gei He Shuheng tongzhi de fuxin (1929 nian 12-yue 31-ri)."

66. Nym Wales, *Red Dust: An Autobiography of Chinese Communists*, 39.

67. "Qingzhu Zhongguo Gongchandang dansheng ershiba zhounian (1949 nian 7-yue 1-ri)," 222.

68. "Dong lao de zhufu"; "Dong Biwu gei *Xin guancha* zhubian Ouyang Bai de huida (1956 nian)" ("Dong Biwu's Reply to Ouyang Bai, Editor of *Xin guancha*, 1956"), cited in Dong Tingzhi and Zhang Zurong, "Guanyu Zhonggong 'Yida' daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa." One should also mention Bao Huiseng as someone who held firm to the "thirteen men thesis" in the era when the "twelve men thesis" had become established. In his case, though, he was himself excluded by the "twelve men thesis."

69. "Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu jianbie 'Yida' wenjian gei Zhongyang dang'anguan de fuxin (1959 nian 9-yue 5-ri)."

70. Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru, "Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi Yida daibiao shi shisan ren di yijian?" Mention of Li Da's memoirs probably refers to "Zhongguo Gongchandang de faqi he diyici, dierci daibiao dahui jingguo de huiyi," which Li Da wrote in 1955. On the basis of subsequent revisions, this piece was published as "Qiyi huiyi" and "Yanzhe geming de daolu qianjin, wei jinian dang chengli sishi zhounian er zuo."

71. "Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu jianbie 'Yida' wenjian gei Zhongyang dang'anguan de fuxin (1959 nian 9-yue 5-ri)."

72. Shen Dechun and Tian Haiyan, "Zhongguo Gongchandang 'Yida' de zhuyao wenti, fangwen diyici daibiao dahui daibiao Dong Biwu tongzhi." Dong Biwu repeated this same claim in 1963 as well; see "Dong Biwu de huiyi, guanyu dang de 'Yida' youguan wenti Dong fuzhuxi bangongshi gei Zhongguo Renmin daxue dangshixi xuesheng de huida," 17–18.

73. Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru, "Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi Yida daibiao shi shisan ren di yijian?"

74. Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru, "Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi Yida daibiao shi shisan ren di yijian?"

75. "Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu."

76. For example, see Shu Huai, "Shenqie de huainian jing'ai de Dong lao," an essay written to commemorate the second anniversary of Dong's death and in which the 1961 "conversation" is cited.

77. The Chinese translation of the Russian-language documents concerning the first CCP congress and Dong Biwu's revised conversation were apparently published in China for scholars to see for the first time in, respectively: *Dang*

shi ziliao congkan 1 (1979) and 1 (1980); *Yida huiyilu* (1980); and “*Yida*” *qianhou*, vol. 2 (1980). The three documents concerning the first congress were discovered and published in the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 1970s; only in China were they treated as “top secrets of state.”

78. “Li Da zizhuan (jielu)”;⁷⁸ see also the other sources cited in note 63 to this chapter above. Later, Li Da consistently continued to maintain the “twelve men thesis” (without Bao Huiseng).

79. “Li Da jiu Bao Huiseng daibiao zige wenti gei Zhongguo geming bowuguan de huixin (1957 nian 3-yue 18-ri)” (“Li Da’s Letter of Reply to the Chinese Museum of the Revolution, Dated March 18, 1957, Concerning the Issue of Bao Huiseng’s Representative Status”), as cited in Dong Tingzhi and Zhang Zurong, “Guanyu Zhonggong ‘Yida’ daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa.” A similar explanation can be found in “Li Da zhi Zhongyang dang’anguan de xin (1959 nian 9 yue),” 720.

80. “Li Da dui Ye Huosheng de tanhua (shijian buxiang)” (“Li Da’s Conversation with Ye Huosheng, Timing Uncertain”), as cited in Ye Huosheng, “Dui ‘Guanyu Zhonggong ‘Yida’ daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa’ yiwen de zhiyi.”

81. “Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu.”

82. Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru, “Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi Yida daibiao shi shisan ren di yijian?”

83. “Zai Zhongguo Gongchandang dijiuci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de jianghua (1969 nian 4-yue 1-ri),” 23–24.

84. “Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu.”

85. Dong Biwu became a Politburo member at the ninth congress of the CCP in 1969 (making him no. 19 in the leadership rankings). At the tenth party congress (1973) following the fall of Lin Biao (1907–1971), he became a member of the standing committee of the Politburo (rank no. 9).

86. Li Da, Bao Huiseng, and Liu Renjing all became problematic figures after leaving the party. At the time of the Cultural Revolution, they were labeled “bourgeois scholar” (Li), “Guomindang stooge” (Bao), and “Trotskyist” (Liu) and were persecuted accordingly.

87. Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.”

88. Shao Weizheng, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renshu de kaozheng.” Shao is also the author of the sections concerning the first national congress in *Weida de kaiduan*, ed. Li Xin and Chen Tiejian, an epochal work in research into the history of the founding of the CCP in China. He later published what may be thought of as revised views in his *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangjian shi*.

89. Zhonggong Zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi, *Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi*, 56. As a general theory and to avoid unnecessary trouble, many claim thirteen attendees and include Bao Huiseng. See, for example: Zhonggong Zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi, *Guanghui licheng, cong Yida dao shiwuda*, 32.

90. Among those holding this view are Deng Wenguang, “Yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku”; later included in Deng Wenguang, *Xiandai shikao xinlu, yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku (chugao)*, and in the revised edition, *Zhongguo jiangang*

yundong shi zhuwent. K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma”; Fujita Masanori, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji zenkoku daihyō taikai no sanko daihyō, kaiki ni tsuite”; Zheng Xuejia, *Zhonggong xingwang shi*, 646–648.

91. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 138; English translation, Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 142.

92. According to Hachiya Ryōko, He Shuheng’s name is missing from the lists in such works as: Hu Hua, *Zhongguo xin minzhuzhuyi geming shi (chugao)*; and *Renmin shouce*, 1951. See Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.”

93. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 145; Zhou Fohai, “Taochu le chidu Wuhan,” 279.

94. [Chen] Gongbo, “Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu.” Both Chen Tanqiu and Liu Renjing mention Li Hanjun, in addition to Chen Gongbo, as someone absent from the reconvened congress, but Chen’s memoir appears to have confused the circumstances of the police search with the circumstances of the Nanhu meeting (see below); and Liu’s memoir copied Chen’s. See Chen, “Diyici daibiao dahui de huiyi”; and Liu, “Yida suoyi (1979 nian 12-yue 21-ri).”

95. Concerning Chen Gongbo’s mention of twelve delegates in attendance in his master’s thesis, Hachiya Ryōko argues, “When Chen Gongbo wrote of ‘twelve men,’ he would surely have known if the number excluded himself.” Hachiya, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.” We should, nonetheless, not discount the possibility that his memory was faulty.

96. On the origins of July 1 becoming the anniversary of the party’s founding, see Xu Yulin and Cai Jinhua, “Dang de jinianri ‘Qiyi’ de youlai”; Shao Weizheng, “‘Qiyi’ de youlai”; Kui Wen and Li Zhichun, “Dui ‘Qiyi’ de deyoulai’ yiwen tidian butong kanfa”; Fujita Masanori, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji zenkoku daihyō taikai no sanko daihyō, kaiki ni tsuite.”

97. These essays have been collected in Deng Wenguang, *Xiandai shikao xinlu, yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku (chugao)*, and Deng Wenguang, *Zhonggong jiangdang yundong shi zhuwent*.

98. For example, Deng Wenguang, “Zhonggong jiangdang riqi zhi yanjiu,” was the very first essay claiming that the first party congress commenced on July 23, the presently accepted thesis, but this was largely a rough calculation made by working backward on the basis of unreliable materials.

99. Shao Weizheng, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renshu de kaozheng.”

100. The Russian-language text, “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” is translated into Japanese and analyzed by Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai,” which I have basically used.

101. On the section of “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” that reads “[all] eventually arrived in Shanghai on July 23, . . . and the congress was convened,” M. A. Persits notes that two explanations are possible. One is that the congress convened on that day of “July 23, and the other is that it convened the next day. However, Yu. D. Smurgis’s letter (see note 104) notes, “From this past July 23 . . . a representative meeting of Chinese was held.” A simple explanation on the basis of the “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party” without a

doubt would have the congress convening on July 23. See Persits, “O kharaktere zapiski ‘Kongress Kommunisticheskoi Partii v Kitaie.’”

102. [Chen] Gongbo, “Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu.”

103. *Shenbao*, August 1, 2, 3, 1921; *Minguo ribao*, August 2, 1921.

104. A. I. Kartunova discovered this letter in the Moscow archives and published it in “Novye materialy o pervom c”ezde Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia.” A Chinese translation can be found in “*Yida’ qianhou*,” vol. 3.

105. Representative works for each of these theses run as follows:

July 31 thesis: Shao Weizheng, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renshu de kaozheng”; Shao Weizheng, *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangjian shi*; Fujita Masanori, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji zenkoku daihyō taikai no sankā daihyō, kaiki ni tsuite”; Maruyama Matsuyuki, “Chūkyō ichizen taikai songi.”

August 1: Li Ling, “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui jige wenti de kaozheng”; Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai”; Shen Haibo, “Zhonggong ‘Yida’ bayue yiri bimu kao.”

August 2: Wang Guorong, “Zhonggong ‘Yida’ jieshu riqi xintan”; Zhou Zixin, “Dang de ‘Yida’ bimu riqi shi bayue erri.”

August 5: K. V. Shevelev, “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaya”; Japanese translation: “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma”; Cao Zhongbin, “Dang de ‘Yida’ bimu riqi kao”; Cao Zhongbin, “Dang de Yida bayue wuri Jiaxing bimu kaobian”; Ren Wuxiong, “Zhonggong chuangjian shi shang liangge wenti de tansuo.”

On the concluding date, the Chinese Communist Party claims July 31 in the 1981 publication *Zhonggong dang shi dashi nianbiao*, but the same book published in 1987 and the 1989 work *Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi dashiji*, as well as the 1991 volume *Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi (shangjuan) zhushiji*, have changed this view to “August 1 or August 2.”

106. For the following day, see Zhou Fohai, “Taochu le chidu Wuhan”; and Chen Tanqiu, “Diyici daibiao dahui de huiyi.” For two days later, see “Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu ‘Yida’ qingkuang gei He Shuheng tongzhi de fuxin (1929 nian 12-yue 31-ri).”

107. The first to point out reports of the winds in Nanhu, Jiaxing, was Fujita Masanori, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji zenkoku daihyō taikai no sankā daihyō, kaiki ni tsuite.”

108. Such documents of the authorities have been collected in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*; and in Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*.

109. “Gai hi otsu dai-995-gō, zai Shanhai Shina Kyōsantō no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 29-nichi),” in file C).

110. “Fa zujie qudi jihui xinzhang.” I learned of these regulations from Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.”

111. [Chen] Gongbo, “Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu.”

112. Ye Yonglie, *Ye Yonglie caifang shouji*, 567–569.

113. “Zhonggong jiandang chuanqi.” This essay is based on the memoir of Xue Gengxin, a member of the Concession police force. He states that

the French Concession authorities had acquired intelligence of the scheduled meeting of a congress through Li Shucheng (1882–1965, elder brother of Li Hanjun) before the congress, but they decided not to intervene. When the Concession authorities apprehended an assassin sent by the Beijing government (armed with a hand grenade) and learned that the assassin's target was this meeting of the radical clique, they sent someone to request a postponement of the meeting.

114. The original texts of the two documents adopted at the congress have yet to be discovered. What we can confirm at present is retranslated from a Russian translation; the entire text has not yet been published, but there are photographs of the Russian texts in *Zhonggong Zhongyang dangshi yanjiushi, Guanghui licheng, cong Yida dao shiwuda*, 23–24. See “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling” and “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige jueyi,” 3–9; English translation from the Chinese: “The First Program of the Communist Party of China 1921” and “The First Decision as to the Object of the Communist Party of China 1921,” 102–105. The former is entitled a “*gangling*” (program), although its content is more along the lines of party rules. At the time, the “rules” of foreign Communist parties were translated as “*danggang*” (party program) (for example, the original text of the “Party Program of the American Communist Party,” which appeared in translation in the second issue of *Gongchandang* [see chapter 1, note 149] had “Constitution” [in Japanese “rules” (*kiyaku*) and in Chinese “statutes” (*zhangcheng*)] of the United American Communist Party). Thus, the expression *danggang* was apparently used for “rules.” To avoid confusion, I shall use “rules” for the former and “decisions” for the latter. For a detailed investigation of these two texts, see Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.”

115. Depending on the edition, “join” (*jiaru*) is sometimes replaced by “ally” (*lianhe*). Although there is considerable difference in nuance between these two terms, when the CCP translated documents of Communist parties of other countries, it often used “joining” and “allying” with the Comintern as if these were synonymous. For details, see Hachiya Ryōko, “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai.” I shall be using “join” here.

116. Steve A. Smith, *A Road Is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927*, 28.

117. In the Russian-language text, “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.”

118. In the text of “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” at this point the terms *ofitser*, meaning a “military officer,” and *predprinimatel'*, meaning “entrepreneur,” appear, but in the process of translation, this was mistranslated by the Chinese term *xuli*, meaning “low-level officials” (clerks and runners).

119. Translator's note. The translation of “yellow” here is literal, and its meaning is unclear, although it has been thus translated several times in English. Apparently the intention is to convey the idea of “depraved” or “degenerate.” The original Chinese has not as yet been published, and the Russian text gives *zholti* (lit., yellow), which carries connotations of insane (as in *zholti dom*, “insane asylum”) or social degenerate (as in *zholti bilet*, “prostitute's passport”). Colors have different nuances in different languages and cultures.

120. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi”; Liu Renjing, “Huiyi wo zai Beida Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui de qingkuang.”

121. Liu Renjing, “Huiyi wo zai Beida Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui de qingkuang.” When Liu speaks of Zhang Guotao’s memoirs, the reference is to: Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 136; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 140.

122. Bao Huiseng, “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi.”

123. Liu Renjing, “Huiyi dang de Yida.”

124. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 139; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 143.

125. The text of the “Program of the American Communist Party” (translated by “P sheng” [Shen Yanbing, or Mao Dun]) which appeared in *Gongchandang* is, properly speaking, the “agreements” of May 1920 of the United Communist Party of America. See, for greater detail, chapter 1, note 149.

126. The actual original text was the “program” of the United Communist Party of America. See chapter 1, note 149.

127. The first number of *Gongchandang* carried a translation of “The Task awaiting the Communist Party” by Arthur McManus, entitled “Gongchandang weilai de zeren” in China, that first appeared in the organ of the British Communist Party, *The Communist* 1 (August 5, 1920). In the same issue of *The Communist* was a report of the first congress of the British Communist Party, “The Communist Conference.”

128. Murata Yōichi, “Shiryō, Nihon Kyōsantō junbi iinkai no sengen, ki-yaku (1921 nen shigatsu).”

129. Iwamura Toshio (*Kominterun to Nihon Kyōsantō no seiritsu*, 135–136) notes that the “Rules of the Japan Communist Party” closely resembled the rules adopted at the third congress of the British Communist Party.

130. Another reason that Maring’s view were not reflected at the national CCP congress can be found in the memoir literature where his tyrannical attitude, brandishing the authority of the Comintern, earned him the antipathy of Chinese party members. See, for example, Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1:133–143; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 136–147.

131. Shi Cuntong, “Beitongzhong de zibai.”

132. On the activities of Shi Cuntong as a member of the CCP and the question of his leaving the party, see my “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.” On his activities with democratic parties, see Hirano Tadashi, “Shi Fukuryō to chūkan rosen ron”; Qi Weiping, “Lun Shi Fuliang yu kangzhan shengli hou de zhongjian luxian”; and Mizuha Nobuo, “Shi Fukuryō no ‘chūkanha’ ron to sono hihan o megutte.”

133. Documents concerning Shi Cuntong held in the Foreign Office Archives are included as appendix 1 in my essay “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.”

134. [Shi] Cuntong, “Huitou kan ershier nian lai de wo.”

135. For brief biographies of Shi Cuntong, see Wang Shuixiang et al., “Shi Cuntong”; and Qi Weiping, “Shi Fuliang zhuan.” For discussions of Shi Cuntong’s early thought and his role in the creation of the Communist Party, see Tao Shumu, “Shi Cuntong dui Makesizhuyi zaoqi chuanbo de gongxian”; Chen Shaokang, “Lun zaoqi tuan de lingdaoren Yu Xiusong he Shi Cuntong”; Liang Miaozhen, “Shi Cuntong yu Zhongguo Gongchandang de chuangjian”; and

Wen-hsin Yeh, *Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism*. On Shi's life before his time in Japan, I used the preceding biographical materials as appropriate.

136. "Sheng jiaoyuting gei shengzhang de diaocha baogao" (Investigative report from the provincial educational office to the governor), as cited in "Zhejiang xuechao de dongji (?)."

137. On the general details of the "unfilial" incident, see Qi Weiping, "Shi Cuntong zhu 'Feixiao' yinqi yichang xuanran dabo."

138. Ono Shinji, "Goshi jiki no risōshugi: Un Daiei no baai"; Sunayama Yukio, "'Goshi' no seinenzō: Un Daiei to anaakizumu"; Hazama Naoki, "Goshi undō no seishinteki zentei: Un Daiei no anakizumu no jidaisei."

139. On the circumstances surrounding the "Zhejiang Number One Tide," see Sakai Hirobumi, "Goshi jiki no gakusei undō danmen *Chin Shōhyō nikki* ni miru 'isshi fūchō.'" This essay is a detailed discussion of the diary of Chen Changbiao (1901–1941), a student at Zhejiang Number One at this time.

140. "Guowuyuan zhi shengsheng midiangao (1919 nian 12-yue 2-ri)," 143.

141. "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji," entry for June 27, 1920.

142. [Chen] Duxiu, "Zhejiang xinchao, shaonian."

143. "Yu Xiusong zhi jiaren xin (1920 nian 3-yue 4-ri)," 233.

144. On the views of "free love" of young men and women associated with the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps in Beijing and the trouble surrounding Yi Qunxian, see Shimizu Ken'ichirō, "Kakumei to ren'ai no yūtopia: Ko Teki no 'Ipusenshugi' to kōdoku gojodan," for more details.

145. [Shi] Cuntong, "'Gongdu huzhutuan' de shiyan he jiaoxun."

146. "Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 3-yue)," 235.

147. "Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri)," 236–237.

148. [Shen] Xuanlu, "Xuesheng yu wenhua yundong." Publication of the third issue of *Zhejiang xinchao* which could not be printed in Hangzhou was undertaken by the *Xingqi pinglun* office with the assistance of Shen Xuanlu and Dai Jitao. See Ni Weixiong, "*Zhejiang xinchao* de huiyi."

149. While many details of the career of Shen Zhongjiu are unknown, they are touched on in Sakai Hirobumi, "Yamaga Taiji to Chūgoku: *Tasogare nikki* ni miru Nit-Chū anakisuto no kōryū."

150. The lives of the colleagues who worked at *Xingqi pinglun* at this time are vividly described in the aforementioned "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji."

151. "Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri)," 236–237.

152. [Dao] Jitao, "Wo duiyu gongdu huzhutuan de yikaocha."

153. "Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri)," 236–237.

154. "Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri)," 236–237; "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji," entry for June 27, 1920.

155. [Shi] Cuntong, "'Gongdu huzhutuan' de shiyan he jiaoxun."

156. See appendix 3, "Shi Cuntong's Deposition."

157. In his diary entries for entry for July 10 and July 12, 1920, Yu Xiusong notes that Shen Zhongjiu and Xia Gaizun, among others, had thought of going to study in Japan, and Yu himself was encouraged to do so by Shen Xuanlu; see "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji."

158. [Shi] Cuntong, "Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo."

159. Dai Tianchou, "Sanminshugi."
160. [Dai] Jitao, "Dao Huzhou hou de ganxiang."
161. Miyazaki Ryūsuke, "Shinsō no Minkoku kara."
162. "Yu Xiusong lieshi riji," entry for June 19, 1920.
163. "Miyazaki Ryūsuke yori Itō Akiko ate shokan," letter dated June 26, 1920, in the possession of Miyazaki Tomoo.
164. "Shinjin ji hui ji" [*sic*, "Shinjinkai kiji"].
165. "Miyazaki Ryūsuke yori Itō Akiko ate shokan," letters dated May 9, 1920, May 13, 1920, May 19, 1920, and May 27, 1920, in the possession of Miyazaki Tomoo. On the activities of the student group from Beijing University, see note 40 in chapter 1.
166. Henry Dewitt Smith, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, 49.
167. "Gai hi otsu dai-19-gō, museifushugi senden zasshi 'Jiyū' no tsūshinsha ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 1-gatsu 10-ka)," in file B.
168. [Shi] Cuntong, "Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo."
169. [Shi] Cuntong, "Duiyu chao jinlu qixue de pengyou de zhonggao."
170. See appendix 3, "Shi Cuntong's Deposition."
171. See [Shi] Cuntong, "Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo"; [Shi] Cuntong, "Duiyu chao jinlu qixue de pengyou de zhonggao."
172. "Gai hi otsu dai-1621-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni kansuru honpōjin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29-nichi)," in file F.
173. [Shi] Cuntong, "Duiyu chao jinlu qixue de pengyou de zhonggao."
174. [Shi] Cuntong, "Ping Dai Jitao xiansheng de Zhongguo geming guan."
175. [Shi] Cuntong, "Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo."
176. Shi later wrote, "I remember when I came to Shanghai three year ago, after the failure of the work-study team in Beijing, . . . I had some money which I put into an anarchist group's efforts to publish a pamphlet." [Shi] Cuntong, "Bantuan de wenti."
177. "Gai hi otsu dai-19-gō, museifushugi senden zasshi 'Jiyū' no tsūshinsha ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 1-gatsu 10-ka)," in file B.
178. "Gai hi otsu dai-52-gō 'anaakizumu' senden bunsho no ken (1921 nen 1-gatsu 15-nichi)," in file B. This report notes, "Around June of last year, Miyazaki Tōten accompanied him to Japan." At that time, however, neither Miyazaki Tōten nor Miyazaki Ryūsuke was visiting China.
179. [Shi] Cuntong, "Gaige de yaojian."
180. "Gai hi otsu dai-523-gō, yōchūi Shinajin Shi Sontō no kōdō (1921 nen 4-gatsu 23-nichi)," in file B.
181. See appendix 3, "Shi Cuntong's Deposition."
182. Xie Jinqing (dates unknown, from Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province) was a staff member of the "Dongfang shubaoshe" (Eastern books and newspapers office) who frequently sent "news from Japan" to *Juewu* from Tokyo in late 1920. He had contact with Shi Cuntong while the latter was in Japan and was designated a "Chinese worthy of observation" by the Metropolitan Police Department; he returned to China at the end of August 1921. See "Gai hi otsu dai-643-gō, yōchūi Shinajin Sha Shisei no kōdō (1921 nen 5-gatsu 14-ka)" and "Gai hi otsu dai-907-gō, yōchūi Shinajin no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu

18-nichi),” both in file B; Keihokyoku, *Zairyū gaikokujin gaikyō Taishō jūnen jūnigatsu*, A, 50.

183. Kwōn Hūi-guk was known as an activist student in Japan at this time. He had contact with the “Cosmo Club”; for information about his career, see Matsuo Takayoshi, “Kosumo kurabu shōshi.”

184. The original is, of course, Engels’s *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*, which in English was usually just called *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. Sakai’s translation was carried in *Shin shakai* 4.6 (March 1918) and 4.7 (April 1918); issue 4.7 was banned from sale. In May 1921, the entire volume was published by Daitōkaku. In his deposition, Shi Cuntong recounted visiting Sakai to buy a Baibunsha edition of *Kūsōteki oyobi kagakuteki shakaishugi*, which was not yet in print.

185. *Rōdō undō (dainiji)* 13 (June 1921).

186. *Rōdō undō (dainiji)* 8 (April 1921).

187. “Gai hi otsu dai-560-gō, yōchūi Shinajin no ken (1921 nen 4-gatsu 29-nichi),” in file B.

188. Shi Fuliang, “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti.”

189. Peng Pai and Lin Kongzhao were connected to the “Cosmo Club” formed by Sakai Toshihiko and others, as we see from two official reports: “Gai hi otsu dai-780-gō, ‘Kosumo’ kurabu inkaigō yohō (1920 nen 12-gatsu 23-nichi)” and “Gai hi otsu dai-447-gō, Shinajin ‘Kosumo’ kurabu kaiin boshū ni kansuru ken (1922 nen 11-gatsu 28-nichi),” both in file D. As an overseas student, Lin Kongzhao studied at Tokyo Senior Normal School; see *Nihon ryūgaku Chūka minkoku jinmei shirabe*, 178.

190. “Gai hi otsu dai-721-gō, yōchūi Shinajin ‘Shi Sontō’ no kōdō (1921 nen 5 gatsu 25 nichi),” in file B.

191. “Gai hi otsu dai-907-gō, yōchūi Shinajin no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 18-nichi),” in file B.

192. “Gai hi otsu dai-1621-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni kansuru honpōjin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29 nichi),” in file F. In his deposition to the police, Shi noted that he had received support for living expenses from Chen Duxiu and Dai Jitao.

193. “Gai hi otsu dai-907-gō, yōchūi Shinajin no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 18-nichi),” in file B.

194. See the appendix, “Shi Sontō chosaku keinen mokuroku shokō (1919–1933 nen)” (“Draft List of Writing by Shi Cuntong by Year, 1919–1933”), in my “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.”

195. After returning to China, these essays were republished in Shi Cuntong, trans., *Shehui jingji gongkan* in 1922. For details, see the entries for Kawakami Hajime and Yamakawa Hitoshi in appendix 1. Zhou Fohai, a member of the “Japan group” with him, was also an accomplished translator of the work of these two Japanese.

196. CT (Shi Cuntong), “Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?”

197. Yamakawa Hitoshi, “Rōdō undō ni taisuru chishiki kaikyū no chii.” Concerning mention of “the movement of human consciousness” in the work of Kawakami Hajime in this period, see for details Yamanouchi Yasushi, “Kaidai,” 551–553.

198. Two essays that demonstrate Shi's abiding attention to the writings of Kawakami and Yamakawa are Guangliang (Shi Cuntong), "Heshang de zuo-qing"; and CT, "Jieshao Shehuizhuyi yanjiu."

199. CT, "Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?"

200. [Shi] Cuntong, "Makesi de gongchanzhuyi." This issue of *Xin qingnian* indicates that it appeared on August 1, but the date given in the article is August 14; the actual date of publication was thus probably some time after September.

201. Shi Cuntong, "Weiwu shiguan zai Zhongguo de yingyong."

202. CT, "Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?"

203. See, for example, Yamakawa Hitoshi, "Sovietto seiji no tokushitsu to sono hihan, purōretarian-dikuteetorushippu to demokurashii." Translation and introduction of the *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (original German title: *Kritik des Gothaer Programms*) into Japanese was accomplished by Sakai Toshihiko and Kawakami Hajime in the latter half of 1921; see: Sakai, "Gōta kōryō no hihiyō"; and Kawakami, "1875 nen ni kaita Marukusu no tegami."

204. Xiong Deshan, trans., "Geda gangling piping."

205. Yamakawa Hitoshi (Li Da, trans.), "Cong kexue de shehuizhuyi dao xingdong de shehuizhuyi." On the background to the publication of this essay, see chapter 1, note 123.

206. "Makesi de gongchanzhuyi."

207. Shi Cuntong, "Disi jieji ducai zhengzhi de yanjiu"; Shi Cuntong, "Weiwu shiguan zai Zhongguo de yingyong."

208. Guangliang, "Yifeng dafu 'Zhongguo-shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi' zhe de xin."

209. Shi Cuntong, "Makesi de gongchanzhuyi"; CT, "Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?"

210. On Kawakami's speech, "Marukusu no iwayuru kyōsanshugi no katoki to kanseiki (1921 nen 5-gatsu 29-nichi)" ("The Transition Period and Completion Period for Marx's 'Communism,'" May 29, 1921), see Yamanouchi Yasushi, "Kaidai," 557–559. This speech was later summarized in his "Marukusushugi ni iu tokoro no katoki ni tsuite." And Shi translated this essay: Guangliang, trans., "Makesizhuyi shang suowei 'guoduqi.'"

211. Guangliang, "Yifeng dafu 'Zhongguo-shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi' zhe de xin."

212. Guangliang, "Zai yu Taipu lun zhuyi de xuanze."

213. "Shi Cuntong zhi Taipu xin," in "Gai hi otsu dai-930-gō, yōchūi Shinajin 'Shi Sontō' no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 22-nichi)," in file B. He asked Shao Lizi to have this letter published in *Minguo ribao*, but it was apparently seized by the Japanese police and did not appear in print.

214. CT, "Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?"

215. Zhang Jing, "Annaqizhuyi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo huodong duanpian."

216. CT, "Jieshao Shehuizhuyi yanjiu."

217. See appendix 3, "Shi Cuntong's Deposition." According to this document, the person who introduced him to Yamakawa was his friend Tang Bokun. Although the details of his background are not known, Tang had at the time submitted a translation of Sakai Toshihiko's *Fujin mondai* (The woman question)

(Tokyo: Musansha pamphlet, 1921) to *Funü pinglun*, a supplement to *Guomin ribao*; see appendix 1.

218. “Shi Sontō no tsuihō tenmatsu.”

219. The view that Zhang Tailei participated in the planning of the Congress of the Toilers of the East and may have played an important part therein is based on Boris Shumyatsky’s eulogy for Zhang, “Iz istorii komsomola i kompartii Kitaia (Pamiati odnogo iz organizatorov Komsomola i Kompartii Kitaia tov. Chzhan-Ta-Laia),” 194–230. As we saw in chapter 3, however, this eulogy has a number of dubious points. For example, despite the fact that Zhang did not attend the Congress of the Toilers of the East itself, Shumyatsky claims that he did. Thus, the extent to which Zhang was actually involved in the planning work deserves further investigation.

220. “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive,” in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 315; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 67–68.

221. See “Furoku 2, Shi Sontō shōgen” (appendix 2, Shi Cuntong’s testimony), in Ishikawa Yoshihiro, “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku Kyōsantō.”

222. See appendix 3 to the present volume, “Shi Cuntong’s Deposition.”

223. In his deposition, Shi referred to “Mr. S of the Russian Bolsheviks now in Shanghai” as “apparently Semeshko,” but this is in error.

224. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1:157–161; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 159–163.

225. Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1:135; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 138. The term used here for “Shanghai style” (*haipai*) derives from a Shanghai version of Beijing opera; at the time it carried the nuance of frivolous and thoughtless.

226. Respectively: “Saikin ni okeru tokubetsu yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11 nen 1-gatsu shirabe” and “Sakai Toshihiko ra yoshin shūketsu ikken-sho,” both in Matsuo Takayoshi, ed., *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku*, 110, 494.

227. Respectively: Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi*, 1: 158; Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 161; Katayama Seiji, ed., *Nihon Kyōsantō shi (senzen)*, 27.

228. Chen Shaokang, “Dang de ‘Yida’ hou Chen Duxiu hui-Hu shijian kao”; Murata Yūjirō, “Chin Dokushū zai Kōshū (1920-21 nen)”;*Minguo ribao*, October 6, 20, 27, 1921.

229. Bao Guiseng *huiyilu*, 420.

230. Tokuda Kyūichi, “Waga omoide,” 138.

231. Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, 88–96; Inumaru Giichi, *Daiichiji Kyōsantō shi no kenkyū, zōho: Nihon Kyōsantō no sōritsu*, 117–121.

232. As far as I have been able to determine, the only mention of the case is to be found in Kawabata Masahisa, *Kominterun to Nihon*, 94, 96.

233. “Gai hi shū dai-4628-gō, Kyōsanshugi senden undōsha Eikokujin tai-kyo shobun kata jōshin (1921 nen 11-gatsu 30-nichi)” and “Eikokujin tsuihō shobun ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 12-gatsu tsuitachi),” both in file E.

234. Kondō Eizō, *Komuminterun no misshi*, 165–171; Dōshisha daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, ed., *Kondō Eizō jiden*, 239–248.

235. “Gai hi shū dai-4628-gō, Kyōsanshugi senden undōsha Eikokujin taikyo shobun kata jōshin (1921 nen 11-gatsu 30-nichi),” in file E; “Saikin ni okeru tokubetsu yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11 nen 1-gatsu shirabe,” 110.

236. In “Saikin ni okeru tokubetsu yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11 nen 1-gatsu shirabe” (120–126), we find “Plan and Budget for the Movement of the Japan Communist Party, a Secret Organization,” which corresponds to the document written up by Kondō and Yamakawa.

237. *Dal’nevostochnaia Politika Sovetskoi Rossii: 1920–1922 gg.*, 167–168, 176, 234–235, 257–258, 271–272, 274, 308. Gray was often referred to [in Russian] as “Ivan Pavlovich Klark.”

238. Letter from Klark (Clark), dated October 15, 1921, Shanghai, in *Dal’nevostochnaia Politika Sovetskoi Rossii*, 308; “Gai hi shū dai-4628-gō, Kyōsanshugi senden undōsha Eikokujin taikyo shobun kata jōshin (1921 nen 11-gatsu 30-nichi)” and “Eikokujin tsuihō shobun ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 12-gatsu tsuitachi),” both in file E.

239. “Report of Comrade Maring to the [Comintern] Executive,” in Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 315; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 68.

240. *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, December 7, 1921; *Yomiuri shinbun*, December 28, 1921.

241. *Yomiuri shinbun*, December 28, 1921.

242. Zhong Fuguang, “Zhong Fuguang tongzhi tan Shi Cuntong (1980 nian 2-yue 9-ri).”

243. In both his deposition and his court testimony, Shi Cuntong stated that he arrived in Japan on July 10, 1920, but as noted above, he visited the Miyazaki home on June 26, meaning that he must have arrived some time before then. Perhaps July 10 was the date he began living at their residence or the date he began studying at the East Asian Common Culture Institute in Tokyo.

244. Katayama Seiji, ed., *Nihon Kyōsantō shi (senzen)*, 23.

245. After Voitinsky returned home, Goorman cooperated with his successor, Maring; see Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*, 248, 272, 284; Li Yuzhen, ed., *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo*, 29, 38, 47, document 39.

246. Katayama Seiji, ed., *Nihon Kyōsantō shi (senzen)*, 18.

247. “Naimushō kunrei dai-kyūhyakukyūjūhachi-gō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 27-nichi),” in file F.

248. *Chenbao*, December 31, 1921; *Shenbao*, January 4, 1922. According to the report in *Shenbao*, Shi had “arrived in Shanghai the previous day,” while documents of the Japanese authorities indicate he was still en route back to Shanghai.

249. “Gai hi otsu dai-1621-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni kansuru honpōjin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29-nichi),” in file F.

250. “Gai hi otsu dai-1619-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni taisuru zairyū Shinajin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 28-nichi),” in file F.

251. “Gai hi otsu dai-1619-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni taisuru zairyū Shinajin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 28-nichi),” in file F.

252. *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, December 30, 1921.

253. “Gai hi shū dai-4792-gō, taikyo jumeisha Shinajin Shi Sontō shuppatsu no ken (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29-nichi),” in file F.

254. “Shi Sontō no tsuihō tenmatsu.” Shi’s impressions of the expulsion order that he planned to publish in *Juewu* never did appear.

255. “Ōsaka shōsen haisen kiroku.”

AFTERWORD

1. “Bandeng xuzuo shinian leng, wenzhang buxie yiju kong, dui Zhonggong Yida kaozheng de huiyi.”

2. Translator’s note. A Chinese translation by Yuan Guangquan, entitled *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*, has been published, although Ishikawa had no control over the rendition. I have consulted it on occasion, and it has many useful points, including offering original titles and texts of Chinese sources, but it also has a number of glaring (possibly purposeful) omissions and mis-translations. See the “Introduction to the English Edition” above for more of Ishikawa’s thoughts on this translation.

Bibliography

- Adibekov, G. M., E. N. Shakhnazarova, and K. K. Shirinia. *Organizatsionnaia Struktura Komintern, 1919–1943* (Organizational structure of the Comintern, 1919–1943). Moscow: Rosspen, 1997.
- Ajioka Tōru. “‘Chūgoku Kyōsantō shōso’ o meguru jakkan no mondai” (Several issues surrounding the “Chinese Communist Party Groups”). *Komazawa daigaku gaikokugobu ronshū* 30 (1989).
- Akutagawa Ryūnosuke. *Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū* (Collected writings of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke), ed. Yoshida Seiichi, Nakamura Shin’ichirō, and Akutagawa Hiroshi. 12 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1977–1978.
- “Amuer Huaqiao qingxiang gongchan” (Chinese living in the Amur region tend toward Communism). *Minguo ribao*, January 29, 1921.
- Andréas, Bert. *Le Manifeste communiste de Marx et Engels; histoire et bibliographie 1848–1918*. Milan: Feltrinelli, 1963.
- An Zhijie and Yu Shouzang. “Zhengcang qishiyi zai, chongxian zai dang de jinianri: Yu Xiusong lieshi bufen riji beifaxian” (After seventy-one years, a treasure rediscovered on the party’s anniversary: The partial diary of martyr Yu Xiusong rediscovered). *Shanghai dang shi* 7 (1991).
- Aotani Masaaki. “Gaikokugo gakusha (Shanghai) nōto” (Notes on the Foreign Language Institute, Shanghai). *Chiiki sōgō kenkyū* 20, no. 1 (1992).
- . “Sekito e, Gaikokugo gakusha to sono gakusei ga tadotta Roshia e no michi” (To the red capital, the route to Russia taken by students at the Foreign Language Institute). In *Kindai Higashi Ajia no shosō* (Images of modern East Asia), ed. Kagoshima keizai daigaku chiiki sōgō kenkyūjo. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1995.
- Aoyagi Tatsuo. “Ri Jinketsu ni tsuite: Akutagawa Ryūnosuke *Shina yūki* chū no jinbutsu” (On Li Renjie, the person in Akutagawa Ryūnosuke’s *Shina yūki*). *Kokubungaku gengo to bungei* 103 (1988).

- Bai Jianwu. *Bai Jianwu riji* (Diary of Bai Jianwu), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindai shi yanjiusuo (Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1992.
- Bao Huiseng. *Bao Huiseng huiyilu* (Memoirs of Bao Huiseng). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- . “Chuangdang de kaishi ji Wuhan linshi zhibu” (The beginning of the founding of the party and the Wuhan provisional bureau). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), Vol. 1, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- . “Dang de ‘Yida’ qianhou” (Around the time of the “first congress” of the party). In *Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (The Shanghai Communist Group), ed. Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents on the History of the Shanghai Executive of the CCP). Shanghai: Zhishi chubanshe, 1988.
- . “Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao huiyi qianhou de huiyi” (Reminiscences around the time of the first national congress of the Communist Party). In *“Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . “Huainian Li Hanjun xiansheng” (Memories of Mr. Li Hanjun). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1980).
- . “Huiyi Wuhan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu” (Remembering the Wuhan Communist Group). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 9 (1979).
- . “Wo duiyu Wuhan laodongjie de diaocha he ganxiang” (My survey and impressions of the workers’ realm in Wuhan). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, April 9, 1921.
- . “Wo suo zhidao de Chen Duxiu” (The Chen Duxiu whom I knew). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 3 (1979).
- Bao Pu (Qin Diqing). “Chi-E youji” (Travelogue in red Russia). *Chenbao fujian*, August 23, 25–28, 1924.
- . “Piping Zhongguo chuban de guanyu Eguo geming de shuji (xu)” (Criticizing writings on the Russian Revolution published in China, continued). *Shishi xinbao (Xuedeng)*, February 27, 1924.
- Beijing daxue tushuguan (Beijing University Library) and Beijing Li Dazhao yanjiuhui (Li Dazhao study association of Beijing), eds. *Li Dazhao shishi zonglu* (Full chronology of historical matters concerning Li Dazhao). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989.
- “Beijing dian” (Cable from Beijing). *Shenbao*, October 16, 1920.
- “Beijing Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu you duoshao chengyuan?” (How many members were there in the Beijing Communist Group?). In *Zhonggong dang shi bianyilu* (Distinguishing dubious points in the history of the CCP), Vol. 1, ed. Fang Xiao. Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe.
- “Beijing Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de baogao” (Report of the Beijing Communist Party). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.

- Beijing tushuguan (Beijing Library), ed. *Liening zhuzuo zai Zhongguo (1919–1992 nian wenxian diaoyan baogao)* (Lenin's writings in China, an investigative report on documents from 1919–1992). Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985.
- Beijing tushuguan Ma-Lie zhuzuo yanjiushi (Research Office on the Writings of Marx and Lenin, Beijing Library), ed. *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo Zhongyiwenzonglu* (Catalogue of Chinese translations of the writings of Marx and Engels). Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1983.
- “Benbao jizhe yu Hua-E tongxinshe zhu-Hua jingli zhi tanhua” (A conversation between a reporter for this newspaper and the manager of the Hua-E tongxinshe in China). *Guangdong qunbao*, May 17, 1921.
- “Benbu jiqi gonghui kaihui ji” (Report on a launch committee meeting for the Mechanics’ Union here). *Minguo ribao*, October 6, 1920.
- Bernal, Martin. *Chinese Socialism to 1907*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Bing, Dov. “The Founding of a Comintern Bureau in the Far East.” *Issues and Studies* 8.7 (1972).
- . “Sneevliet and the Early Years of the CCP.” *China Quarterly* 48 (1971).
- Cadart, Claude, and Cheng Yingxiang. *L’Envol du communisme en Chine: Mémoires de Peng Shuzhi*. Paris: Gallimard, 1983.
- Cai Guoyu. 1920 *niandai chuqi Zhongguo shehuizhuyi lunzhan* (The Chinese debates on socialism in the early 1920s). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1988.
- . *Zhonggong dang shi* (History of the CCP), Vol. 1. Taipei: Guoshiguan, 1988.
- Cai Lin. “Dang de jinianri ‘Qiyi’ de youlai” (Origins of the party’s commemorative day, “July 1”). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1979).
- “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1919 nian 8-yue 21-ri)” (Letter from Cai Linbin [Hesen] to Mao Zedong, August 21, 1919). In *Cao Hesen wenji* (Writings of Cai Hesen). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1920 nian 8-yue 13-ri)” (Letter from Cai Linbin [Hesen] to Mao Zedong, August 13, 1920). In *Cao Hesen wenji* (Writings of Cai Hesen). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Cai Linbin gei Mao Zedong (1920 nian 9-yue 16-ri)” (Letter from Cai Linbin [Hesen] to Mao Zedong, September 16, 1920). In *Cao Hesen wenji* (Writings of Cai Hesen). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Cao Zhongbin. “Dang de Yida bayue wuri Jiaying bimubao” (A study of the adjournment of the first congress of the party at Jiaying on August 5). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (2000).
- . “Dang de ‘Yida’ bimubao riqi kao” (Study of the adjournment of the first congress of the party). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (1987).
- , and Du Jun. “Lun Zhongguo Gongchandang shi Makesi-Lieningzhuyi tong Zhongguo gongren yundong xiangjiehe de chanwu, yu Wang Xueqi, Zhang Jichang shangque” (On the CCP as the integrating of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese labor movement, discussions with Wang Xueqi and Zhang Jichang). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 6 (1991).
- Carr, E. H. *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923*, Vol. 3. Penguin, 1966.
- . *1917: Before and After*. London: Macmillan, 1969.

- . *Roshia kakumei no kōsatsu* (Study of the Russian Revolution). Trans. Minamizuka Shingo. Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1969.
- “Changsha Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu zongshu” (General discussion of the Changsha Communist Group). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), Vol. 2, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- Chapman, H. Owen. *The Chinese Revolution, 1926–27: A Record of the Period under Communist Control as Seen from the Nationalist Capital, Hankow*. London: Constable and Co. Ltd., 1928.
- Chen Denggui and Wu Zhong. *Tan Pingshan zhuan* (Biography of Tan Pingshan). Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999.
- Chen Duxiu. “Duiyu shiju de wojian” (My views on the current political situation). *Xin qingnian* 8.1 (September 1920).
- . “Gao Beijing laodongjie” (Message to the workers of Beijing). *Chenbao*, December 1, 1919.
- . “Gongdu huzhutuan shibai de yuanyin zai nali?” (Wherein lay the causes of the failure of the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps?). *Xin qingnian* 7.5 (April 1920).
- . “Shehuizhuyi piping (zai Guangzhou gongli fazheng xuexiao yanjiang)” (Critique of socialism, a speech at the School of Law and Government) (January 1921). In *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* (Selections from the writings of Chen Duxiu), Vol. 2, ed. Ren Jianshu et al. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1993.
- . “Shixing minzhi de jichu” (The basis for enacting popular government). *Xin qingnian* 7.1 (December 1919).
- . “Tan zhengzhi” (Discussing politics). *Xin qingnian* 8.1 (September 1920).
- . “Wo de jiejie Zhongguo zhengzhi fangzhen” (My solution to China’s political direction). *Xuedeng*, May 24, 1920.
- . “Wuli de yaoqiu” (Unreasonable demands). *Laodong jie* 6 (September 19, 1920).
- . “Zhejiang xinchao, shaonian” (New tides of Zhejiang, youth). *Xin qingnian* 7.2 (January 1920).
- . “Zhen de gongren tuanti” (Genuine labor groups). *Laodong jie* 2 (August 22, 1920).
- . “Zhongguo shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi” (Chinese-style anarchism). *Xin qingnian* 9.1 (May 1921).
- “Chen Duxiu da Shengbai de xin” (Chen Duxiu’s letter of response to [Ou] Shengbai). *Guangdong qunbao*, January 27, 1921.
- “Chen Duxiu jun qicheng fu-Yue” (Chen Duxiu sets out for Guangdong). *Minguo ribao*, December 18, 1920.
- “Chen Duxiu sanda Qu Shengbai shu” (Chen Duxiu’s third reply letter to Qu Shengbai). *Xin qingnian* 9.4 (August 1921).
- “Chen Duxiu xiansheng zai Gongli fazheng yanjiang ci, shehuizhuyi piping” (Mr. Chen Duxiu’s speech at the School of Law and Government). *Guangdong qunbao*, January 18, 19, 1921.

- “Chen Duxiu zaida Qu Shengbai shu” (Chen Duxiu again replies to Qu Shengbai). *Xin qingnian* 9.4 (August 1921).
- Cheng Gang. “Li Dazhao tongzhi kang-Ri douzheng shi lue” (Brief history of Comrade Li Dazhao’s anti-Japanese struggle). *Xin Zhonghua bao*, April 27, 1941.
- Chen Gongbo. *The Communist Movement in China: An Essay Written in 1924 by Ch’en Kung-po*, ed. Wilbur, C. Martin. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.
- . *Gongchanzhuyi yundong zai Zhongguo* (Communist movement in China). Trans. Jindai shi yanjiusuo, Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan (Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982.
- [Chen Gong]bo. “Keliande shenghuo he zhuzhang” (Pitiful life and advocacy). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.
- . “Shiri lüxing zhong de Chunshen pu” (Port of Shanghai during a ten-day trip). *Xin qingnian* 9.3 (July 1921).
- . “Zhenggao Xia Zhongmin jun” (Speaking with Xia Zhongmin). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 4, 1921.
- and Zhou Fohai. *Chen Gongbo Zhou Fohai huiyilu hebian* (Joint memoirs of Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fohai). Hong Kong: Chunqiu chubanshe, 1967.
- Chen Gongpei. “Huiyi dang de faqizu he fu-Fa qingong jianxue deng qingkuang” (Remembering the launching group for the party and circumstances surrounding the work-study movement in France). In “Yida” qianhou, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Chen, Joseph T. *The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai: The Making of a Social Movement in Modern China*. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Chen Puxian. “Cong Beijing dao Xigong” (From Beijing to Saigon). *Chenbao*, December 22–23, 1920.
- “Chen Puxian qishi” (Notice about Chen Puxian). *Chenbao*, November 1, 1922.
- Chen Qiyu. “1919 nian Sulian pai diyige daibiao dao Zhangzhou” (The first delegate sent from the Soviet Union to Zhangzhou, 1919). *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 24 (1961).
- Chen Shaokang. “Dang de ‘Yida’ hou Chen Duxiu hui-Hu shijian kao” (Study of the time that Chen Duxiu returned to Shanghai after the first congress of the party). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 11 (1982).
- . “Dui ‘Yipian zhongyao baogao de zuozhe kao’ zhi buzheng” (Emendations to “Study of the authorship of an important report”). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 11 (1991).
- . “Lun zaoqi tuan de lingdaoren Yu Xiusong he Shi Cuntong” (On early group leaders, Yu Xiusong and Shi Cuntong). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- . “Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe de chuanguang jiqi yingxiang” (The creation of the Foreign Language Institute of Shanghai and its influence). *Shanghai dang shi* 8 (1990).
- and Xiao Binru. “Jieshao Xin shidai congshu she he Xin shidai congshu” (Introducing the “New Age Series” publisher and the “New Age Series”). *Dang shi ziliao yanjiu* 9 (1983).

- Chen Shaokang, comp. *Shanghai Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (The Shanghai Communist group), ed. Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Collection Committee for materials on the history of the Shanghai Executive of the CCP). Shanghai: Zhishi chubanshe, 1988.
- Chen Tanqiu. "Diyici daibiao dahui de huiyi" (Memories of the first delegate congress). *Gongchan guoji* 7.4–5 (September 1936).
- Chen Wangdao. *Chen Wangdao wenji* (Writings of Chen Wangdao). 4 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1979–1990.
- . "Guanyu Shanghai Makeshizhuyi yanjiuhui huodong de huiyi, Chen Wangdao tongzhi shengqian tanhua jilu" (Memoirs of the activities of the Marxist study group on Shanghai, a record of a conversation with Comrade Chen Wangdao while he was living). *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue)* 3 (1980).
- . "Huiyi dang chengli shiqi de yixie qingkuang" (Memoirs of circumstances pertaining at the time of the founding of the party). In *"Yida" qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . Note appended to "Ribei shehui yundongjia de zuijin qingxiang" (Recent conditions for Japanese social activists). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, March 14, 1921.
- . "Tan Makesi-Lieningzhuyi zai Zhongguo de shengli" (Discussing the victory of Marxism-Leninism in China). In *Chen Wangdao wenji* (Writings of Chen Wangdao), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1979.
- Chen Xiaocen. "Wusi yundong zhong chansheng de Tianjin Juewushe" (The Tianjin Juewu Society founded amid the May Fourth Movement). In *Wusi yundong huiyilu* (Memoirs of the May Fourth Movement), Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979.
- . "Zhang Tailei yu Tianjin diyige tuan xiaozu" (Zhang Tailei and the first small group organization in Tianjin). In *Huiyi Zhang Tailei* (Remembering Zhang Tailei). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Chen Xiaomei and Qi Deping. "Dui 'Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui' de kaozheng" (Examination of the "first congress of the Chinese Communist Party"). *Zhonggongdang shi yanjiu* 4 (1998).
- Chen Yongfa (Ch'en Yung-fa). *Zhongguo gongchan geming qishi nian* (Seventy years of the Chinese Communist revolution). 2 vols. Taipei: Lianjing chubanshiye gongsi, 1998.
- Cheng Tianfang. "Li Gongsi sinian" (Four years of Li Gongsi). *Zhuanji wenxue* 1.7 (1962).
- Chiping. "Eluosi shehui geming zhi xianfeng Lining shilüe" (Biographical sketch of Lenin, herald of the Russian social revolution). *Laodong* 2 (April 1918).
- Christiansen, Flemming. Review of Tony Saich, *The Origins of the First United Front in China*. *International Review of Social History* 38.2 (1993).
- Comintern Archive, 1917–1940, Congresses. Microfiches. Leiden, 1994.
- CP. "Wo guanchaguo de Eluosi" (The Russia I observed). *Qingnian zhouban*, supplement to *Guangdong qunbao* 6 (April 4, 1922).
- CT (Shi Cuntong). "Jieshao Shehuizhuyi yanjiu" (Introducing *Shakaishugi kenkyū*). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, September 27, 1921.
- . "Women yao zenmeyang gan shehui geming?" (How are we going to make the social revolution?). *Gongchandang* 5 (June 1921).

- Cui Xingwu. "Zhang Minquan shifou dao Mosike?" (Did Zhang Minquan arrive in Moscow?). *Shishi xinbao*, October 24, 1921.
- Cui Zhongzhi. *Sanjunzhuyi yu sanminzhuyi* (The principle of three equalities and the Three Principles of the People). Taibei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1992.
- [Dai] Jitao. "Dao Huzhou hou de ganxiang" (Impressions after reaching Huzhou). *Jianshe* 2.6 (August 1920).
- . "Duifu Buerseweike de fangfa" (Coping with Bolshevik methods). *Xingqi pinglun* 3 (June 1919).
- . "Fang Sun xiansheng de tanhua" (A discussion with Mr. Sun upon visiting him). *Xingqi pinglun* 3 (June 1919).
- . *Sun Wen zhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu* (The foundations of the philosophy of Sun Yat-sen's principles). Shanghai: Minzhi shuju, 1925.
- . "Wo duiyu gongdu huzhutuan de yikaocha" (My observations of the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps). *Xingqi pinglun* 2 (March 1920).
- . Note appended to "Lining de tanhua" (Discussion about Lenin). *Xingqi pinglun* 16 (September 1919).
- , trans. *Zibenlun jieshuo* (An explication of [Marx's] *Das Kapital* [by Karl Kautsky]). Shanghai: Minzhi shuju, 1927.
- Dai Tianchou [Jitao]. "Hankyō" (Reflections). *Kaihō* (December 1920).
- . "Sanminshugi" (Three principles of the people). *Kaihō* (February 1920).
- . "Zibenzhuyi xiamian de Zhong-Ri guanxi" (Sino-Japanese relations under capitalism). *Heichao* 2.1 (July 1920); rpt. in *Juewu*, July 17, 1920.
- Dalin, Sergei Alekseevich. *Kitaiskii memuary: 1921–1927* (Chinese memoirs, 1921–1927). Moscow: Nauka, 1975.
- Deng Mingyi. *Chen Wangdao zhuan* (Biography of Chen Wangdao). Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1995.
- Deng Wenguang. *Xiandai shi kaoxin lu, yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku (chugao)* (Examinations of contemporary history, the joys and pains of studying contemporary history, first draft). Hong Kong: Dongfeng chubanshe, 1974.
- . "Yanjiu xiandai shi de ganku" (The joys and pains of studying contemporary history). *Renwu yu sixiang* 18 (1968).
- . "Zhonggong chuangshiren 'nan Chen bei Li' hegu weichuxi 'jiandang dahui'" (Why did the founders of the CCP, "Chen in the south and Li in the north," not attend the "founding congress of the party"?). *Nan bei ji* 53 (1974).
- . "Zhonggong jiandang riqi zhi yanjiu" (Study of the timing of the founding of the CCP). *Renwu yu sixiang* 23 (1969).
- . *Zhonggong jiandang yundong shi zhuwenti* (Issues in the history of the movement to found the CCP). Hong Kong: Qingcong chubanshe, 1976.
- Deng Zhongxia. *Zhongguo zhigong yundong jianshi* (Brief history of the Chinese labor movement). Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990.
- Ding Longjia and Zhang Yeshang. *Wang Jinmei*. Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1997.
- Ding Zeqin. "Guanyu Zhang Tailei qu Sulian de cishu wenti" (The question of the number of times Zhang Tailei went to the Soviet Union). *Beijing daxue xuebao* (May 1985).
- Dirlik, Arif. *The Origins of Chinese Marxism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

- “Doklad Delegatsii Kitaiskogo Sotsialisticheskogo Soyuza Molodezhi na 2-m Kongresse Kominterna Molodezhi” (Report of the delegation of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps at the second congress of the Cominternist International of Youth). *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 4 (October 15, 1921).
- Dong Biwu. “Chuangli Zhongguo Gongchandang” (Founding the Chinese Communist Party). In *“Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . *Dong Biwu xuanji* (Selected writings of Dong Biwu). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985.
- “Dong Biwu de huiyi” (Dong Biwu’s memoirs). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- “Dong Biwu de huiyi, guanyu dang de ‘Yida’ youguan wenti Dong fuzhuxi bangongshi gei Zhongguo Renmin daxue dangshixi xuesheng de huida” (Dong Biwu’s memoirs, concerning questions of the first congress of the party and the responses to students in the party history department of Chinese People’s University by Vice-Chairman Dong’s office). In *Zhonggong “Yida” ziliao huibian* (Compilation of documents on the first party congress of the CCP), ed. Xi’an shizhuan Ma-Liezhuyi jiaoyanshi dangshizu (Party history group, Department of Marxism-Leninism Teachers in Xi’an) and Xibei daxue zhengzhi lilunxi dangshi jiaoyanshi (Department of party history teachers, Faculty of Political Theory, Northwest University). Xi’an: Joint publication of editors, 1979.
- “Dong Biwu tan Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui he Hubei Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu” (Dong Biwu discusses the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist group in Hebei). In *“Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu jianbie ‘Yida’ wenjian gei Zhongyang dang’anguan de fuxin (1959 nian 9-yue 5-ri)” (Comrade Dong Biwu’s letter of reply to the Central Archives, dated September 5, 1959, analyzing documents from the first national congress). In Zhongyang dang’anguan, ed., *Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui dang’an ziliao* (Archival materials on the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- “Dong Biwu tongzhi guanyu ‘Yida’ qingkuang gei He Shuheng tongzhi de fuxin (1929 nian 12-yue 31-ri)” (Comrade Dong Bingwu letter of reply to Comrade He Shuheng, dated December 31, 1929, concerning the circumstances of the first national congress). In *Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui dang’an ziliao* (Archival materials on the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Dong Chuping. “Huiyi Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu” (Remembering the secretariat of the Chinese labor union). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1982).
- “Dong lao de zhufu” (Old Dong’s exhortation). *Zhongguo qingnian bao*, September 15, 1956.
- Dong Tingzhi and Zhang Zurong. “Guanyu Zhonggong ‘Yida’ daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa” (Concerning several theories about the number of attendees at the first national congress of the CCP). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 1 (1979).

- Dōshisha daigaku Jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo (Research Institute in the Humanities, Dōshisha University), ed. *Kondō Eizō jiden* (Autobiography of Kondō Eizō). Kyoto: Hiei shobō, 1970.
- Draper, Theodore. *The Roots of American Communism*. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
- “Duiyu Eluosi laonong zhengfu tonggao de yulun” (Public opinion toward the announcement of the Soviet Russian government). *Xin qingnian* 7.6 (May 1920).
- Duluosiji. “Women yao cong nali zuoqi?” (From where shall we begin?). Trans. [Yuan] Zhenying. *Xin qingnian* 8.3 (November 1920).
- “E daibiao yu ge baojizhe zhi tanhua” (Conversation between the Russian representative and several reporters). *Chenbao*, September 18, 1920.
- Eda Kenji. *Goshi jiki no Shanhai rōdō undō* (The Shanghai labor movement in the May Fourth era). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1992.
- . “Son Bun no Shanhai kiki kōkai ni okeru enzetsu” (Sun Yat-sen’s speech at the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union). *Son Bun kenkyū* 14 (1992).
- Efimov, G. V. *Sun’ Yatsen, Poisk puti: 1914–1922* (Sun Yat-sen, search for a path, 1914–1922). Moscow: Nauka, 1981.
- “Eguo tongzhi V. Stopani lai han” (A letter from Russian Comrade V. Stopani). *Minsheng* 31 (April 1921).
- “Eikokujin tsuihō shobun ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 12-gatsu tsuitachi)” (Concerning the deportation of the Englishman, December 1, 1921), in file E.
- Eudin, Xenia J. and North, Robert C. *Soviet Russia and the East, 1920–1927*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957.
- “E xuesheng qingqiu shijie tongqing” (Russian students seek the world’s sympathy). *Minguo ribao*, March 24, 1920.
- “Eyu xuexiao zhaosheng guanggao” (Advertisement recruiting students to the Russian language school). *Guangdong qunbao*, February 16, 1921.
- “Fa bufang sou Waiguoyu xueshe” (French police seize and search premises of the Foreign Language Institute). *Minguo ribao*, April 30, 1920.
- Fang Lu. “Qingsuan Chen Duxiu” (Settling accounts on Chen Duxiu). In *Chen Duxiu pinglun* (Critical essays on Chen Duxiu). Beijing: Beijing Dong-Ya shuju, 1933.
- Fang Xiao, ed. *Zhonggong dang shi bianyilu* (Distinguishing dubious points in the history of the CCP), Vol. 1. Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991.
- Fang Xing. “Xin minzhuzhuyi geming shi shang de diyige xinwen tongxinshe, Shanghai ‘Zhong-E (Hua-E) tongxinshe’” (The first news agency in the history of the new democratic revolution, Shanghai “Zhong-E [Hua-E] tongxinshe”). *Shanghai dang shi yanjiu* 9 (1992).
- Fanning, Clara E., comp., *Selected Articles on Russia: History Description and Politics*. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1918.
- Fan Tiren. “Sun Zhongshan xiansheng zai quanguo xuelian diwujie daibiao dahui shang” (Mr. Sun Yat-sen at the fifth congress of the National Student Union). *Jiangsu wenshi ziliao xuanji* 7 (1981).
- “Faqi Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui qishi” (Notice on the launching of a Marxist study group). *Beijing daxue rikan*, November 17, 1921.
- “Fa zujie qudi jihui xinzhang” (New rules to control assemblages in the French Concession). *Minguo ribao*, July 31, 1921.

- “Fengbi xuesheng zonghui yu gejie lianhehui” (Shutting down the student union and various associations). *Shenbao*, May 7, 1920.
- Feng Ziyou. *Shehuizhuyi yu Zhongguo* (Socialism and China). Hong Kong: Shehuizhuyi yanjiusuo, 1920.
- Fotu (Chen Wangdao). “Ribei shehuizhuyi tongmenghui de chuangli” (Founding of the Japan Socialist League). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, August 22, 1920.
- Fujii Shōzō. “Chūgoku kakumei to daiichiji Karahan sengen” (The Chinese revolution and the First Karakhan Manifesto). *Ajia keizai* 10.10 (1969).
- Fujii Tadashi. “Nihon shakaishugi dōmei no rekishiteki igi, ‘daidō danketsu’ kara ‘kyōdō sensen’ e” (The historical significance of the Japan Socialist League, from “great unity” to “cooperative front”). In *Nihon no tōitsu sensen* (Japan’s united front), ed. Masujima Kō. Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 1978.
- Fujita Masanori. “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji zenkoku daihyō taikai no sankā daihyō, kaiki ni tsuite” (On the attendees and timing of the first national representative congress of the Chinese Communist Party). *Kindai Chūgoku* 8 (1980).
- . “Chūgoku Kyōsantō no shoki zenkoku daihyō taikai kankei bunsho ni tsuite” (On documents concerning the early national congresses of the Chinese Communist Party). *Tōyō gakuho* 45.3 (1962).
- Fukenshi sei (pseud., Shimizu Yasuzō). “Ri Taishō no shisō oyobi jinbutsu” (The thought and person of Li Dazhao). *Pekin shūhō* 256 (May 1927).
- Fukuda Tokuzō. *Zoku keizaigaku kenkyū* (Studies in economics, continued). Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1913.
- Fuse Katsuji. *Soueeto tōhō saku* (Soviet policy in the East). Beijing: Enjinsha, 1926.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-19-gō, museifushugi senden zasshi ‘Jiyū’ no tsūshinsha ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 1-gatsu 10-ka)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 19, concerning the news agency for Ziyou, an anarchist propaganda magazine, January 10, 1921), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-52-gō ‘anaakizumu’ senden bunsho no ken (1921 nen 1-gatsu 15-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 52, concerning “anarchist” propaganda documents, January 15, 1921), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-225-gō yōchūi Shinajin no dōsei ni kansuru ken, 1920 nen 8-hatsu 9-ka” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 225, concerning the movements of a Chinese requiring attention, August 9, 1920), in file D.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-239-gō Shina Shisenshō ryū-Nichi shihi gakusei no bōkō ni kansuru ken (1918 nen 4-gatsu 9-ka)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 239, concerning student violence of privately funded Chinese students from Sichuan in Japan, April 9, 1918), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-325-gō, ryū-Nichi gakusei sōkai narabi ni dōkai buntoku shunin Ri Tatsu no kōdō (1920 nen 9-gatsu 10-ka)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 325, activities of the [Chinese] student association in Japan and Li Da, the man responsible for that association’s documents, September 10, 1920), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-390-gō Shina ryūgakusei chū no seiryokusha ra ni kansuru ken (1919 nen 8-gatsu 18-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B,

- no. 390, concerning influential persons among the Chinese overseas students, August 18, 1919), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-395-gō, ryū-Nichi gakusei sōkai ni kansuru ken (1920 nen 9-gatsu 27-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 395, concerning the [Chinese] student association in Japan, September 27, 1920), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-447-gō, Shinajin ‘Kosumo’ kurabu kaiin boshū ni kansuru ken (1922 nen 11-gatsu 28-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 447, concerning recruiting of Chinese to membership in the “Cosmo” Club, November 28, 1922), in file D.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-523-gō, yōchūi Shinajin Shi Sontō no kōdō (1921 nen 4-gatsu 23-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 523, the activities of a Chinese worthy of attention, Shi Cuntong, April 23, 1921), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-559-gō ryū-Nichi gakusei kyūkokudan no kinjō (1921 nen 4-gatsu 29-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 559, the present state of national salvation groups of [Chinese] students in Japan, April 29, 1921), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-643-gō, yōchūi Shinajin Sha Shinsei no kōdō (1921 nen 5-gatsu 14-ka)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 643, the activities of a Chinese worthy of attention, Xie Jinqing, May 14, 1921), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-721-gō, yōchūi Shinajin ‘Shi Sontō’ no kōdō (1921 nen 5-gatsu 25-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 721, the activities of a Chinese worthy of attention, “Shi Cuntong,” May 25, 1925), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-780-gō, ‘Kosumo’ kurabuin inkaigō yohō (1920 nen 12-gatsu 23-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 780, predictions regarding the membership of the “Cosmo” Club, December 23, 1920), in file D.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-907-gō, yōchūi Shinajin no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 18-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 907, the activities of a Chinese worthy of attention, June 18, 1921), in file B.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-995-gō, zai Shanhai Shina Kyōsantō no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 29-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 995, activities of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai, June 29, 1921), in file C.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-1067-gō Shanhai gakusei rengōkai sōkai riji naitei no ken (1921 nen 7-gatsu 11-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 1067, concerning the tentative decisions of the board of the Shanghai student association, July 11, 1921), in file G.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-1619-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni taisuru zairyū Shinajin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 28-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 1619, reflections of Chinese resident [in Japan] regarding the deportation of the Chinese Shi Cuntong, December 28, 1921), in file F.
- “Gai hi otsu dai-1621-gō, Shinajin Shi Sontō tsuihō shobun ni kansuru honpōjin no kansō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 1621, reflections of Japanese regarding the deportation of the Chinese Shi Cuntong, December 29, 1921), in file F.

- “Gai hi shū dai-4628-gō, Kyōsanshugi senden undōsha Eikokujin taikyo shobun kata jōshin (1921 nen 11-gatsu 30-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry document no. 4628, report on the deportation of the Englishman, a Communist propagandist and activist, November 30, 1921), in file E.
- “Gai hi shū dai-4792-gō, taikyo jumeisha Shinajin Shi Sontō shuppatsu no ken (1921 nen 12-gatsu 29-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry document no. 4792, on the departure of Shi Cuntong, the expelled Chinese, December 29, 1921), in file F.
- “Gai kōhi dai-351-gō Shanhai hōmen ni okeru kagekiha ra ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 3-gatsu 18-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry top secret document no. 351, concerning Bolsheviks in the Shanghai area, March 18, 1921), in file C.
- Gaimushō jōhōbu, ed. *Gendai Chūka minkoku Manshū teikoku jinmei roku* (Biographical dictionary of famous men from the contemporary Republic of China and the Manchurian empire). Tokyo: Tō-A dōbunkai, 1937.
- Gao Jun. “Guangdong dang zuzhi de jianli” (Founding the party organization in Guangdong). *Dang shi yanjiu* 2 (1980).
- Gao Xingya. “Wusi qianhou de Beijing daxue Eyu xi” (The Russian-language department at Beijing University around the time of the May Fourth Movement). *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 135 (1999).
- Gao Yihan, “He Dazhao tongzhi xiangchu de shihou” (When I was in contact with Comrade [Li] Dazhao). *Gongren ribao* (April 27, 1957).
- . “Huiyi Li Dazhao tongzhi” (Remembering Comrade Li Dazhao). In *Wusi yundong huiyilu (xu)* (Memoirs of the May Fourth Movement, continued) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979).
- . “Li Dazhao tongzhi husong Chen Duxiu chuxian” (Comrade Li Dazhao accompanied Chen Duxiu to escape danger) (written in October 1963). *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 61 (1979).
- . “Li Dazhao tongzhi lüezhuan” (Brief biography of Comrade Li Dazhao). *Zhongyang fukan* 60 (May 23, 1927).
- Garushiants, Yuri M. “Bor’ba Kitaiskikh Marksistov za sozdaniie Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia” (The struggle of Chinese Marxists to found the Chinese Communist Party). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 3 (1961).
- “Gei Cai Hesen de xin (1921 nian 1-yue 20-ri)” (Letter to Cai Hesen, January 20, 1921). In *Mao Zedong wenji* (The writings of Mao Zedong), Vol. 1, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (Document research department, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993.
- “Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 1-ri, Beijing)” (Letter to Mother, Father, and family members, April 1, 1921, Beijing). *Hongqi piaopiao* 31 (1990).
- “Gei fumuqin he jiazhong zhuren (1921 nian 4-yue 6-ri, Haerbin)” (Letter to Mother, Father, and family members, April, 6, 1921, Harbin). *Hongqi piaopiao* 31 (1990).
- Geng Yunzhi and Ouyang Zhesheng, eds. *Hu Shi shuxin ji* (Collection of Hu Shi’s letters), Vol. 1. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996.
- “Genron dan’atsu no kigeki, Shina LT sei yori” (The comedy of the suppression of speech, from student LT in China). *Shin shakai hyōron* 7.4 (June 1920).

- Glunin, V. I. "Grigorii Voitinskii." In *Chūgoku kakumei to Soren no komontachi* (The Chinese revolution and Soviet advisors). Trans. Mōri Kazuko and Honjō Hisako. Tokyo: Kokusai mondai kenkyūjo, 1977.
- "Gongchandang de Yueren zhi-Yue zhuzhang" (Cantonese in the Communist Party advocated taking control over Guangdong). *Laodongzhe* 2 (October 1920).
- "Gongchandang de xuanyan" (Communist Manifesto). Trans. She. *Meizhou pinglun* 16 (April 1919).
- "Gongchandang Guangzhou bu de chuandan" (Leaflets of the Guangzhou Branch of the Communist Party). *Guangzhou chenbao*, December 24, 1920, in file C.
- Gongqingtuan zhongyang qingyun shi yanjiushi (Central research department on the history of the youth movement of the Communist Youth League of China), ed. *Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan chuangjian wenti lunwenji* (Essays on the issue of the founding of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps). Hong Kong: n.p., 1984.
- and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi (Contemporary history institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), eds. *Qingnian Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo qingnian yundong* (The Communist International of Youth and the Chinese youth movement). Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1985.
- Gorbunova, S. A. "C'ezd narodov Dal'nego Vostoka i revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie v Kitaie" (Congress of the Toilers of the East and the revolutionary movement in China). *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka* 4 (1987).
- . "Kyokutō minzoku taikai to Chūgoku no kakumei undō" (Congress of the Toilers of the East and the Chinese revolutionary movement). *Kyokutō no shomondai* 16.6 (1987).
- Gotō Nobuko. "Nihon ni okeru Chūgoku kindai shisō shi kenkyū" (Japanese studies of the history of modern Chinese thought). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 491 (1989).
- . "Ri Taishō ni okeru katoki no shisō, 'busshin ryōmen no kaizō' ni tsuite" (Li Dazhao's ideas on the transition period, concerning the "transformation of the material and the spiritual"). *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō* 22 (1970).
- . "Ri Taishō shiryō shūi, narabi ni oboegaki" (Gathering materials on Li Dazhao, and notes). *Jinbun kagaku ronshū* 21 (1987).
- . "Ri Taishō to Marukusushugi keizaigaku" (Li Dazhao and Marxist economics). *Jinbun kagaku ronshū* 26 (1992).
- . "Ri Taishō to Nihon bunka: Kawakami Hajime Taishō ki no zazshi" (Li Dazhao and Japanese culture: Kawakami Hajime [and] Taishō-era journals). In *Kokusaika to Nihon bunka, tokutei kenkyū hōkokusho* (Internationalization and Japanese culture, report on designated research). Matsumoto: Shinshū daigaku jinbun gakubu, 1990.
- Gouldner, Alvin W. *Chi no shihonron, chishikijin no mirai to atarashii kaikyū* (Intellectual capitalism, the future of intellectuals and the new class). Trans. Harada Tōru. Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1988.
- . *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class: A Frame of Reference, Theses, Conjectures, Arguments, and an Historical Perspective on the*

- Role of Intellectuals and Intelligentsia in the International Class Contest of the Modern Era*. New York: Continuum, 1979.
- Guangliang (Shi Cuntong). “Heshang de zuoqing” (Kawakami’s leftward inclination). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, September 25, 1921.
- . “Yifeng dafu ‘Zhongguo-shi de wuzhengfuzhuyi’ zhe de xin” (A letter in reply to “Chinese-style anarchists”). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, July 15, 1921.
- . “Zai yu Taipu lun zhuyi de xuanze” (Again on Taipu’s discussion of a selection of ideas). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, July 31, 1921.
- “Guangzhou dang de zaoqi zuzhi heshi jianli?” (When was the early organization of the Guangzhou Party formed?). In *Zhonggong dang shi bianyilu* (Distinguishing dubious points in the history of the CCP), Vol. 1, ed. Fang Xiao. Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1991.
- “Guangzhou Gongchandang de baogao” (Report of the Guangzhou Communist Party). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1. ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- “Guangzhou Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan zhi zuzhi” (Organization of the Socialist Youth Corps of Guangzhou). *Guangdong qunbao*, January 27, 1921.
- Guan Haiting and Chen Po. “Guanyu Boliewei he Yifannuofu de ruogan cailiao” (Some materials on Plevoy and Ivanov). *Dang shi tongxun* 19 (1983).
- “Guan Qian guanyu Beijing Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan yu wuzhengfudang huzhutuan huodong qingxing zhi Wang Huaiping cheng (1921 nian 3-yue 13-ri)” (Guan Qian’s petition to Wang Huaiping concerning the Beijing Socialist Youth Corps and the anarchist mutual aid teams, March 13, 1921). In *Beijing qingnian yundong shiliao* (Materials on the youth movement in Beijing), ed. Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dang shi yanjiushi (Research Department, History of the CCP Beijing Executive). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1990.
- “Guan Qian guanyu Beijing wuzhengfudang huzhutuan jihui huodong ji chouzi fu-E diaocha deng qing zhi Wang Huaiping cheng (1921 nian 2-yue)” (Guan Qian’s petition to Wang Huaiping regarding group activities of the Beijing anarchist party and raising funds to make an investigative trip to Russia, February 1921). In *Beijing qingnian yundong shiliao* (Materials on the youth movement in Beijing), ed. Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dang shi yanjiushi (Research Department, History of the CCP Beijing Executive). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1990.
- Guan Shanfu. “Guanyu Boliewei he Yifannuofu de jidian qingkuang” (Certain circumstances surrounding Plevoy and Ivanov). *Dang shi tongxun* 3 (1984).
- “Guanyu Xin qingnian wenti de jifeng xin” (Several letters on issues concerning *Xin qingnian*). In *Zhongguo xiandai chuban shiliao* (Materials on contemporary Chinese publishing), Vol. 1, ed. Zhang Jinglu. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954.
- Guo Hengyu. *E gong Zhongguo geming midang (1920–1925)* (Secret files on Soviet Russia and the Chinese revolution, 1920–1925). Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1996.
- “Guomin dahui weiyuanhui jishi” (Report on the committee of the national assembly). *Minguo ribao*, February 11, 1920.

- “Guowuyuan zhi gesheng miangao (1919 nian 12-yue 2-ri)” (Secret cable from the State Council to the provinces, December 2, 1919). In *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (Organizations in the May Fourth period), Vol. 3, ed. Zhang Yunhou et al. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- Hachiya Ryōko. “Chūgoku Kyōsantō daiichiji daihyō taikai bunken no chūyaku to, taikai kaiki daihyō ni tsuite no ronkō” (Retranslation of the documents from the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party and an examination of the timing and delegates to the congress). *Ochanomizu shigaku* 31 (1988).
- Hagino Shūji. “Aru ‘Shinatsū’ no kiseki, Sawamura Yukio ni tsuite” (Traces of a China expert, on Sawamura Yukio). *Chūgoku bungakkai kiyō* 15 (1994).
- . “‘Shinatsū’ ni tsuite” (On China experts). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 554 (1994).
- Haifeng renwen ziliao bianjizu, ed. *Haifeng renwen ziliao: Chen Jiongming yu Yuejun yanjiu shiliao* (Materials on men of Haifeng, research materials on Chen Jiongming and the Canton Army). Haifeng: Haifeng renwen ziliao bianjizu, 1996.
- Haiyu Guke (Liang Bingxian). “Jiefang bielu” (Additional account of liberation). In *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan* (Compendium of materials on modern China), Vol. 19, ed. Shen Yunlong. Taipei rpt.: Wenhai cubanshe, 1968.
- . “Jiefang bielu” (Additional account of liberation). *Ziyou ren*, November 24; November 28; December 1; December 5, 1951.
- Han Yide and Yao Weidou. *Li Dazhao shengping jinian* (The years of Li Dazhao’s life). Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Hara Teruyuki. “Roshia kakumei, Shiberia sensō to Chōsen dokuritsu undō” (The Russian Revolution, the Siberian war, and the Korean independence movement). In *Roshia kakumei ron* (Essays on the Russian Revolution), ed. Kikuchi Masanori. Tokyo: Tabata shoten, 1977.
- . *Shiberia shuppei, kakumei to kanshō, 1917–1922* (The Siberian expedition, revolution and intervention, 1917–1922). Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1989.
- Hashikawa Tokio. *Chūgoku bunkakai jinmin sōkan* (Biographies of Chinese in the field of culture). Beijing: Chūka hōrei hen’in kan, 1940.
- Hatano Ken’ichi. “Chūgoku Kyōsantō no seiritsu” (The formation of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Saikin Shina nenkan (Shōwa jūnendo)* (Recent China annual, 1935). Tokyo: Tō-A dōbunkai, 1935.
- , ed. *Shiryō shūsei Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi* (Document collection on the history of the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1. Tokyo: Jiji tsūshinsha, 1961.
- Hazama Naoki. *Chūgoku shakaishugi no reimei* (The dawn of Chinese socialism). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976.
- . “Goshi undō no seishinteki zentei: Un Daiei no anakizumu no jidaisei” (The spiritual premises of the May Fourth Movement, Yun Daiying’s sense of time frame in anarchism). *Tōhō gakuho (Kyōto)* 61 (1989).
- . “Minsei kaidai” (Explanation of *Minsheng*). Appended to reissue of *Minsheng* by Hōyū shoten (Kyoto, 1992).
- , ed. *Kyōdō kenkyū Ryō Keichō: Seiyō kindai shisō juyō to Meiji Nihon* (Joint research on Liang Qichao: The reception of modern Western thought and Meiji Japan). Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1999.

- , Iwai Shigeki, Mori Tokihiko, and Kawai Satoru. *Dēta de miru Chūgoku kindai shi* (Modern Chinese history as seen in data). Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1996.
- He Jinzhou and Sha Dongxun. “Guangdong zuichu Gongchandang zuzhi zhi yanjiu” (A study of the first Communist Party organization in Guangdong). *Xueshu yanjiu* 4 (1980).
- Hirano Tadashi. “Shi Fukuryō to chūkan rosen ron” (Shi Fuliang and the intermediate line). In his *Chūgoku no chishikijin to minshushugi shisō* (Chinese intellectuals and democratic thought). Tokyo: Kenbun shuppan, 1987.
- Honjō Hisako. “Shanghai Kyōsanshugi gurūpu no seiritsu o megutte” (On the formation of the Shanghai Communist Group). In *Ronsū kindai Chūgoku kenkyū* (Collection of studies of modern China), ed. Ichiko kyōju taikan kinen ronsō henshū iinkai (Committee to edit essays commemorating the retirement of Professor Ichiko [Chūzō]). Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1981.
- Horie Norio. *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no yume: Kurasunoshichokofu no shōgai* (The dream of the Far Eastern Republic, the career of [Alexandr] Krasnoshchekov). Tokyo: Miraisha, 1999.
- Hou Zhiping. *Shijieyu yundong zai Zhongguo* (The Esperanto movement in China). Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu chubanshe, 1985.
- Hua Dehan. *Shao Piaoping zhuan* (Biography of Shao Piaoping). Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 1998.
- Huang Jitao. “Huang Jiemin tongzhi zhuanlüe” (Brief biography of Comrade Huang Jiemin). *Qingjiang wenshi ziliao* 1 (1986).
- Huang Ping. *Wangshi huiyi* (Memories of past events). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.
- Huang Xiurong. *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo geming guanxi shi* (History of relations between the Comintern and the Chinese revolution). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1999.
- Hua Yang. “Qu Qiubai yu Zhang Tailei zaonian shi” (Early events involving Zhang Tailei and Qu Qiubai). *Zhonggong yanjiu* 10.7 (1976).
- Hu Hua. *Zhongguo xin minzhuzhuyi geming shi (chugao)* (History of the new democratic revolution in China, first draft). Shanghai: Xinhua shudian, 1950.
- “Huiwu baogao” (Report of association business). *Lixin* 1.1 (December 1920). Rpt. in *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), Vol. 2, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- “Huiyuan xiaoxi” (News of members). *Shaonian Zhongguo* 3.2 (September 1921).
- “Hunan zhi Eluosi yanjiuhui” (The Russia study group of Hunan). *Minguo ribao*, September 23, 1920.
- Hu Qiaomu. *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian* (Thirty years of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1951.
- Hu Qingyun. “Hewei Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng” (What to call the Socialist League). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 10 (1993).
- and Xiao Sheng. “Guanyu Hunan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu wenti de shangque” (Discussion of questions concerning the Hunan Communist Group). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (1984).

- Hu Shi. “Guiguo zagan” (Impressions upon return to China). *Xin qingnian* 4.1 (January 1918).
- . *Hu Shi koushu zizhuan* (Hu Shi’s autobiography recounted orally), ed. Tang Degang. Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1992.
- , Liao Zhongkai, and Hu Hanmin. “Jingtian zhidu youwu zhi yanjiu” (Research on whether the well-field system ever existed). *Jianshe* 2.1 (February 1920).
- “Hu Shi, richeng yu riji” (Hu Shi, itineraries and diaries). In *Hu Shi yigao ji mi-cang shuxin* (Hu Shi’s posthumous writings and hidden letters), ed. Geng Yunzhi. Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1994.
- Iikura Shōhei. “Pekin shūhō to Junten jihō” (*Pekin shūhō* and *Shuntian shibao*). *Asahi jaanaru* 14 (April 1972).
- Imai Masayoshi. “Liening yu Tuoluosiji zhi renwu jiqi zhuyi zhi shixian” (The persons of Lenin and Trotsky and the manifestation of their ideology). Trans. Chaoran and Kongkong. *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.2 (September 1919).
- Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Soviet Academy of Sciences, ed. *Chūgoku kaku-mei to Soren no komontachi* (The Chinese revolution and Soviet advisors). Trans. Mōri Kazuko and Honjō Hisako. Tokyo: Nihon kokusai mondai kenkyūjo, 1977.
- Inumaru Giichi. *Daichiji Kyōsantō shi no kenkyū, zōho: Nihon Kyōsantō no sōritsu* (A study of the history of the first Communist party, enlarged edition, the founding of the Japan Communist Party). Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1992.
- Isaacs, Harold R. “Notes on a Conversation with H. Sneevliet: The Chinese Question, 1920–1923.” *China Quarterly* 45 (1971).
- Ishidō Kiyotomo. “Sakai Toshihiko to Kyōsantō sengen sonota” (Sakai Toshihiko and the *Communist Manifesto*, and more). *Shoki shakaishugi kenkyū* 10 (1997).
- Ishikawa Tadao. *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi kenkyū* (Studies in the history of the Chinese Communist Party). Tokyo: Keiō tsūshin, 1959.
- Ishikawa Yoshihiro. “Chūgoku ‘nise’ Kyōsantō shimatsu: Kondō Eizō no ses-shoku shita Chūgoku no ‘Kyōsantō’” (Dealing with the “bogus” Communist Party: The “Communist Party” with which Kondō Eizō made contact). *Hyōfū* 30 (1994).
- . “Chūgoku ‘nise’ Kyōsantō shimatsu (zoku): Yō Sakuhin wa ikite ita” (Dealing with the “bogus” Communist Party (continued): Yao Zuobin did live). *Hyōfū* 32 (1997).
- . “Ri Taishō no Marukusushugi juyō” (Li Dazhao’s reception of Marxism). *Shisō* 803 (1991).
- . “Shoki Kominterun taikai no Chūgoku daihyō” (Chinese delegates to the early Comintern congresses). In *Shoki Kominterun to Higashi Ajia* (The early Comintern and East Asia), ed. Shoki Kominterun to Higashi Ajia kenkyūkai (Research group on the early Comintern and East Asia). Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2007.
- . “Shi Sontō to Chūgoku kyōsantō” (Shi Cuntong and the Chinese Communist Party). *Tōhō gakuho* (*Kyōto*) 68 (1996).
- . “Tōzai bunmei ron to Nit-Chū no rondan” (On Eastern and Western civilization and the debate in China and Japan). In *Kindai Nihon no Ajia ninshiki*

- (Perceptions of Asia in modern Japan), ed. Furuya Tetsuo. Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1994.
- . “Wo zenyang xiezuo *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*” (How I wrote *Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi*). *Bainian chao* 7 (2001).
- . “Yoshino Sakuzō to 1920 nen no Pekin daigaku gakusei hō-Nichi dan” (Yoshino Sakuzō and the Beijing University student group that went to Japan in 1920). *Yoshino Sakuzō senshū geppō* 14 (1996).
- . “Zhonggong chuangujian shi yanjiu shuping” (Comments on research into the history of the founding of the CCP). In *Zhongguo geming shi yanjiu shulun* (Essays on the history of the Chinese revolution), ed. Zeng Qingliu and Hong Xiaoxia. Hong Kong: Huaxing chubanshe, 2000.
- . *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* (History of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). Trans. Yuan Guangquan. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2006.
- . “*Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* chuban hou de buchong shuoming” (Supplementary explanation after the publication of *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the revolutionary history of Shanghai), Vol 6. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006.
- Itō Shūichi. “Bakū no Tōhō shominzoku taikai ni tsuite” (On the Congress of the Toilers of the East in Baku). *Kōbe daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 1 (1972).
- . “Daiichiji Karahan sengen noibun ni tsuite” (On variants of the First Karakhan Manifesto). *Kenkyū* (Kōbe daigaku bungakkai) 41 (1968).
- . “Jūgatsu kakumei go no sūnenkan ni okeru Soveto Chūgoku Chōsen kinrōsha no kokusaishugiteki rentai ni tsuite” (On internationalist solidarity among Soviet, Chinese, and Korean workers in the few years following the October Revolution). *Rekishi hyōron* 162–163 (1964).
- . “Kominterun to Ajia (ichi): Dainikai taikai ni kansuru oboegaki (ichi)” (The Comintern and Asia, part 1: Notes on the second congress, part 1). *Chūgoku shi kenkyū* (Ōsaka shiritsu daigaku Chūgoku shi kenkyūkai) 5 (1971).
- . “Kominterun to Ajia (ichi): Dainikai taikai ni kansuru oboegaki (ni)” (The Comintern and Asia, part 1: Notes on the second congress, part 2). *Kenkyū* (Kōbe daigaku bungakkai) 47 (1971).
- . “Nijisseiki no Ajia to Kominterun” (The Comintern and Asia in the twentieth century). In *Ajia rekishi kenkyū nyūmon* (Introduction to research in Asian history), Vol. 5. Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984.
- Iwamura Toshio. *Kominterun to Nihon Kyōsantō no seiritsu* (The Comintern and the formation of the Japan Communist Party). Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1977.
- Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi. *Zhongguo jindai de wuzhengfuzhuyi sichao* (Intellectual trends in modern Chinese anarchism). Jinan: Shandong renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Jiang Kanghu. *Jiang Kanghu xin E youji* (Jiang Kanghu’s travels to the new Russia) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1923).
- Jiang Liangfu. *Lidai mingren nianli beizhuan zongbiao* (Comprehensive chart of inscribed biographies of famous men over the ages arranged chronologically). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1970.

- Jiang Peinan and Chen Weimin. "Zhongguo laodong zuhe shujibu chengli yu 'Yida' yihou" (The formation of the secretariat of the Chinese labor union after the first national congress of the CCP). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (1987).
- Jiansheng. "Shiji de laodong yundong" (The real labor movement). *Laodongzhe* 1 (October 1920).
- "Jiashu" (Family letters). In *Zhang Tailei wenji (xu)* (Writings of Zhang Tailei, continued). Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1992.
- "Jinan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu zongshu" (General discussion of the Jinan Communist Group). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), Vol. 2, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- Jin Anping. "Jindai liu-Ri xuesheng yu Zhongguo zaoqi Gongchanzhuyi yundong" ([Chinese] students in Japan in the modern period and the early Communist movement in China). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (1990).
- "Jinan Qi-Lu shushe guanggao" (Advertisement in the Qi-Lu bookstore of Jinan). *Xin qingnian* 8.2 (October 1920).
- Jin Liren. "Zhonggong Shanghai faqizu chengli qianhou ruogan shishi kao" (A study of a number of historical facts concerning the Shanghai launch group of the CCP). *Dang de wenxian* 6 (1997); 1 (1998).
- Ji. "Shanghai Shenxin fangshachang yipie" (A view of the Shenxin textile mill in Shanghai). *Laodong jie* 1 (August 15, 1920).
- Kalachev [S. N. Naumov]. "Kratkii ocherk istorii Kitaiskoi kommunisticheskoi partii" (Brief history of the Chinese Communist Party). *Kanton* 1 (1927).
- Kapitsa, M. S. "So-Chū kankei shi no jūyō bunsho" (Important documents in the history of Sino-Soviet relations). *Kyokutō no shomondai* 8.4 (1979).
- Kartunova, A. I. "Internatsional'naia pomoshch' rabochemu klassu Kitaia (1920–1922 gg.)" (International aid to the Chinese working class, 1920–1922). *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka* 1 (1973).
- . "K voprosu o kontaktakh predstavitatelei kitaiskoi sekti RKP(b) s organizatsiiami KPK: Po novym dokumentam 1921–1922" (On the question of contacts between representatives of the Chinese section of the Bolshevik Party and the CCP organization). *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka* 2 (1983).
- . "Profintern i profsoyuznoie dvizheniie v Kitaie (iz istorii ix vzaimootnoshenii)" (The Profintern and the movement for Chinese labor unions, from the history of mutual relations). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1 (1972).
- . "Zabytyi uchastnik I c"ezda KPK" (Forgotten attendee at the first congress of the CCP). *Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka* 2 (1989).
- Kasanin, Marc. *China in the Twenties*. Moscow: Central Dept. of Oriental Literature, 1973.
- Kataoka Kazutada. *Tenshin Goshi undō shōshi* (Short history of the May Fourth Movement in Tianjin). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1982.
- Katayama Seiji, ed. *Nihon Kyōsantō shi (senzen)* (History of the Japan Communist Party, prewar). Tokyo: Gendaishi kenkyūkai, 1962.
- Kautsky, K. *The Class Struggle (Erfurt Program)*. Trans. William E. Bohn. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1910.

- Kawabata Masahisa. *Kominterun to Nihon* (The Comintern and Japan). Kyoto: Hōritsu bunkasha, 1982.
- . “Kyokutō shominzoku taikai to Chūgoku” (China and the Congress of the Toilers of the East). *Shisō* 790 (April 1990); 791 (May 1990).
- Kawakami Hajime. *Kawakami Hajime zenshū* (Collected works of Kawakami Hajime). 36 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1982–1986.
- . “Makesizhuyi shang suowei ‘guoduqi’” (The transition period as used in Marxism). Trans. Guangliang. *Minguo ribao Juewu*, December 18–19, 1921.
- . “Marukusushugi ni iu tokoro no katoki ni tsuite” (The transition period as used in Marxism). *Keizai ronsō* 13.6 (December 1921).
- . *Marukusu Shihonron kaisetsu* (An explication of Marx’s *Das Kapital*). *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 7 (July 1919).
- . *Shakai mondai kanken* (Views on social issues). Kyoto: Kōbundō shobō, 1918.
- . *Yuibutsu shikan kenkyū* (Studies in the materialist view of history). Tokyo: Kōbundō shobō, 1921.
- . “1875 nen ni kaita Marukusu no tegami” (A letter of Marx written in 1875). *Shakai mondai kenkyū* 27 (November 1921).
- Ke Bainian. “Wo yi Makesi he Engesi zhuzuo de jian dan jingli” (My simple experiences translating works by Marx and Engels). In *Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju Ma-Enshi* (Marx-Engels Office, Editorial Department for the Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin of the CCP Central Committee), ed. *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo zai Zhongguo de chuanbo* (The spread of Marx’s and Engels’s writings in China). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Keihokyoku (Bureau of Police and Public Security). “Chōsenjin kinkyō gaiyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu” (Summary of circumstances surrounding Koreans, January 1922). In *Zai-Nichi Chōsenjin kankei shiryō shūsei* (Collection of materials concerning Koreans in Japan), Vol. 1, ed. Pak Kyōng-sik. Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1975.
- . *Zairyū gaikokujin gaikyō Taishō 10-nen 12-gatsu* (Survey of resident foreigners, December 1921), in file A.
- “Keishichō ni okeru Shi Sontō no chinjutsu yōryō” (Summary of Shi Cuntong’s deposition to the Metropolitan Police Department). *Gaiji keisatsu hō* 10 (1922).
- Kerr, Charles H. *What Socialism Is*. Chicago: n.p., 1913?.
- Khisamtdinov, A. “Vernyi drug kitaiskogo naroda Sergei Polevoy” (Sergei Polevoy, a loyal friend of the Chinese people). *Problemy Dal’nego Vostoka* 1 (2006).
- Kim Ch’ang-sun. *Hanguk kongsanjuūi undong sa* (History of the Korean Communist movement). Seoul: Pukhan yŏn’guso, 1999.
- Kim Chun-yōp and Kim Ch’ang-sun. *Hanguk kongsanjuūi undong sa* (History of the Korean Communist movement). 5 vols. Seoul: Koryō taehakkyo Asea munje yŏn’guso, 1967–1976.
- Kinbara Samon. *Shōwa e no taidō* (Signs toward Shōwa). Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1988.

- Kinoshita Yoshisuke. *Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha ippan (Taishō 11-nen 6-gatsu)* (Bolsheviks in Shanghai, June 1922), in file C.
- “Kitaiskaia Kompartii na III kongresse Kominterna (Doklad Kitaiskoi delegatsii)” (The CCP at the third congress of the Comintern, report of the Chinese delegation). *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 3 (1921).
- K-n, L. “Niuma Burtman.” *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 2 (1921).
- “Kō dai-174-gō, Shakaishugi seinandan kanshō hōkoku no ken (1920 nen 12-gatsu 8-ka)” (Open materials, no. 174, report on the rules of the Socialist Youth Corps, December 8, 1920), in file C.
- “Kōkei dai-27941-gō, kagekiha no Kyokutō senden ni kansuru ken (1921 nen 10-gatsu 7-ka)” (Higher [political] police, case no. 27941, concerning Bolshevik propaganda in the Far East, October 7, 1921), in file C.
- “Kominterun daisankai taikai ni okeru Chō Tairai no enzetsu (1921 nen 7-gatsu 11-nichi)” (Zhang Tailei’s speech at the third congress of the Comintern, July 11, 1921). In *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi shiryōshū* (Collection of documents on the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1, ed. Nihon kokusai mondai kenkyūjo Chūgoku bukai (China section, Japan study group on international issues). Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1970.
- Kondō Eizō. *Komuminterun no misshi* (Secret agent of the Comintern). Tokyo: Bunka hyōronsha, 1949.
- Koseki Nobuyuki. *Goshi jiki no jaanarizumu* (Journalism in the May Fourth era). Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1985.
- “Kōshin dai-286-gō dai-2-bu Kyokutō zen shakaitōkyoku happyō sengensho shosai shinbun kirinuki sōfu no ken (1920 nen 6-gatsu 10-ka)” (Official letter, no. 286, section 2, forwarded cuttings from newspapers carrying speeches and manifestos of socialist parties in East Asia, June 10, 1920), in file C.
- Kovalev, E. F., and A. I. Kartunova. “Novye materialy o pervom c”ezda Komunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia” (New materials on the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 6 (1972).
- Kriukov, Mikhail. “The Winding Road to Alliance: Soviet Russia and Sun Yatsen (1918–1923).” *Far Eastern Affairs* 2–3 (1999).
- Kriukov, M. V. *Ulitsa Mol’era, 29: Sekretnaia missiia polkovnika Popova* (No. 29 Molière Ave.: Secret emissary of Colonel Popov). Moscow: Pamiatniki istoricheskoi mysli, 2000.
- Kuchko, V. N. “N. G. Burtman, revoliutsioner, internatsionalist” (N. G. Burtman, revolutionary, internationalist). In *Opyt i uroki istorii KPK, k 60-letiiu obrazovaniia partii* (Experience and lessons in the history of the CCP, 60th anniversary of the founding of the party), ed. V. I. Glunin. Moscow: Institut Dal’nego Vostoka, Akademiia nauk, SSSR, 1981.
- Kui Wen and Li Zhichun. “Dui ‘‘Qiyi’’ de youlai’ yiwen tidian butong kanfa” (Different view on a few points concerning the essay, “Origins of ‘July 1’”). *Dang shi yanjiu* 5 (1980).
- “Lai han” (Letter arrives). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.
- Laoren. “Lining zhi jiepou” (Disecting Lenin). *Laodong* 3 (May 1918).
- Lenin, N. *The Soviets at Work: The International Position of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Fundamental Problems of the Socialist Revolution*. New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1918.

- . *State and Revolution* (edition uncertain).
- . “Baoerxueweike zhi suo yaoqiu yu paichi” (What the Bolsheviks desire and reject). Trans. Lüqin (Jin Lüqin). *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.1 (September 1919).
- . “Eguo wenti” (Russian issues). Trans. Jin Lüqin. *Xuedeng*, May 15, 16, 19, 1919.
- . “Eluosi zhi zhengdang” (Russian political parties). Trans. Zheng Zhenduo. *Xin Zhongguo* 1.8 (December 1919).
- . “Jianshezhong de Suweiai” (Soviets under construction). Trans. Lüqin (Jin Lüqin). *Jiefang yu gaizao* 2.6 (March 1920).
- , and L. Trotsky. *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia*, ed. by Louis C. Fraina. New York: The Communist Press, 1918.
- “Letter from Stoyanovich, September 29, 1920, Guangzhou” (document 5).
- Liang Miaozhen. “Shi Cuntong yu Zhongguo Gongchandang de chuangujian” (Shi Cuntong and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- Liang Qichao. “Zi Mozi xueshuo” (The theories of Mozi). *Xinmin congbao* 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58 (June–December 1904).
- Liang Shuming. “Huiyi Li Dazhao xiansheng” (Remembering Mr. Li Dazhao). In *Huiyi Li Dazhao* (Remembering Li Dazhao). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Liang xueshenghui xiaoxi” (News of two student groups). *Shenbao*, December 12, 1919.
- “Liang xueshenghui xuanju jinwen” (Recent news on elections in two student groups). *Minguo ribao*, July 7, 1920.
- Liao Ping (Liao Huaping). “Lü-E tongxin” (Communication on traveling to Russia). *Rensheng* 2 (1921).
- “Li Changren de huiyi” (Li Changren’s memoirs). In *Wuzhengfuzhuyi zai Zhongguo* (Anarchism in China), ed. Gao Jun et al. Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Li Da. “Li Da zizhuan (jielu)” (Li Da’s autobiography, excerpts). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 8 (1980).
- . “Qiyi huiyi” (Memories of July 1). *Qiyi yuekan* 1 (1958). Rpt. in *Li Da wenji* (The writings of Li Da), Vol. 4. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- . “Yanzhe geming de daolu qianjin, wei jinian dang chengli sishi zhounian er zuo” (Following the revolution’s path forward, commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the party). *Zhongguo qingnian* 13–14 (1961). Rpt. in *Li Da wenji* (The writings of Li Da), Vol. 4. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de sixiang douzheng qingkuang” (Ideological struggles at the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang de faqi he diyici, dierci daibiao dahui jingguo de huiyi” (Memories of the launching of the Chinese Communist Party and its first and second national congresses). In *Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.

- Li Danyang. "Chaoxianren 'Ba-ke-jing-chun' lai-Hua zudang shulun" (Discussion of the coming to China of the Korean "Ba-ke-jing-chun" to form a party). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 4 (1992).
- . "Hongse Eqiao Lizeluoweiqi yu Zhongguo zaiqi Gongchanzhuyi yundong" (The Russian Communist Lizerovitch and the early Chinese Communist movement). *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 6 (2002).
- . "Ying Lun hanggao, zuizao yu Li Dazhao jiechu de Su-E daibiao: Yiwanuofu" (Manuscript sent from London, England: The first contacts between Li Dazhao and Soviet representative Ivanov). *Zhonggongdang shi yanjiu* 4 (1999).
- . "Zai-Hu hongse Eqiao: Lizeluoweiqi" (Russian Communist in Shanghai: Lizerovitch), unpublished.
- and Liu Jianyi. "Huoduoluofu yu Su-E zai-Hua zaoqi sheli de dianxunshe" (Khodorov and Soviet telecommunications agencies established early on in China). *Minguo dang'an* 3 (2001).
- . "Huoduoluofu yu Su-E zaoqi zai-Hua tongxunshe" (Khodorov and early Soviet press agencies in China), unpublished draft.
- . "'Shanghai Ewen shenghuo bao' yu Buershenweike zaoqi zai-Hua huodong" (*Shankhaiskaia Zhizn'* and early Bolshevik activities in China). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (2003).
- . "Ying Lun hanggao, zaoqi lai-Hua de Su-E zhongyao mishi kao" (Manuscript sent from London, England: Examination of an important secret Soviet emissary to China early on). *Zhonggong dangshi yanjiu* 5 (1998).
- . "Zaoqi lai-Hua de Su-E zhongyao mishi, Popofu" (Popov, an early secret Soviet emissary to China). *Dang'an yu shixue* 6 (2002).
- Li Dazhao. "Bolshevism de shengli" (The victory of Bolshevism). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "Busshitsu hendō to dōtoku hendō" (Material change and ethical change). Trans. Saitō Michihiko. *Chūgoku bungaku ronsō* 5 (1974); 6 (1976).
- . "Eluosi geming de guoqu ji xianzai" (The past and present of the Russian Revolution, written in 1921). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 4. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "Watakushi no Marukususuhugi kan (jō)" (My Marxist view, part 1). Trans. Saitō Michihiko. In *Chūgoku bungaku ronsō* 2 (1970).
- . "Wo de Makesizhuyi guan" (My Marxist views). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "'Wuyi' May Day yundong shi" (History of the May Day movement). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "Wuzhi biandong yu daode biandong" (Material change and ethical change). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "Yaxiya qingnian de guangming yundong" (The enlightenment movement of Asian youth) (April 1920). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- . "Zhanhou zhi furen wenti" (The women's question after the war). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- Li Dazhao wenji* (The writings of Li Dazhao). 5 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.

- Li Dazhao zhuan* (Biography of Li Dazhao). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1979.
- “Li Da zhi Zhongyang dang’anguan de xin (1959 nian 9-yue)” (Li Da’s letter to the Central Archives, September 1959). In *Li Da wenji* (The writings of Li Da), Vol. 4. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- Li Desheng. *Yige bing de shuohua* (The words of a soldier). n.p., 1920.
- Liebknecht, W. *No Compromise, No Political Trading*. Trans. A. M. Simons and M. Hitch. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1911.
- Li Guoji. “Guanyu Zhonggong yida yuding kaihui shijian de tanjiu” (Investigation into the time of the scheduled meeting of the first national congress of the CCP). *Dang de wenxian* 1 (1993).
- [Li] Hanjun. “Fa zujie dianche bagong gei women de jiaoxun” (The lessons for us from the trolley strike in the French Concession). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, March 8, 1921.
- . “Hunpu de shehuizhuyizhe de tebie de laodong yundong yijian” (Particular views on the labor movement from a modest socialist). *Xingqi pinglun* 50 (May 1920).
- . “Weiwu shiguan bushi shenme?” (What is the materialist view of history not?). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, January 23, 1922.
- . “Wo duiyu bagong wenti de ganxiang” (My impressions of the issue of a strike). *Minguo ribao*, March 5, 1921.
- . “Yanjiu Makesi xueshuo de biyao ji women xianzai rushou de fangfa” (The need to study Marxist theory and the means by which we can get started now). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, June 6, 1922.
- . “Yizhe xu” (Translator’s introduction). In *Magesi Zibenlun rumen* (Shanghai: Shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, 1920).
- Li Ji. *Wo de shengping* (My life). Shanghai: Yadong tushuguan, 1932.
- Li Jiagu. *Zhong-Su guanxi (1917–1926)* (Sino-Soviet relations, 1917–1926). Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 1996.
- Li Ling. “Guanyu ‘Zhang Tailei zhi Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui de baogao’ de zuozhe, yu Yu Mengkui shangque” (On the authorship of “Zhang Tailei’s report at the third congress of the Comintern,” a discussion with Yu Mengkui). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 3 (1992).
- . “‘Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling’ Ewenben de lai yuan he chubu kaozheng” (The origins of the Russian text of the “First Platform of the Chinese Communist Party” and an initial examination). *Dang shi yanjiu* 3 (1980).
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui jige wenti de kaozheng” (Investigation of several questions concerning the first representative congress of the Chinese Communist Party). *Dang shi yanjiu* 5 (1983).
- Li Longmu. *Wusi shiqi sixiang shilun* (Historical essays on May Fourth era thought). Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1990.
- “Liminghui (Yiyue wuri Dongjing tongxun) Jiye boshi” (Dr. Yoshino [Sakuzō] of the Dawn Society, Tokyo report of January 5). *Meizhou pinglun* 5 (January 1919).
- Li Quanxing et al., eds. *Li Dazhao yanjiu cidian* (Dictionary of Li Dazhao studies). Beijing: Hongqi chubanshe, 1994.

- Li Renjie (Hanjun). "Gaizao yao quanbu gaizao" (Change necessitates overall change). *Jianshe* 1.6 (January 1920).
- Li Shouchang (Li Dazhao). "Dushishang gongdutuan de quedian" (Shortcomings of the urban Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps) (April 1920). In *Li Dazhao wenji*, Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- "Li Shouchang qishi" (Notice from Li Shouchang). *Chenzhong bao*, September 5, 1916.
- "List of Delegates to the First Congress of the Communist International in Moscow." *The Communist International* 1 (1919).
- Liu Dexi. *Liangge weiren he liangge dalu* (Two great men and two continents). Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 1995.
- . "Su-E, Gongchan guoji yu Chen Jiongming de guanxi" (Relations among Soviet Russia, the Comintern, and Chen Jiongming). *Sun Zhongshan yanjiu luncong* 6 (1988).
- Liu Jianhui. "Chen Weiren bangzhu jianli Zhonggong Shandong dang zuzhi de shijian wenti" (Temporal questions in Chen Weiren's assistance to the founding of the CCP's Shandong organization). *Dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1986).
- . "'Jinan Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu' chengyuan xintan" (A new examination of the members of the "Jinan Communist Group"). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 11 (1986).
- . "Weijingsiji yijiuerling nian siyue daoguo Jinan ma?" (Did Voitinsky go to Jinan in April 1920?). *Dang shi yanjiu* 5 (1986).
- and Zheng Yaru. "Zhonggong Yida qian zhaokaiguo sanyue huiyi ma? Yu Wang Shuguan shangque" (Was there a March meeting convened before the first congress of the CCP? A discussion with Wang Shuguan). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1989).
- "Liu Qian's Report to the Amur Regional Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, October 5, 1920" (document 6).
- Liu Renjing. "Huiyi dang de Yida" (Remembering the party's first congress). In *"Yida" qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . "Huiyi wo zai Beida Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui de qingkuang" (Remembering my time in the Marxist studies group at Beijing University). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 16 (1979).
- . "Yida suoyi (1979 nian 12-yue 21-ri)" (Fragmentary memories of the first congress. December 21, 1979). In *Yida huiyilu* (Memoirs about the first national congress). Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1980.
- "Liu-Ri xuesheng guochihui shengkuang" (Grand event of the national humiliation society of the students in Japan). *Minguo ribao*, May 14, 1920.
- Liu Tingxiao and Ma Hongru. "Dong Biwu tongzhi weishenme fangqi yida daibiao shi shisan ren de yijian?" (Why did Comrade Dong Biwu abandon the view that there were thirteen delegates at the first national congress?). *Dang shi tongxun* 8 (1984).
- Liu Yishun. "Canjia Gongchan guoji 'Yida' de liangge Zhongguoren" (On the two Chinese participants at the "first congress" of the Comintern). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 6 (1986).

- . “Canjia Gongchan guoji Yida de Zhang Yongkui qingkuang jianjie” (Brief introduction to the circumstances surrounding Zhang Yongkui, a participant at the first Comintern congress). *Geming shi ziliao* 4 (1986).
- Liu Yongming. *Guomindang ren yu Wusi yundong* (Members of the Guomindang and the May Fourth Movement) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1990).
- Liu Yushan et al. *Zhang Tailei nianpu* (Chronological biography of Zhang Tailei). Tianjin: Tianjin daxue chubanshe, 1992.
- Liu Zerong. “Huiyi tong weida Liening de huiwu” (Remembering meeting with the great Lenin). *Gongren ribao*, April 21, 1960.
- . “Shiyue geming qianhou wo zai Sulian de yiduan jingli” (My experiences in the Soviet Union around the time of the October Revolution). *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 60 (1979).
- Li Xin and Chen Tiejian, eds. *Weida de kaidian* (Great beginning). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1983.
- Li Xinggeng et al. *Fengyu fuping, Eguo qiaomin zai Zhongguo (1917–1924 nian)* (Floating duckweed on the wind and rain, Russian residents in China, 1917–1924). Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 1997.
- Li Yunhan. *Cong rong-Gong dao qingdang* (From allowing the Communists in to cleansing the Party). Taipei: Zhongguo xueshu zhuzuo jiangzhu weiyuanhui, 1966.
- Li Yuzhen. “Canjia Zhonggong ‘Yida’ de Nikeersiji” (Nikolsky who attended for first congress of the CCP). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 7–8 (1989).
- . “Cong Su-E diyici dui-Hua xuanyan shuoqi” (The first Soviet declaration toward China). In *Sulian, Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo geming de guanxi xintan* (New investigations into the relationships among the Soviet Union, the Communist International, and the Chinese revolution), ed. Huang Xiurong. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi chubanshe, 1999.
- . “Guanyu canjia Gongchan guoji diyi, erci daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao” (On the Chinese delegates to the first and second congresses of the Comintern). *Lishi yanjiu* 6 (1979).
- . “Lü-E Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng de geming huodong” (Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionary activities of the Chinese in Russia). In *Huaqiao yu Sun Zhongshan xiansheng lingdao de guomin geming xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Essays from a scholarly conference on overseas Chinese and the national revolution led by Mr. Sun Yat-sen), ed. Zhang Xizhe and Chen Sanjing. Taipei: Guishiguan, 1997.
- . *Sun Zhongshan yu Gongchan guoji* (Sun Yat-sen and the Comintern). Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1996.
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli zhi qian de Su-E mishi” (Secret Soviet emissary before the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangujian shi yanjiu wenji, 1990–2002* (Collection of studies in the history of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1990–2002). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003.
- , ed. *Malin yu diyici Guo-Gong hezuo* (Maring and the first Guomindang-Communist United Front). Beijing: Guangming ribao chubanshe, 1998.

- , trans. *Liangong, Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo (1920–1925)* (The Soviet Communist Party, the Comintern, and China, 1920–1925), Vol. 1. Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1997.
- Lizerovitch, Jack. “Wu yi” (May First). Trans. Li Hanjun. *Xingqi pinglun* 48 (May 1920).
- Lü Fangshang. *Geming zhi zaiqi* (Resurgence of the revolution). Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1989.
- Lü Fangwen. *Chen Weiren zhuan* (Biography of Chen Weiren). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1997.
- Luk, Y. L. Michael. *The Origins of Chinese Bolshevism: An Ideology in the Making, 1920–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Luo Chuanhua (C. H. Lowe). *Jinri Zhongguo laogong wenti* (Contemporary labor issues in contemporary China) (Shanghai: Qingnian xiehui shuju, 1933).
- Luo Jialun. “Jinri Zhongguo zhi zazhi jie” (The world of contemporary Chinese journals). *Xinchao* 1.4 (April 1919).
- Luo Zhanglong. “Huiyi Beijing daxue Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui” (Memories of the Marxist study group at Beijing University). In “Yida” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . “Huiyi dang de chuanglei shiqi de jige wenti” (Remembering a number of issues from the time of the founding of the party). In “Yida” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . “Luo Zhanglong tan Beijing tuan ji Xianqu” (Luo Zhanglong discusses the Beijing group and Xianqu). *Qingyun shi ziliao yu yanjiu* 1 (1982).
- . *Chunyuan zaiji* (Writings from the Chun Garden) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1984).
- “Lu Yongxiang fudian (1920 nian 3-yue 13-ri)” (Return cable of Lu Yongxiang, March 13, 1920). In *Wusi aiguo yundong dang'an ziliao* (Archival materials on the patriotic May Fourth Movement), ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindai shi yanjiusuo (Institute of modern history, Chinese academy of social sciences) and Zhongguo dier lishi dang'anguan shiliao bianjibu (Materials editorial department, Chinese Number Two Historical Archives). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1980.
- Lu Yuan, trans. and ed. “Buerteman qiren” (Burtman, the man). In *Guowai Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu dongtai* 3 (1990).
- Ma Guifan. “Duqi bingxue ting cangsong: Yu Xiusong zai Sulian de kanke suiyue” (A hardy pine in a world of ice and snow: Yu Xiusong's difficult time spent in the Soviet Union). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1999).
- . “Fu-Su chayue Gongchan guoji dang'an qingkuang shulüe” (On the state of the Comintern archives which I visited in Soviet Russia). *Zhonggong dang shi tongxun* 16 (1991).
- . “Weijingsiji diyici lai-Hua shi de shenfen bushi Gongchan guoji daibiao” (The first time Voitinsky came to China he was not a representative of the Comintern). *Dang shi tongcun* 11 (1985).
- “Makesi he Anggesi Gongchandang xuanyan” (Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels). Trans. Li Zepeng. *Guomin* 2.1 (November 1919).

- “Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui tonggao (si)” (Announcement of the Marxist study group, no. 4). *Beijing daxue rikan*, February 6, 1922.
- Ma Lianru. *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangshi lu* (Account of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 1991.
- Malin zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao (Materials on Maring in China), rev. ed. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Malysheva, M. P., and Vladimir Semenovitch Poznanskii, eds. *Dal’nevostochnaia politika sovietskoi Rossii, 1920–1922 gg.* (The Far Eastern policies of Soviet Russia, 1920–1922). Novosibirsk: Sibirskii khronograf, 1996.
- Mamaeva, N. L. *Komintern i Gomin’dan, 1919–1929* (The Comintern and the Guomindang, 1919–1929). Moscow: Rosspen, 1999.
- Mao Dun. *Wo zouguo de daolu* (The path I have taken). 2 vols. Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian, 1981–1984.
- Mao Zedong. “Mao Zedong zhi Peng Huang de xin (1921 nian 1-yue 6-ri)” (Letter from Mao Zedong to Peng Huang, January 6, 1921). In *Mao Zedong nianpu* (Chronological biography of Mao Zedong), ed. Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (Document research department, CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe and Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1993.
- . “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship, Commemorating the 28th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party” (June 30, 1949). In *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. 4. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1967.
- . “Zai Zhongguo Gongchandang dijiuci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de jianghua (1969 nian 4-yue 1-ri)” (Speech at the ninth national congress of the Chinese Communist Party, April 1, 1969). *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* (Works of Mao Zedong since the founding of the state), Vol. 13. Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1988.
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang diqi ci quanguo daibiao dahui de gongzuo fangzhen (1945 nian 4-yue 21-ri)” (The work direction of the seventh national representative congress of the Chinese Communist Party, April 21, 1945). In *Mao Zedong xuanji* (Selected works of Mao Zedong), Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1996.
- “Marukusu shuppankai o attō suru *Shihonron kaisetsu*” (*Shihonron kaisetsu* which has overwhelmed the Marxist world of publishing). *Kaihō* (January 1920).
- Maruyama Konmei. *Pekin* (Beijing). Tokyo: Ōsaka yagō shoten, 1921.
- Maruyama Matsuyuki. “Chūkyō ichizen taikai songi” (Doubts about the first congress of the CCP). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 526 (1991).
- . “Sankō bunken mokuroku” (Bibliography of reference materials). In *Ri Taishō bunken mokuroku* (Bibliography of materials on Li Dazhao), ed. Maruyama Matsuyuki and Saitō Michihiko. Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, Tokyo University, 1970.
- Matsuo Takayoshi. “Goshi ki ni okeru Yoshino Sakuzō to Ri Taishō” (Yoshino Sakuzō and Li Dazhao in the May Fourth era), appendix to Yoshino Sakuzō, *Gendai kensei no unyō* (Contemporary application of constitutional government). Tokyo rpt.: Misuzu shobō, 1988.

- . “Kaisetsu, Miura Tetsutarō ron” (Explanation, concerning Miura Tetsutarō). In *Dai Nihonshugi ka shō Nihonshugi ka, Miura Tetsutarō ronsetsushū* (Greater Japanism or lesser Japanese, the essays of Miura Tetsutarō), ed. Matsuo Takayoshi. Tokyo: Tōyō keizai shinpōsha, 1995.
- . “Kosumo kurabu shōshi” (A short history of the Cosmo Club). *Kyōto Tachibana joshi daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 26 (2000).
- . “Minponshugisha to Goshi undō” (A democrat and the May Fourth Movement). In his *Taishō demokurashii no kenkyū* (Studies of Taishō democracy). Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1966.
- . *Minponshugi to teikokushugi* (Democracy and imperialism). Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1998.
- . “Sōritsu ki Nihon Kyōsantō shi no tame no oboegaki” (Notes toward a history of the Japan Communist Party in the founding period). *Kyōto daigaku Bungakubu kenkyū kiyō* 19 (1979).
- , ed. *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku* (Materials on contemporary history, continued, 2: History of socialism). Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1986.
- McManus, Arthur. “The Task awaiting the Communist Party.” *The Communist* 1 (August 5, 1920).
- “Meiguo IWW zhi Shanghai jiqi gonghui shu” (A letter from the IWW in America to the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union). *Laodong jie* 24 (January 1921).
- Meisner, Maurice. *Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Minami Hiroshi and Shakai shinri kenkyūjo, eds. *Taishō bunka 1905–1927* (Taishō culture, 1905–1927). Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1987.
- Mingming [Li Dazhao]. “Zhu Liminghui” (Celebrating the Dawn Society) (February 1919). In *Li Dazhao wenji* (The writings of Li Dazhao), Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubashe, 1999.
- “Minutes of a meeting of the Comintern Executive, November 26, 1923” (document 95).
- Miyazaki Ryūsuke. “Shinsō no Minkoku kara” (From the Republic refurbished). *Kaihō* (December 1919).
- “Miyazaki Ryūsuke yori Itō Akiko ate shokan” (Letters from Miyazaki Ryūsuke to Itō Akiko), dated May 9, 13, 19, 27, 1920, and June 26, 1920, in the possession of Miyazaki Tomoo.
- Mizuha Nobuo. “Shi Fukuryō no ‘chūkanha’ ron to sono hihan o megutte” (On Shi Fuliang’s “intermediate position” and criticism of it). In *Ajia no chiiki to shakai* (Region and society in Asia), ed. Imanaga Seiji. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1994.
- Mizuno Naoki. “Kominterun to Chōsen, kakutaikai no Chōsen daihyō no kentō o chūshin ni” (The Comintern and Korea, an investigation of Korean representatives at various congresses). *Chōsen minzoku undō shi kenkyū* 1 (1984).
- Mori Tokihiko. “Chūgoku Kyōsantō ryo-Ō shibu no seiritsu” (The formation of the CCP group that traveled in Europe). *Aichi daigaku kokusai mondai kenkyūjo kiyō* 80 (1985).
- . “Chūgoku ni okeru kinkō kengaku undō kenkyū no dōkō” (Directions in Chinese research on the work-study movement). *Tōyō shi kenkyū* 40.4 (1982).

- . “Ryo-Ō Chūgoku kyōsanshugi seinendan no seiritsu” (The formation of the Communist Youth Corps that visited Russia). *Tōhō gakuho* (Kyōto) 52 (1980).
- Mukhachev, B. I. *Aleksandr Krasnoshchekov, istoriko-biograficheskii ocherk* (Aleksandr Krasnoshchekov, historical-biographical study). Vladivostok: DVO RAN, 1999.
- Murata Yōichi. “Saisho ni Nihon e shōkai saretā Rēnin no bunken” (The Lenin documents first introduced to Japan). *Keizai* 72 (1970).
- . “Shiryō, Nihon Kyōsantō junbi iinkai no sengen, kiyaku (1921 nen 4-gatsu)” (Documents, manifesto of the preparatory committee for the Japan Communist Party, April 1921). In *Nihon no tōitsu sensen undō* (The movement for Japan’s united front), ed. Rōdō undō shi kenkyūkai (Study group on the history of the labor movement). Tokyo: Rōdō junpōsha, 1976.
- , ed. *Kominternun shiryōshū* (Collection of Comintern documents), Vol. 1. Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 1978.
- Murata Yūjirō. “Chin Dokushū zai Kōshū (1920–21 nen)” (Chen Duxiu in Guangzhou, 1920–21). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 496 (1989).
- Mu Shui. “Waiguoyu xueshe shisheng minglu” (Name list of teachers and students at the Foreign Language Institute). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- Musin, I. M. *Ocherki rabochego dvizheniia v Kitaie: Voprosy kitaiskoi revoliutsii* (Studies of the labor movement in China: Questions concerning the Chinese revolution), Vol. 1. Moscow: n.p., 1927.
- Mu Tao and Sun Kezhi. *Da Han minguo linshi zhengfu zai Zhongguo* (The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea in China). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992.
- Myuller, A. A. *V plameni revoliutsii (1917–1920 gg.)* (In the fires of revolution, 1917–1920). Irkutsk: Irkutskoe knizhnoie izdatel'stvo, 1957.
- . “Li Dazhao yu Buerteman” (Li Dazhao and Burtman). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 6–7 (1981).
- Naimushō Keihokyoku (Bureau of Police and Public Security, Interior Ministry). “Honpō shakaishugisha museifushugisha meibo” (Name list of Japanese socialists and anarchists). In *Shakaishugisha museifushugisha jinbutsu kenkyū shiryō* (1) (Materials in the study of socialists and anarchists), ed. Shakai bunko. Tokyo rpt.: Kashiwa shobō, 1964.
- “Naimushō kunrei dai-998-gō (1921 nen 12-gatsu 27-nichi)” (Interior Ministry directive no. 998, December 27, 1921), in file F.
- “Nanjing dahui jilüe” (Brief report on a meeting in Nanjing). *Shaonian Zhongguo* 3.2 (September 1921).
- “Nanjing xuesheng lianhehui jishi” (Report on the Nanjing student association). *Minguo ribao*, April 2, 1921.
- Naumov, S. N. “A Brief History of the Chinese Communist Party.” In *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927*, ed. C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Nihon ryūgaku Chūka minkoku jinmei shirabe* (Investigation of the Chinese studying in Japan). Tokyo: Kō-Ain, 1940.
- Nikiforov, V. N. "Aleksei Alekseevich Ivanov (Ivin)." *Narody Azii i Afriki* 4 (1965).
- . "Abram Yevseyevich Khodorov." *Narody Azii i Afriki* 5 (1966).
- Niki Fumiko. *Shinsai ka no Chūgokujin gyakusatsu* (The massacre of Chinese at the time of the earthquake). Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1993.
- Ni Weixiong. "Zhejiang xinchao de huiyi" (Memories of New Tides of Zhejiang). In *Wusi yundong huiyilu* (Memoirs of the May Fourth Movement), Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979.
- Nomura Kōichi. *Kindai Chūgoku no shisō sekai, "Shin seinen" no gunzō* (The world of modern Chinese thought, members of *Xin qingnian*). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990.
- North, Robert C. *Moscow and Chinese Communists*. 2nd ed. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963.
- Norton, Henry Kittredge. *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*. London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1923.
- Ono Shinji. "Goshi jiki no risōshugi: Un Daiei no baai" (Idealism in the May Fourth era, the case of Yun Daiying). *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 38.2 (1979).
- . "Goshi undō zengo no Ō Kōki" (Wang Guangqi around the time of the May Fourth Movement). *Hanazono daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 22 (1990).
- . "Rōkō shinsei no menpō: Minkoku hachinen aki Pekin no shisō jōkyō" (Divine bread of labor: The ideological scene in Beijing, autumn 1919). *Tōhō gakuho* (Kyōto) 61 (1989).
- . "San'ichi undō to Goshi undō" (The March First Movement and the May Fourth Movement). In *Shokuminchi ki Chōsen no shakai to teikō* (Korean society and resistance during the colonial period), ed. Iinuma Jirō and Kang Che-an. Tokyo: Miraisha, 1982.
- "Ōsaka shōsen haisen kiroku" (Records of the assignment of vessels of O.S.K. Lines), held in the archives of Ōsaka shōsen Mitsui senpaku kabushiki gaisha (Mitsui O.S.K. Lines).
- Ōshima Kiyoshi. "Nihongo ban Kyōsantō sengen shoshi" (Bibliography of Japanese translations of the *Communist Manifesto*). In "*Kyōsantō sengen*" no kenkyū (Studies of the *Communist Manifesto*), ed. Kushida Tamizō and Ōuchi Hyōe. Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1970.
- Ōsugi Sakae. *Jijoden, Nihon dasshutsu ki* (Autobiography, account of an escape from Japan), ed. Asukai Masamichi. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1921.
- Ōtsuka Reizō. "Chūgoku Kyōsantō no seiritsuki ni tsuite" (On the period of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). *Mantetsu Shina geppō* 7.1 (1930).
- . *Shina Kyōsantō shi* (History of the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1. Tokyo: Seikatsusha, 1941.
- Pantsov, Aleksander. *The Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.
- Pei Tong. "Yijiūwuliu nian fu-Sulian jieshou dang'an zhuyi" (Recollections of going to the Soviet Union to receive archives in 1956). *Dang de wenxian* 5 (1989).

- Peng Huancai. "Liu-Ri xuesheng yu Zhongguo Gongchandang de chuangli" ([Chinese] students in Japan and the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). *Xiangtan daxue xuebao* 4 (1992).
- Peng Shuzhi. "Beiyiwang le de Zhonggong jiangdang renwu" (Forgotten persons who founded the party). Trans. Cheng Yingxiang. *Zhengming* 68 (1983).
- . "Zhongguo diyige Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi shi zenyang xingcheng de?" (How was the first Communist organization in China formed?). In *Peng Shuzhi xuanji* (Selected writings of Peng Shuzhi), Vol. 1. Hong Kong: Shiyue chubanshe, 1983.
- Peng Zexiang. "Zishu" (Autobiography). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 1 (1983).
- Persits, M. A. *Dal'nevostochnaia respublika i Kitai* (The Far Eastern Republic and China). Moscow: Institute narodov Azii, 1962.
- . "Iz Istorii Stanovleniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia" (From the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 4 (1971).
- . "O kharaktere zapiski 'Kongress Kommunisticheskoi Partii v Kitaie'" (On the character of the notes, "Congress of the Chinese Communist Party"). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1 (1973).
- . "Roshia ni okeru Tōhō no kokusaishugisha minzoku kaihō undō no jakkan no mondai (1918–1920 nen shichigatsu)" (Eastern internationalists in Russia and several questions concerning the national liberation movement, 1918–July 1920). Trans. Kokusai kankei kenkyūjo (International relations study group). In *Kominterun to Tōhō* (The Comintern and the East). Tokyo: Kyōdō sangyō KK shuppanbu, 1971.
- . "Vostochnye internatsionalisty v Rossii i nekotorye voprosy natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia (1918-iyul' 1920)" (Eastern internationalists in Russia and several questions concerning the national liberation movement, 1918–July 1920). In *Komintern i vostok* (The Comintern and the East). Moscow: n.p., 1969.
- "Potapov's report to Chicherin, December 12, 1920, Moscow" (document 7). *Protokoll des III. Kongresses der Kommunistischen Internationale (Moskau, 22. Juni bis 12. Juli 1921)* (Proceedings of the Third Communist International, Moscow, June 22–July 12, 1921). Hamburg: Verlag der Kommunistischen Internationale, 1921.
- Qian Tingtao. "Guanyu Zhang Tailei ruhe jiaru Zhonggong ji yu ci youguan de yixie wenti" (How Zhang Tailei joined the CCP and several related questions). In *Zhang Tailei yanjiu xueshu lunwenji* (Collection of scholarly essays on Zhang Tailei), ed. Zhang Tailei yanjiuhui (Zhang Tailei study group). Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993.
- . "Wo dui 1921 nian 'Sanyue daibiao huiyi' de kanfa" (My perspective on the 1921 "March meeting of representatives"). *Zhonggong dang shi tongxun* 6 (1994).
- . "Ye tan 1921 nian 'Sanyue daibiao huiyi,' yu Su Kaihua shangque" (Further discussion of the 1921 "March meeting of representatives"—a discussion with Su Kaihua). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 1 (1993).
- . "Zhang Tailei zai 1921 nian" (Zhang Tailei in 1921). *Beijing dang shi yanjiu* 3 (1996).

- “Qingzhu Zhongguo Gongchandang dansheng ershiba zhounian (1949 nian 7-yue 1-ri)” (Congratulations to the Chinese Communist Party on its twenty-eighth anniversary, July 1, 1949). In *Dong Biwu xuanji* (Selected writings of Dong Biwu). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985.
- Qiu Jie. “‘Lubo jiangjun’ jiqi tong Sun Zhongshan, Chen Jiongming de huijian” (“General Lubo” [Potapov] and his meeting with Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming). *Xueshu yanjiu* 3 (1996).
- Qi Weiping. “Lun Shi Fuliang yu kangzhan shengli hou de zhongjian luxian” (On Shi Fuliang and the intermediate line after the victory in the anti-Japanese war). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 3 (1988).
- . “Shi Fuliang zhuan” (Biography of Shi Fuliang). In *Zhongguo geminzhong dangpai shi renwu zhuan* (Biographies of figures in the history of various democratic factions in China), Vol. 1. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1991.
- . “Shi Cuntong zhu ‘Feixiao’ yinqi yichang xuanran dabao” (The mighty wave elicited by Shi Cuntong’s “Feixiao”). *Minguo chungkuo* 1 (1990).
- Qiwu Laoren (Bao Huiseng). “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli qianhou de jianwen” (Information from the era of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). *Xin guancha* 13 (1957).
- “Quanguo xueshenghui xuanyan” (Manifesto of the National Student Union). *Shishi xinbao*, May 16, 1920.
- [Qu] Qiubai. “Beida san qingnian fu-E zhi lükuang, yuan fu-Ezhe zhuyi” (Travelers to Russia of three youths from Beijing University, with special attention to the travelers to Russia). *Chenbao*, December 14, 1920.
- . “Ou-E guike tan” (Returning from Europe and Russia). In *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)* (Writings of Qu Qiubai, section of political theory), Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- . *Qu Qiubai wenji (wenxue bian)* (Writings of Qu Qiubai, literary works), Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985.
- . [Tsiui-Bo] (Canton). “Polozheniie kitaiskikh rabochikh i ikh nadezhdy na Rossiui” (The situation of Chinese laborers and their hopes of Russia). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 5 (1970).
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi gailun” (General remarks on the history of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Zhonggong dang shi baogao xuanbian* (Selection of reports on the history of the CCP), ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Rpt. in *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)* (Writings of Qu Qiubai, section of political theory), Vol. 6. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- . “Zhongguo gongren de zhuangkuang he tamen dui Eguo de qiwang” (The situation of Chinese laborers and their hopes of Russia). In *Qu Qiubai wenji (zhengzhi lilun bian)* (Writings of Qu Qiubai, section of political theory), Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- [Qu] Shengbai. “Da Chen Duxiu xiansheng shu” (Letter of response to Mr. Chen Duxiu). *Guangdong qunbao* (February 14–16, 1921).
- . “Zhi Chen Duxiu xiansheng shu” (Letter to Mr. Chen Duxiu). *Guangdong qunbao*, January 22, 1921.
- “Qu Shengbai zaida Chen Duxiu shu” (Qu Shengbai again replies to Chen Duxiu). *Minsheng* 30 (April 5, 1921).

- Ransome, Arthur. *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1919.
- Reinsch, Paul S. *Teikokushugi ron* (On imperialism). Trans. Takata Sanae. Tokyo: Tōkyō senmon gakkō shuppanbu, 1901.
- . *World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century; as Influenced by the Oriental Situation*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900.
- Ren Jianshu et al., eds. *Chen Duxiu zhuzuo xuan* (Selections from the writings of Chen Duxiu), Vol. 2. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubashe, 1993.
- Renmin shouce, 1951* (People's handbook for 1951). Beijing: Dagongbao she, 1951.
- Ren Wuxiong. "Dui 'Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng' de tansuo" (Investigation of the "Socialist League"). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 6 (1993).
- . "Guanyu 'Gongchanzhuyi yu zhishi jieji' de zuozhe wenti de zaishangque" (Renewed discussion of the question of the author of *Communism and the Intellectual Class*). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies of Shanghai revolutionary history), Vol. 5. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005.
- . "Jiandang shiqi de Zhong-E tongxinshe he Hua-E tongxinshe" (The Zhong-E tongxinshe and the Hua-E tongxinshe in the era of the founding of the party). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 11 (1994).
- . "Yipian zhongyao baogao de zuozhe kao, jian tan Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang chengli shijian" (Study of the authorship of an important report and a discussion concerning the time of the formation of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps central committee). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 6 (1991).
- . "1920 nian Chen Duxiu jianli de shehuizhuyi yanjiushe, jian tan Shanghai 'Makesizhuyi yanjiuhui' de wenti" (The socialism study association founded by Chen Duxiu in 1920, also a discussion of the issues concerning the "Marxist study group"). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 4 (1993).
- . "Zhonggong chuangujian shi shang liangge wenti de tansuo" (Examination of two questions in the history of the founding of the CCP). *Shanghai dang shi yanjiu* 3 (1996).
- , ed. *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangujian shi yanjiu wenji* (Collection of studies in the history of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). Shanghai: Baijia chubanshe, 1991.
- and Chen Shaokang. "Gongchandang xuanyan Chen yi chuban shijian buzheng" (Emendations concerning the time at which Chen's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was first published). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 3 (1981).
- "Report of Lidin to the Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern on the state of activities in China, May 20, 1922" (document 21).
- Ren Zhige (Ren Wuxiong). "Dushi biji" (Notes on reading history). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 7 (1983).
- "Report of Sokolov-Strakhov on the Guangzhou government, April 21, 1920" (document 9).
- "Report to the Comintern Executive on the Structure of the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, and Its Activities, December 21, 1920, Irkutsk" (document 8).

- Revolutionary Radicalism. Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York*, Vol. 2. Albany, 1920.
- RKP(B), *Komintern und die national-revolutionäre Bewegung in China: Dokumente. Band 1. (1920–1925)* (Munich: F. Schöningh, 1996); *Band 2. (1926–1927)*. Munster: F. Schöningh, 1998.
- Russian State Archives of Social and Political History. RGASPI, Moscow.
- Saga Takashi. “Chin Keimei shihai ka no shin bunka undō, Binnan gohōku o chūshin ni” (The new culture movement under Chen Jiongmīng, principally the protected area of southern Fujian). In *Rekishi no naka no Chūgoku seiji, kindai to gendai* (Chinese politics in history, modern and contemporary eras), ed. Kojima Tomoyuki and Iechika Ryōko. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1999.
- . “Ryū Shifuku shigo no Minsei ni tsuite” (On *Minsheng* after the death of Liu Shipei). *Hōgaku kenkyū* 68.2 (1995).
- Saga Takashi et al., ed. and trans. *Chūgoku anakizumu undō no kaisō* (Memoirs of the Chinese anarchist movement). Tokyo: Sōwasha, 1992.
- Saich, Tony. *The Origins of the First United Front in China: The Role of Sneevliet (Maring)*. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- , ed. *The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994.
- “Saikin ni okeru tokubetsu yōshisatsunin no jōkyō, Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shirabe” (Circumstances surrounding someone recently deemed worthy of particular attention, investigation of January 1922). In *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku* (Materials on contemporary history, continued, 2: History of socialism), Vol. 2, ed. Matsuo Takayoshi. Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1986.
- Sakai Hirobumi. “Goshi jiki no gakusei undō danmen *Chin Shōhyō nikki* ni miru ‘isshi fūchō’” (“Disturbance at Zhejiang First Normal” as seen in *Chen Changbiao riji* [Diary of Chen Changbiao], a cross-section of the student movement in the May Fourth era). *Gengo bunka* 26 (1989).
- . “Yamaga Taiji to Chūgoku: *Tasogare nikki* ni miru Nit-Chū anakisuto no kōryū” (Yamaga Taiji and China: Sino-Japanese anarchist exchanges as seen in *Tasogare nikki*). *Maotōin* 2 (1983).
- Sakai Toshihiko. *Fujin mondai* (The woman question) (Tokyo: Musansha pamphlet, 1921).
- . “Jihyō” (Commentary on current events). *Shin shakai hyōron* 7.2 (March 1920).
- . “Kaigai jichō” (Timely currents from overseas). *Shin shakai hyōron* 7.4 (June 1920).
- . “Kawakami Hajime kun o hyōsu” (Critique of Kawakami Hajime). *Shin shakai* 5.7 (March 1919).
- , trans. “Gōta kōryō no hihyō” (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*). *Shakai-shugi kenkyū* (October 1921).
- “Sakai Toshihiko ra yoshin shūketsu ikkensho” (Concluding position on the pre-trial hearing of Sakai Toshihiko et al.). In *Zoku gendai shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku* (Materials on contemporary history, continued, 2: History of socialism), Vol. 2, ed. Matsuo Takayoshi. Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1986.

- “San tuanti canguan Yingchang huochaichang” (Three groups tour the Yingchang match factory). *Minguo ribao*, February 26, 1921.
- Scalapino, Robert A. *The Japanese Communist Movement, 1920–1966*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- and Lee, Chong-sik. *Communism in Korea*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- and George T. Yu. *The Chinese Anarchist Movement, 1920–1966*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.
- Schwarz, Vera. *Time for Telling Truth Is Running Out: Conversations with Zhang Shenfu*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Schwartz, Benjamin I. *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- . *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi* (History of the Chinese Communist Party). Trans. Ishikawa Tadao and Oda Hideo. Tokyo: Keiō tsūshin, 1964.
- Seki Chūka et al., eds. *Zasshi “Kaizō” no yonjū nen* (Forty years of the journal *Kaizō*). Tokyo: Kōwadō, 1977.
- Sekiguchi Yasuyoshi. *Tokuhain Akutagawa Ryūnosuke* (Correspondent Akutagawa Ryūnosuke). Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1997.
- Sha Jiansun, ed. *Zhongguo Gongchandang de chuangjian* (Founding of the Chinese Communist Party). Changsha: Hunan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995.
- “Shandong xin wenhua yu Qi-Lu shushe” (The new culture of Shandong and the Qi-Lu bookstore). *Chenbao*, October 7, 1920.
- “Shanghai jiqi gonghui chengli ji” (Note on the formation of the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union). *Minguo ribao*, November 22, 1920.
- “Shanghai jiqi gonghui jucanhui jishi” (Report on a mass dinner at the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union). *Laodong jie* 19 (December 1920).
- “Shanghai jiqi gonghui kai faqihui jilüe” (Brief notice of the launching group of the Shanghai Mechanics’ Union). *Laodong jie* 9 (October 1920).
- “Shanghai Shishi xinbao Beijing Chenbao gongtong qishi” (Notices about *Shishi xinbao* in Shanghai and *Chenbao* in Beijing). *Chenbao*, November 27, 1920.
- “Shanghai den dai-38-gō chōhōsha (Rokoku shikan) no hō (1920 nen 4-gatsu 19-nichi)” (Shanghai cable no. 38, report of a spy, Russian officer, April 19, 1920), in file C.
- “Shanghai kyōdō sokai keisatsukyoku yori zai-Shanghai Amerika sōryōji e no hōkoku (1920 nen 11-gatsu 11-nichi)” (Report of the Shanghai Concession police to the American consul-general in Shanghai, November 11, 1920). In Chen Yansheng, *Chen Jingcun xiansheng nianpu* (Chronological biography of Mr. Chen Jingcun). Hong Kong: Xu Fukang, 1980.
- “Shanghai ni okeru kagekiha narabi ni Chōsenjin no jōkyō (Taishō 10-nen 8-gatsu 4-ka Naimushō ni oite hirakaretaru kakufuken kōtō kachō kaigi sekijō ni oite Keihokyoku gaiji kachō naimu shokikan kōjutsu)” (Oral report of the chief of the Bureau of Police and Public Security for foreign affairs of the Interior Ministry on Bolsheviks and Koreans in Shanghai, at a meeting of section chiefs of prefectures and districts convened on August 4, 1921, transcribed by secretary for domestic affairs Ōtsuka). *Gaimu keisatsuhō* 5 (August 1921).

- “Shanghai ni okeru Kyōsantō no jōkyō” (The situation concerning the Communist Party in Shanghai). In *Gaimushō keisatsu shi, Shina no bu (miteikō)* (History of the Foreign Ministry police, China section, unfinished manuscript). Vol. 28 of *Ilbon Oemusōng t’ūksu chosa munsō* (Special investigative documents of the Japanese Foreign Ministry). Seoul rpt.: Koryō sōrim, 1989.
- “Shanghai ni okeru rōnō Rokoku Daribanku sōsa oyobi fūsa jiken” (The incident of the investigation and closing of the Dalbank of Soviet Russia). *Gaiji keisatsu hō* 62 (August 1927).
- “Shanghai ni okeru shisō dantai” (Ideological groups in Shanghai). *Gaiji keisatsu hō* 21 (1923).
- Shan Yuanchao. “Shanghai no Akutagawa Ryūnosuke: Kyōsantō no daihyōsha Ri Jinketsu to sono sesshoku” (Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in Shanghai, Communist Party representative Li Renjie and their meeting). *Nihon no bungaku* 8 (1990).
- Shao Lizi. “Dang chengli qianhou de yixie qingkuang” (Circumstances around the time of the found of the party). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Shaonian Eren ziqiang zhi jianyan” (Investigation of a young Russian suicide). *Minguo ribao*, March 31, 1921.
- “Shaonian Zhongguo xuehui xiaoxi” (News of study groups of young Chinese). *Shaonian Zhongguo* 2.3 (September 1920).
- Shao Weizheng. “Bandeng xuzuo shinian leng, wenzhang buxie yiju kong, dui Zhonggong yida kaozheng de huiyi” (Sitting at a wooden bench for ten cold years, memories of investigating the first national congress of the CCP). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 2 (2000).
- . “Guanyu Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi de chubu kaozheng” (A preliminary investigation of the timing of the convening of the first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 9 (1979).
- . “‘Qiyi’ de youlai” (Origins of “July 1”). *Dang shi yanjiu* 1 (1980).
- . “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui zhaokai riqi he chuxi renshu de kaocha” (A study of the timing of the founding meeting of the first national congress of representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and the number of those who attended). *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 1 (1980).
- . *Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangjian shi* (History of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Jiefangjun chubanshe, 1991.
- “Shehuizhuyijia zuzhi zhengdang zhi choubei” (Preparations as socialists organize a political party). *Minguo ribao*, June 14, 1917.
- Shen Dechun and Tian Haiyan. “Zhongguo Gongchandang ‘Yida’ de zhuyao wenti, fangwen diyici daibiao dahui daibiao Dong Biwu tongzhi” (Important questions about the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party, a visit with Comrade Dong Biwu who attended the first representative congress). *Renmin ribao*, June 30, 1961.
- Shen Haibo. “Ren Bishi shouci fu-Su shijian kao” (A study of the timing of Ren Bishi’s first trip to the Soviet Union). *Zhongguo qingyun* 4 (1990).

- . “Shilun Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng” (Discussion of the Socialist League). *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 1 (1998).
- . “Waiguoyu xueshe xuesheng fu-E shijian kao” (A study of the timing of the travels to Russia of the students at the Foreign Language Institute). *Shanghai dang shi* 7 (1990).
- . “‘Zhonggong sanyue daibiao huiyi’ bianxi” (Analysis of the “March meeting of representatives of the CCP”). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- . “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan 1921 nian 5-yue jiesan de wenti, jianlun Waiguoyu xueshe jieshu de shijian” (The issue of the dissolution of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps in May 1921, and the timing of the conclusion of the Foreign Language Institute). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 8 (1990).
- . “Zhonggong ‘Yida’ bayue yiri bimù kao” (Study of August 1 as the closing date of the first congress of the CCP). *Shanghai dang shi* 7 (1990).
- [Shen] Xuanlu. “Da Chenbao gongji wo gerende” (Reply to *Chenbao* which attacked me personally). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.
- . “Da ren wen Gongchandang xuanyan de faxingsuo” (Responding to the question of where the *Communist Manifesto* was published). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, September 30, 1920.
- . “Gao Chenbao jizhe” (Speaking to a *Chenbao* reporter). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.
- . “Xuesheng yu wenhua yundong” (Students and the culture movement). *Xingqi pinglun* 39 (February 1920).
- Shen Yanbing. “Huiyi Shanghai Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu” (Remembering the Shanghai Communist Group). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Shen Yixing, Jiang Peinan, and Zheng Qingsheng, eds. *Shanghai gongren yundong shi* (History of the Shanghai labor movement), Vol. 1. Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Shen Yunlong. *Zhongguo Gongchandang zhi lai yuan* (The origins of the Chinese Communist Party). Taipei: Zhongguo qingniandang dang shi weiyuanhui, 1987.
- Shen Zhiyu. “‘Yida’ huizhi shi zenyang zhaodaode?” (How was the site of the first party congress found?). *Shanghai tan* (October 1988).
- Shevelev, K. V. “Chūgoku Kyōsantō seiritsu shi no hitokoma” (From the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). *Kyokutō no shomondai* 10.2 (1981).
- . “Iz istorii obrazovaniia Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia” (From the history of the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). *Problemy Dal’nego Vostoka* 4 (1980).
- . “K datirovke 1 c’ezda Kommunisticheskoi Partii Kitaia” (Concerning the date of the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party). *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1 (1973).
- . “K 80-letiiu obrazovaniia Kompartii Kitaia, novye dokumenty” (On the eightieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, new documents). *Problemy Dal’nego Vostoka* 4 (2001).

- . “Predystoriia edinogo fronta v Kitaie i uchreditel'nyi c"ezd KPK” (The prehistory to the United Front in China and the founding meeting of the CCP). In *Kitai: traditsii i sovremennost'* (China, tradition and contemporary period), ed. Lev Petrovich Deliusin. Moscow: Nauka, 1976.
- . “Son Bun no shirarenai intabyū” (An unknown interview with Sun Yat-sen). *Kyokutō no shomondai* 4.1 (1975).
- Shi Cuntong. “Beitongzhong de zibai” (Sorrowful confession). *Zhongyang fukan*, August 30, 1927.
- . “Bentuan de wenti” (Issues concerning this corps). *Xianqu* 21 (June 1923).
- . “Disi jieji ducai zhengzhi de yanjiu” (Study of dictatorial government by the fourth class). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, July 21, 1921.
- . “Duiyu chao jinlu qiuxue de pengyou de zhonggao” (Advice to friends to take a shortcut to seek out learning). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, January 27, 1921.
- . “Gaige de yaojian” (Prerequisites to reform). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, January 10, 1921.
- . “‘Gongdu huzhutuan’ de shiyan he jiaoxun” (Experience and lessons of the “Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps”). *Xingqi pinglun* 48 (May 1920).
- . “Makesi de gongchanzhuyi” (Marx’s communism). *Xin qingnian* 9.4 (August 1921).
- . “Ping Dai Jitao xiansheng de Zhongguo geming guan” (Critique of Mr. Dai Jitao’s views on the Chinese revolution). *Zhongguo qingnian* 91–92 (September 1925).
- . “Qingnian ying ziji zengjia gongzuo” (Young people should increase their own labor). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, August 26, 1920.
- . “Weiwu shiguan zai Zhongguo de yingyong” (The application of historical materialism to China). *Minguo ribao Juewu*, September 8, 1921.
- , trans. *Shehui jingji congkan* (Compendium on society and economy). Shanghai: Taidong tushuju, 1922.
- “Shi Cuntong zhi Taipu xin” (Shi Cuntong’s letter to Taipu). In “Gai hi otsu dai-930-gō, yōchūi Shinajin ‘Shi Sontō’ no kōdō (1921 nen 6-gatsu 22-nichi)” (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 930, the activities of a Chinese worthy of attention, “Shi Cuntong,” June 22, 1921), in file B.
- Shi Fuliang (Shi Cuntong). “Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi de jige wenti” (Several issues from the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1980). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- . “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan chengli qianhou de yixie qingkuang” (Certain circumstances around the time of the founding of the Socialist Youth Corps in China). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Shijieyu xuehui zhuidaohui ji” (Report on a memorial service at the Esperanto Association). *Minguo ribao*, April 11, 1921.
- “Shijieyu xueshe yiding caozhang” (Draft decisions of the Esperanto school). *Minguo ribao*, April 1, 1920.
- Shi Keqiang (K. V. Shevelev). “Sun Zhongshan yu yuandong dianxunshe (1920–1921).” (Sun Yat-sen and the Far Eastern New Agency, 1920–1921). In *Sun*

- Zhongshan he ta de shidai* (Sun Yat-sen and his era), ed. Zhongguo Sun Zhongshan yanjiu xuehui (Chinese study group on Sun Yat-sen). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989.
- Shimizu Ken'ichirō. "Kakumei to ren'ai no yūtopia: Ko Teki no 'Ipusenshugi' to kōdoku gojodan" (Revolution and the utopia of love: Hu Shi's "Ibsenism" and the Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 573 (November 1995).
- Shimizu Yasuzō. "Kaioku Ro Jin, kaisō no Chūgokujin (1)" (Memories of Lu Xun, remembering [my] Chinese friends, part 1). *Chūgoku bungaku ronsō* 1 (1968).
- . *Shina shinjin to reimei undō* (The new Chinese and an awakening movement). Tokyo: Ōsaka yagō shoten, 1924.
- Shina kenkyūkai, ed. *Saishin Shina kanshin roku* (Most recent listing of Chinese officials). Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1918.
- Shindin, A. M. and Spirin, L. M., eds. *Sibirskoie biuro TsK RKP (b), 1918–1920 gg: sbornik dokumentov* (Siberian Bureau, Central Committee, Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, 1918–1920, document collection), Vol. 1. Novosibirsk: Zapadno-Sibirskoie knizhnoie izdatel'stvo, 1978.
- "Shinjin ji kai ji" [*sic.*, "Shinjinkai kiji"] (Notice about the Shinjinkai). *Senku* 3 (April 1920).
- Shinuo ([Edgar] Snow). *Mao Zedong zizhuan* (Autobiography of Mao Zedong). Trans. Zhang Luofu [Zhang Wentian] (Shaanxi Yan'an shudian, 1937).
- . *Mao Zedong shengping* (Biography of Mao Zedong). Trans. Xiao San et al. N.p.: Taiyue xinhua shudian, 1947.
- Shioda Shōbee. "Kyōsantō sengen Nihongo yaku o megutte" (On the Japanese translations of the *Communist Manifesto*). *Kikan kagaku to shisō* 69 (1988).
- . *Nihon shakaishugi bunken kaisetsu* (Explanations of Japanese socialist documents). Tokyo: Ōtsuki shoten, 1958.
- "Shi Sontō no tsuihō tenmatsu" (The facts surrounding the deportation of Shi Cuntong). *Gaiji keisatsu hō* 10 (February 1922).
- "Shiyue geming yingxiang ji Zhong-Su guanxi wenxian dang'an xuanji" (An archival selection of documents on the influence of the October Revolution and Sino-Soviet relations). *Jingdai shi ziliao* 5 (1957).
- "Shorthand minutes of the meeting of the Comintern Executive to which Guomindang representatives attended, November 26, 1923" (document 96).
- "Shū Futsukai yori Shi Sontō ate no shokan (1921 nen 4-gatsu 19-nichi)" (Letter from Zhou Fuhai to Shi Cuntong, April 19, 1921). In "Gai hi otsu dai-560-gō yōchūi Shinajin no ken (1921 nen 4-gatsu 29-nichi)" (Foreign Ministry secret documents, section B, no. 560, concerning a Chinese requiring attention, April 29, 1921), in file B.
- Shu Huai. "Shenqie de huainian jing'ai de Dong lao" (Heartfelt memories of the esteemed and beloved Old Dong). *Renmin ribao* (April 2, 1977).
- Shumyatsky, Boris. "Kommunisticheskii Internatsional na Dal'nem Vostoke" (The Communist International in the Far East). *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* 1 (May 1921).
- . "Iz istorii komsomola i kompartii Kitaia (Pamiati odnogo iz organizatorov Komsomola i Kompartii Kitaia tov. Chzhan-Ta-Laia)" (From the history of

- the Communist Youth Corps and the CCP, Memories of Comrade Zhang Tailei, an organizer of Communist Youth Corps and the CCP). *Revoliutsionnyi Vostok* 4–5 (1928).
- . “Yunosheskoie revoliutsionnoie dvizheniie Kitaia (obzor otchetob o rabote)” (The revolutionary movement of youth in China, review of reports on work). *Biulleteni Dal’ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Komintern* 2 (1921).
- . “Zhongguo Gongqingtuan he Gongchandang lishi pianduan” (Fragments from the history of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps and the Chinese Communist Party). Trans. Zhang Quantian. In *Huiyi Zhang Tailei* (Remembering Zhang Tailei) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984).
- Sima Lu. *Zhonggong de chengli yu chuqi huodong* (The founding of the CCP and its early activities). Hong Kong: Zilian chubanshe, 1974.
- Sinuo (Snow). *Mao Zedong zizhuan* (Autobiography of Mao Zedong). Trans. Zhang Zonghan. Yan’an: Yan’an wenmin shuju, 1937.
- Smith, Henry Dewitt. *Japan’s First Student Radicals*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Smith, S. A. *A Road Is Made: Communism in Shanghai, 1920–1927*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000).
- Snow, Edgar. *Red Star Over China*. New York rpt.: Grove Press, 1968.
- Son An-sōk. “1920 nendai, Shanhai no Chū-Chō rentai soshiki: ‘Chū-Kan kokumin gojosha sōsha’ no seiritsu, kōsei, katsudō o chūshin ni” (Organization of Sino-Korean solidarity in Shanghai in the 1920s: The formation, structure, and activities of the “Sino-Korean People’s Mutual Aid Organization”). *Chūgoku kenkyū geppō* 575 (1996).
- Son Ch’un-il. “Sanghae imsi chōngpu wa Chungguk Kongsandang ch’anggon ŭi ch’ogi haltong (1919 nyŏn 9-wŏl~1921 nyŏn 7-wŏl)” (The Shanghai provisional government and the early activities of in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, September 1919–July 1921). *Paeksan hakbo* 42 (1993).
- Sō Tae-suk. *Chōsen Kyōsanshugi undō shi, 1918–1948* (History of the Korean Communist movement). Trans. Kim Chin. Tokyo: Kōriā hyōronsha, 1970.
- “Sotsialisticheskaiia literatura v Kitaie” (Socialist writings in China). *Narody Dal’nego Vostoka* 2 (June 23, 1921).
- Steffens, Lincoln. “Introduction.” In *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1918.
- Su Changju. “Guanyu Chen Duxiu zhuan (shang) yishu zhong jichu shishi de dingzheng yu shangque” (Corrections and discussion of a number of historical facts in *Chen Duxiu zhuan* [Biography of Chen Duxiu], vol. 1). *Zhonggong dang shi tongxun* 6 (1991).
- Suetsugu Reiko. “Goshi undō to Kokumintō seiryoku” (The May Fourth Movement and the power of the Guomindang). In *Goshi undō shizō no saikentō* (Reevaluations of the historical image of the May Fourth Movement), ed. Chūō daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo (Humanities institute, Chūō University). Tokyo: Chūō daigaku shuppanbu, 1986.
- “Su-Gong Zhongyang dang’an gongzuo daibiaotuan xiang Zhongyang dang’anguan yijiao yipi dang’an ziliao” (A group of archival documents transferred by a delegation from the Central Archives of the Soviet Communist Party to the [CCP] Central Archives). *Dang de wenxian* 4 (1991).

- Suh, Dae-sook. *The Korean Communist Movement: 1918–1948*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Su Kaihua. “Guanyu Zhongguo Gongchandang chuangli jige wenti de bianzheng” (Analysis of several issues concerning the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1992).
- . “1921 nian ‘Sanyue daibiao huiyi’ xingzhi bianxi” (Analysis of the nature of the “March meeting of representatives” in 1921). *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 5 (1995).
- Sulian yinmou wenzheng huibian* (Collection of documents concerning the Soviet conspiracy). Beijing: Jingshi jingchating, 1926.
- Sunayama Yukio. “‘Goshi’ no seizenzō: Un Daiei to anaakizumu” (The image of youth in “May Fourth”: Yun Daiying and anarchism). *Ajia kenkyū* 35.2 (1989).
- Suotenikewa (Sotnikova), I. N. “Fuze Zhongguo fangmian gongzuo de Gongchanguoji jigou” (The Comintern structure responsible for operations in China). Trans. Ma Guifan. *Guowai Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu dongtai* 4 (1996).
- Taira kinen jigyōkai, ed. *Taira Teizō no shōgai* (The career of Taira Teizō). Tokyo: Taira kinen jigyōkai, 1980.
- “Taishō 11-nen, Chōsen chian jōkyō, sono ni (kokugai)” (1922, the state of public order in Korea, part 2, foreign). In *Taishō jūichinen: Chōsen chian jōkyō* (1922, the state of public order in Korea), ed. Chōsen sōtokufu keihokyoku (Bureau of Police and Public Security, Korean Government-General), Vol. 2. Seoul rpt.: Koryō sōrim, 1982.
- Takabatake Motoyuki. *Makesi jingji xueshuo* (Marx’s economic theories). Trans. Chen Puxian. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1920.
- Takase Kiyoshi. *Nihon Kyōsantō sōritsu shiwa* (On the history of the founding of the Japan Communist Party). Tokyo: Aoki shoten, 1978.
- Takatsu Masamichi. “Shina ni okeru Boruseviiki undō” (The Bolshevik movement in China). *Rōdō undō (dainiji)* 13 (June 1921).
- . “Shina ni okeru museifushugi undō” (The anarchist movement in China). *Rōdō undō (dainiji)* 8 (April 1921).
- Takeuchi Minoru. *Mō Takutō* (Mao Zedong). Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989.
- Tanaka Masato. *Takabatake Motoyuki: Nihon no kokka shakaishugi* (Takabatake Motoyuki: Japanese state socialism). Tokyo: Gendai hyōronsha, 1978.
- Tang Baolin, ed. *Makesizhuyi zai Zhongguo 100 nian* (A century of Marxism in China). Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1997.
- and Lin Maosheng. *Chen Duxiu nianpu* (Chronological biography of Chen Duxiu). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- “Tan Pingshan dali” (Tan Pingshan’s reply). *Qingnian zhoukan* 4 (March 1921).
- Tan Tiandu. “Guangdong dang de zuzhi chengli qianhou” (Around the time of the formation of the party organization in Guangdong). In *“Yida” qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Tan Zuyin de huiyi” (Tan Zuyin’s memoirs). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee), Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.

- Tao Shuimu. "Shi Cuntong dui Makesizhuyi zaoqi chuanbo de gongxian" (Shi Cuntong's contributions to the early spread of Marxism). *Hangzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao* 4 (1991).
- Tian Baoguo. *Minguo shiqi Zhong-Su guanxi* (Sino-Russian relations in the Republican period). Jinan: Jinan chubanshe, 1999.
- Tian Ziyu. "Ye tan xuefeng yu fangfa, dui Xu Quanxing xiansheng de huiying" (More on styles and methods of research, a response to Mr. Xu Quanxing). *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 5 (2009).
- . "Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi shifei de sange wenti" (Three issues of right and wrong in *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*). *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 1 (2007).
- "Tiyuchang xuesheng dahui ji" (Report on student meetings at the stadium). *Minguo ribao*, April 15, 1920.
- "Tokubetsu yōshisatsunin jōsei shirabe, Taishō 10-nendo" (Examination of circumstances surrounding a person particularly worthy of attention, 1921). In *Zoku gendai shi shiryō 2: shakaishugi enkaku* (Materials on contemporary history, continued, 2: History of socialism), Vol. 2, ed. Matsuo Takayoshi. Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1986.
- Tokuda Kyūichi. "Waga omoide" (My memories). In *Tokuda Kyūichi zenshū* (Collected writings of Tokuda Kyūichi), Vol. 5. Tokyo: Gogatsu shobō, 1986.
- "Tonggao gedi yizhi bake" (Notice to all places to strike all classes). *Minguo ribao*, April 14, 1920.
- "Tongxin" (Notice). *Qingnian zazhi* 1.1 (May 1915).
- "Tongxin" (Notice). *Laodong jie* 7 (September 26, 1920).
- "Tongzhi Lingshuang de yifeng laixin" (A letter from Comrade Lingshuang). *Xuehui*, June 18, 1923; June 20–25, 1923.
- "Torzhestvennoie otkrytiie, uchreditel'nogo c"ezda koreiskikh kommunisticheskikh organizatsii" (Ceremonial opening, founding session of the Korean Communist organization). *Biulleteni Dal'ne-Vostochnogo Sekretariata Kominterna* 6 (1921).
- Tōyama Shigeki et al., eds. *Yamabe Kentarō, kaisō to ibun* (Yamabe Kentarō, memoirs and posthumous writings). Tokyo: Misuzu shobō, 1990.
- Trachtenberg, Alexander. "Trotzky's 'The War and the International,' Alias 'The Bolsheviks and World Peace.'" *The Evening Call* 11.35 (February 9, 1918).
- Trotsky, Leon. *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1918.
- . *From October to Brest-Litovsk*. New York: Socialist Publication Society, 1919.
- . "Guangyipai yu shijie heping" (Bolsheviks and world peace). Trans. Shewo. *Jiefang yu gaizao* 1.7 (December 1919).
- . *The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk*. London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1919.
- . "What should we begin with?" *Soviet Russia* 2.24 (June 1920).
- "Uchreditel'nyi c"ezd Koreiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (Torzhestvennoie otkrytiie c"ezda)" (Founding meeting of the Korean Communist Party, founding ceremony). *Narody Dal'nego Vostoka* 2 (1921).

- Ueda Hideaki. *Kyokutō kyōwakoku no kōbō* (The rise and fall of the Far Eastern Republic). Tokyo: Aipekkusupuresu, 1990.
- Uesugi Kazunori. *Roshia ni Amerika o tateta otoko* (The man who established America in Russia). Tokyo: Junpōsha, 1998.
- Uno Shigeaki. *Chūgoku Kyōsantō shi josetsu* (Introduction to the history of the Chinese Communist Party). 2 vols. Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1992.
- Ustinov, V. M. "Kitaiskiie kommunisticheskiie organizatsii v Sovietskoi Rossii (1918–1920 gg.)" (Chinese Communist organizations in Soviet Russia, 1918–1920). *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* 4 (1961).
- van de Ven, Hans. *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920–1927*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- "Vilensky-Sibiryakov's report to the Comintern Executive concerning efforts afoot among East Asian peoples outside the country, September 1, 1920, Moscow" (document 4).
- "Vilensky-Sibiryakov's report to the Comintern Executive, September 1, 1920, Moscow" (document 3).
- VKP(b), *Komintern i Natsional'no-Revoliutsionnoie Dvizheniie v Kitaie: Dokumenty, T. I. (1920–1925)*. Moscow: AO "Buklet," 1994; *T. II. (1926–1927)*. Moscow: AO "Buklet," 1996; *T. III. (1927–1931)*. Moscow: AO "Buklet," 1999.
- Voitinsky, G. "Wo yu Sun Zhongshan de liangci huijian" (My two meetings with Sun Yat-sen). In *Weijingsiji zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao* (Materials concerning Voitinsky in China). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982.
- Voitinsky ("Wu Tingkang"). "Zhongguo laodongzhe yu laonong yihui de Eguo" (Chinese laborers and Russia under the worker and peasant Soviets). *Lao-dong jie* 13 (November 7, 1920).
- "Voitinsky's letters, June 1920, Shanghai" (document 1).
- "Voitinsky's letter to the Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, August 17, Shanghai" (document 2).
- Wales, Nym. *Red Dust: An Autobiography of Chinese Communists*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952.
- Wang Dixian. "Guanyu Shanghai Waiguoyu xueshe he fu-E xuexi de jige wenti" (Several issues concerning the Foreign Language Institute and study in Russia). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 1 (1985).
- Wang Guangqi. "Gongdu huzhutuan" (Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps). *Shaonian Zhongguo* 1.7 (January 1920).
- Wang Guorong. "Zhonggong 'Yida' jieshu riqi xintan" (A new look at the timing of the adjourning of the first congress of the CCP). *Zhejiang xuekan* 3 (1984).
- Wang Huiwu. "Wo wei dang de 'Yida' anpai huizhi" (I set up the meeting site for the "first congress" of the party). In *Geming shi ziliao* (Materials on the history of the revolution), Vol. 1. Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1980.
- Wang Jianmin. *Zhongguo Gongchandang shi gao* (Draft history of the Chinese Communist Party). Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1965.

- Wang Jionghua. *Li Da yu Makesizhuyi zhexue zai Zhongguo* (Li Da and Marxist philosophy in China). Wuhan: Huazhong ligong daxue chubanshe, 1988.
- Wang Jueyuan. *Zhongguo dangpai shi* (History of Chinese parties and factions). Taibei: Zhenzhong shuju, 1983.
- Wang Mingzhe. “Zhongyang dang’anguan 1981 nian zhengji gongzuo jiankuang” (Simple overview of collecting work in 1981 at the Central Archives). *Dang shi ziliao tongxun* 3 (1982).
- . “Zuohao geming lishi wenjian ziliao de zhengji gongzuo” (Work done well in collecting documentary materials on the history of the revolution). *Dang shi ziliao tongxun* 23 (1981).
- Wang Peiwei. *Jiang Kanghu yanjiu* (A study of Jiang Kanghu). Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1998.
- Wang Qisheng. “Qujing Dongyang, zhuandao runei, liu-Ri xuesheng yu Makesizhuyi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo” (Off to Japan, making a detour: [Chinese] students in Japan and the spread of Marxism in China). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 6 (1989).
- Wang Qiyao. “Chen Duxiu meichuxi Zhonggong ‘Yida’ de yuanyin” (The reason Chen Duxiu did not attend the first congress of the CCP). *Qi-Lu xuekan* 4 (1991).
- Wang Ruofei. “Guanyu da geming shiqi de Zhongguo Gongchandang” (On the Chinese Communist Party at the time of the great revolution). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 1 (1981).
- Wang Shuguan. “Guanyu Zhang Tailei zhi Gongchan guoji ‘Sandai’ baogao de jige wenti” (Several issues concerning Zhang Tailei’s report to the third congress of the Comintern). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 8 (1991).
- . “Zhonggong yida qian ceng zhaokaiguo sanyue daibiao huiyi” (The March meeting of representatives convened prior to the first congress of the CCP). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1988).
- Wang Shuixiang et al. “Shi Cuntong.” In *Zhonggong dang shi renwu zhuan* (Biographies of figures in the history of the CCP), Vol. 44. Xi’an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990.
- “Wanguo qingnian Gongchandang xiegei Shanghai Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan de xin” (Letter from the Communist International of Youth to the Shanghai Socialist Youth Corps). *Gongchandang* 4 (May 1921).
- Wang Weizhou. “Wo de huiyi” (My memoirs). In *Zhonggong dang shi ziliao* (Materials on the history of the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1982.
- Wang Wenbin, ed. *Zhongguo baozhi de fukan* (Supplements to Chinese newspapers). Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1988.
- Wang Wenqing. “Dui ‘Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi’ de jidian butong yijian” (On a number of different points of view regarding *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*). *Bainian chao* 6 (2006).
- Wang Xiaoqiu. “Li Dazhao yu Wusi shiqi de Zhong-Ri wenhua jiaoliu” (Li Dazhao and Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges in the May Fourth era). In *Li Dazhao yanjiu lunwenji, jinian Li Dazhao danchen yibai zhounian* (Collection of research essays on Li Dazhao, commemorating the centenary of Li Dazhao’s birth). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1989.

- Wang Xueqi and Zhang Jichang. "Dui Zhongguo Gongchandang shi Makesi-Lieningzhuyi tong Zhongguo gongren yundong xiangjiehe de chanwu de zairenshi" (Recognition of the Chinese Communist Party as the product of Marxism-Leninism integrated with the Chinese labor movement). *Hangzhou daxue xuebao (zheshheban)* 3 (1989).
- Wang Yujun. *Zhong-Su waijiao de xumu* (Prologue to Sino-Soviet foreign relations). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1963.
- Wang Zhangling. *Zhongguo Gongchanzhuyi qingnian tuan shi lun (1920–1927)* (History of the Chinese Communist youth corps, 1920–1927). Taipei: Guoli Zhengzhi daxue Dong-Ya yanjiusuo, 1973.
- Wang Zhengming *Xiao San zhuan* (Biography of Xiao San). Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 1996.
- Wang Zhicheng. *Shanghai Eqiao shi* (History of Russian émigrés in Shanghai). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1993.
- Weijingsiji zai Zhongguo de youguan ziliao* (Materials concerning Voitinsky in China). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982.
- "Wenhua shushe diyici yingye baogao" (First report on the operations of Wenhua shushe). In *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (Organizations in the May Fourth period), Vol. 1, ed. Zhang Yunhou et al. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- "Wenhua shushe shewu baogao" (Report on office affairs of Wenhua shushe). In *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (Organizations in the May Fourth period), Vol. 1, ed. Zhang Yunhou et al. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- Whiting, Allen S. *Soviet Policies in China, 1917–1924*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
- Wilbur, C. Martin. *Sun Yat-sen: Frustrated Patriot*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.
- and Julie Lien-ying How, eds. *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Wilenski (Sibirjakow), Wl. "Am Vorabend der Entstehung der kommunistischen Partei in China." *Die Kommunistische Internationale* 16 (1921).
- "Women de xiaoxi" (Our news). *Huzhu* 1 (October 1920).
- "Women weishenme yao faxing zheizhong banyue kan" (Why do we wish to publish this sort of semi-monthly serial). *Lixin* 1.1 (December 1920). Rpt. in *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee) (Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987), vol. 2.
- Wu Erhua. "Guanyu 'Yuanquan' bushi Li Dazhao de kaozheng wenti zhi wojian" (My view of the investigation concerning the fact that "Yuanquan" was not Li Dazhao). *Guangming ribao*, August 28, 2006.
- Wu Fang. "Zuijin laodong jie bagong yundong yiban" (The recent labor strike movement). *Laodong jie* 6 (September 19, 1920).
- Wu Jialin and Xie Yinming. *Beijing dang zuzhi de chuangujian huodong* (Founding activities of the Beijing Party organization) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1991).

- Wushe. "Wei Jing-Jin-Hu xuesheng jiefen" (Mediating for the students of Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai). *Minguo ribao*, April 20, 1920.
- Wu Shihao. "Chen Wangdao fanyi de *Gongchandang xuanyan* chuban shijian lüekao" (A brief look at the time in which the first edition of Chen Wangdao's translation of the *Communist Manifesto* was published). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1981).
- Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (Organizations in the May Fourth period), Vol. 1, ed. Zhang Yunhou et al. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- Wu Xiangxiang. "Chen Jiongming yu Egong Zhonggong guanxi chutan" (Initial exploration of Chen Jiongming's relations with Russian and Chinese Communists). In *Zhongguo jindai xiandai shi lunji* (Essays in modern and contemporary Chinese history). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1986.
- "Xianggang dian, Chen Duxiu zuo di Yue (26-ri)" (Hong Kong cable, Chen Duxiu reached Guangzhou yesterday, the 26th). *Shenbao*, December 27, 1920.
- Xiang Qing. *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo geming guanxi lunwenji* (Essays on the Comintern's relations with the Chinese revolution). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1985.
- et al., ed. *Sulian yu Zhongguo geming* (The Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution). Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 1994.
- Xiao Jingguang. "Fu-Su xuexi qianhou" (Study in Russia). In *Geming shi ziliao* (Materials on the history of the revolution), Vol. 3. Beijing: Wenshi ziliao chubanshe, 1981.
- . "Huiyi canjia lü-E zhibu qianhou de yixie qingkuang" (Rememberances of a number of circumstances around the time I participated in the group traveling to Russia). *Dang shi ziliao congkan* 1 (1981).
- Xiao San. "Dui 'Mao Zedong gushi xuan' de jidian zhongyao gengzheng" (Several important corrections to the "selection of stories about Mao Zedong"). *Beifang wenhua* 1.6 (May 1946).
- . "Mao Zedong tongzhi de chuqi geming huodong" (Comrade Mao Zedong's early revolutionary activities). *Jiefang ribao*, July 1–2, 1944.
- . *Mao Zedong tongzhi de qingshaonian shidai* (The youth of Comrade Mao Zedong). Beijing: Xinhua shuju, 1949.
- . *Mao Zedong tongzhi de qingshaonian shidai he chuqi geming huodong* (The youth of Comrade Mao Zedong and his early revolutionary activities). Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1980.
- Xie Juezai riji (Diary of Xie Juezai). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Xie Yingbo. "Renhai hangcheng" (Navigating amid a sea of people). In *Geming renwu zhi* (Revolutionary personages), Vol. 19. Taipei: Zhongyang wenwu gongyingshe, 1978.
- . "Xie Yingbo zhi Daguangbao han" (Xie Yingbo's letter to *Daguangbao*). *Guangzhou minguo ribao*, May 14, 1924.
- Xie Yinming. "Buerteman Miuleer yu Zhongguo zaoqi Ma-Liezhuyizhe de lianxi" (Burtman, Myuller, and early contacts with Marxist-Leninists in China). *Guangming ribao*, June 12, 1991.
- Xinmei [Deng Zhongxia]. "Changxindian lüxing yiri ji" (Account of a one-day trip to Changxindian). *Chenbao*, December 21, 1920.

- “Xinmin xuehui huiwu baogao (dierhao)” (Report on work of the New People’s Study Association, no. 2). In *Wusi shiqi de shetuan* (Organizations in the May Fourth period), Vol. 1, ed. Zhang Yunhou et al. Shanghai: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- “Xinshe yiqushu” (Prospectus of the Xinshe). *Minsheng* 14 (June 1914).
- Xiong Deshan, trans. “Geda gangling piping” (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*). *Jinri* 1.4 (May 1922).
- Xu Deheng. “Wusi yundong liushi zhounian” (Sixtieth anniversary of the May Fourth Movement). In *Wusi yundong huiyilu (xu)* (Memoirs of the May Fourth Movement, continued). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979.
- Xue Cheng and Feng Chunyang. “Shinian lai dang de chuangli shiqi yanjiu shuping” (Comments on research over the past decade concerning the era of the founding of the party). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 2 (1991).
- “Xuejie huanying Cejinhui daibiao” (National federation of student associations welcomes representatives of the Cejinhui). *Minguo ribao*, January 24, 1921.
- “Xueshenghui baogao dangxuan lishi” (Student association reports electing a board). *Minguo ribao*, January 28, 1921.
- “Xueshenghui daibiao chufa kaocha” (Student association representative begins an investigation). *Minguo ribao*, March 23, 1921.
- “Xuesheng lianhehui kaihui ji” (The student association convenes a meeting). *Minguo ribao*, March 21, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui dierjie lishihui ji” (Report on the second meeting of the board of the student union). *Shenbao*, October 10, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui huansong Liu Zhenqun jishi” (Report on Liu Zhenqun being sent off by the student union). *Shenbao*, January 3, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui lishihui kaihui” (Convening of a council of general student organizations). *Minguo ribao*, February 14, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui lishi jiaotihui” (Replacement board for the student union). *Minguo ribao*, July 30, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui pinyibu kaimu” (The board of the student union convenes a session). *Minguo ribao*, March 28, 1920.
- “Xuesheng zonghui zhi tongdian” (Cable from the student union). *Shishi xinbao*, May 25, 1920.
- Xue Xiantian. “Guanyu lü-E Huagong lianhehui jiguanbao *Datongbao*” (On *Datongbao*, organ of the Chinese laborers’ association in Russia). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 3 (1991).
- and Li Yuzhen. “Lü-E Huaren Gongchandang zuzhi jiqi zai-Hua jiandang wenti” (Communist Party organization of Chinese in Russia and questions of party formation in China). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 5 (1989).
- Xue Xiantian et al. *Zhong-Su guojia guanxi shi ziliao huibian (1917–1924 nian)* (Compilation of historical materials on state relations between China and the Soviet Union, 1917–1924). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993.
- Xu Quanxing. “Xuefeng yu fangfa, dui Tian Ziyu xiansheng chidao de huiying” (Styles and methods of research, a late response to Mr. Tian Ziyu). *Dang shi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* 3 (2009).

- . “Youguan ‘Yuanquan’ de kaozheng ji qita, dui *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi* de yidian pinglun” (Investigation of “Yuanquan” and other issues, a critique of *Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shi*). *Guangming ribao*, August 28, 2006.
- Xu Shicheng and Zhang Shengshan. *Yang Mingzhai*. Beijing: Zhonggongdang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1988.
- Xu Wen, ed. *Shao Piaoping zhuanlüe* (Brief biography of Shao Piaoping). Beijing: Beijing shifan xueyuan chubanshe, 1990.
- Xu Xiangwen. “Cong Su-E de Yazhou zhanlüe kan Zhonggong ‘Yida’ yiqian de jiangang huodong” (Party-forming activities before the “first congress” as seen from the perspective of Soviet strategies in Asia). *Guoshiguan guan* n.s. 23 (1997).
- Xu Youli. “Wusi qianhou Zhongguo baokan dui Gongchan guoji de jieshao” (Introductions to the Comintern in Chinese serial publications around the time of the May Fourth Movement). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 11 (1986).
- Yamabe Kentarō. “Pari komyūn hyakunen to Nihon” (Japan and the centennial of the Paris Commune). *Tosho* (August 1971).
- Yamakawa Hitoshi. “Cong kexue de shehuizhuyi dao xingdong de shehuizhuyi” (From scientific socialism to active socialism). Trans. Li Da. *Xin qingnian* 9.1 (May 1921).
- . “Rōdō undō ni taisuru chishiki kaikyū no chii” (The position of the intellectual class with respect to the labor movement). *Kaihō* (August 1920).
- . “Sovietto seiji no tokushitsu to sono hihan, purōretarian-dikuteetorushippu to demokurashii” (The character of the Soviet government and a critique of it, proletarian dictatorship and democracy). *Shakaishugi kenkyū* (June 1920).
- . *Yamakawa Hitoshi zenshū* (Collected writings of Yamakawa Hitoshi). 20 vols. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1966–2003.
- Yamakawa Kikue. “Sen kyūhyaku jūhachi nen to sekai no fujin” (1918 and women of the world). *Chūgai* (February 1919).
- . “Gogatsusai to hachijikan rōdō no hanashi” (The story of May Day and the eight-hour workday). *Kaihō* (June 1919).
- Yamanouchi Akito. “Borisheviki bunken to shoki shakaishugi: Sakai, Takabatake, Yamakawa” (Bolshevik documents and early socialism: Sakai, Takabatake, Yamakawa). *Shoki shakaishugi kenkyū* 10 (1997).
- . “Katayama Sen no meiyū Ryutoherusu to Intanashonaru (VII)” (Katayama’s close friend Rutgers and the International, part 7). *Miyazaki daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō (shakai kagaku)* 75 (1993).
- . “Nihon shakaishugisha to Kominterun Amusuterudamu sabubyūrō to no tsūshin, 1919–1920 nen” (Communications between Japanese socialists and the Amsterdam sub-bureau of the Comintern, 1919–1920). *Ōhara shakai mondai kenkyūjo zasshi* 499 (2000).
- . *Ryutoherusu to Intanashonaru shi kenkyū, Katayama Sen Borisheviki Amerika refuto uingu* (Studies in the history of S. J. Rutgers and the International: Katayama Sen, Bolsheviks, and the American left wing). Kyoto: Mineruva shobō, 1996.
- . “Shoki Kominterun no soshiki kōzō (ni): Higashi Ajia kankei” (Early structure of the Comintern (2): East Asian relations). Second meeting report

- of the research group, “Kominterun to Higashi Ajia” (The Comintern and East Asia) (July 1999).
- Yamanouchi Yasushi. “Kaidai” (Explanation). In *Kawakami Hajime zenshū* (Collected writings of Kawakami Hajime), Vol. 11. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983.
- Yamashita Tsuneo. “Hakkō no senkusha Maruyama Konmei” (Unfortunate pioneer, Maruyama Konmei). *Shisō no kagaku* 81–84 (September–December 1986).
- “Yamazaki chū-Shanghai sōryōji yori Uchida gaimu daijin ate denpō (1920 nen 5-gatsu 15-nichi)” (Cable from Consul-General Yamazaki in Shanghai to Foreign Minister Uchida, May 15, 1920), in file C.
- Yang Fumao. “Yu Xiusong dui chuangujian Zhongguo Gongchandang he Shehui zhuyi qingniantuan de gongxian” (Yu Xiusong’s contributions to the creation of the Chinese Communist Party and the Socialist Youth Corps). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 5 (2000).
- Yang Jiyuan. “Mao Zedong bukeneng zai Beijing kandao Chen yiben *Gongchandang xuanyan*” (Mao Zedong could not have been in Beijing to see Chen’s translation of the *Communist Manifesto*). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 2 (1981).
- Yang Kuisong. “Cong Gongchan guoji dang’an kan Zhonggong Shanghai faqizu jianli shishi” (Historical facts on the founding of Shanghai launch group of the CCP as seen from the Comintern archives). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 4 (1996).
- . “Li Dazhao yu Heshang Zhao, jian tan Li Dazhao zaoqi de Makesizhuyi guan” (Li Dazhao and Kawakami Hajime: Li Dazhao’s early Marxist views). *Dang shi yanjiu* 2 (1985).
- . “Youguan Zhongguo zaoqi Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi de yixie qingkuang” (Several circumstances concerning the early Communist organizations in China). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 4 (1990).
- . “Yuandong geguo Gongchandang ji minzu geming tuanti daibiao dahui de Zhongguo daibiao wenti” (Some questions concerning the Chinese delegates at the Congress of the Toilers of the East). *Jindai shi yanjiu* 2 (1994).
- . *Zhonggong yu Mosike de guanxi (1920–1960)* (Relations between the CCP and Moscow, 1920–1960). Taipei: Dongda tushu, 1997.
- . *Zhongjian didai de geming: Zhongguo geming de celüe zai guoji beijing xia de yanbian* (Revolution in an intermediate zone, the development of tactics in the Chinese revolution in the international setting). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1992.
- and Dong Shiwei. *Haishi shenlou yu damo lüzhou: Zhongguo jindai shehui zhuyi sichao yanjiu* (Mirage and oasis, studies in modern Chinese socialist trends). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Yang Paoan. *Yang Paoan wenji* (The writings of Yang Paoan). Beijing: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, 1996.
- Yang Shiyuan. “1920 nian de ‘Chongqing Gongchanzhuyi zuzhi’ xijie” (Analysis of the “Chongqing Communist organization” in 1920). *Chongqing dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 1 (1996).

- Yang Yunruo and Yang Kuisong. *Gongchan guoji he Zhongguo geming* (The Comintern and the Chinese revolution). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988.
- “Yao Jinguo zai ‘Chen Duxiu yu Gongchan guoji’ guoji zhuanli yantaohui (Beijing, 1999 nian) shang suozuo de zonghe lunshu” (Yao Jinguo’s summary comments presented at the international conference concerned with Chen Duxiu and the Comintern, Beijing, 1999). *Chen Duxiu yanjiu dongtai* 19 (2000).
- Ye Huosheng. “Dui ‘Guanyu Zhonggong ‘Yida’ daibiao renshu de jizhong shuofa’ yiwen de zhiyi” (Doubts about the essay “Concerning several theories about the number of attendees at the first national congress of the CCP”). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 14 (1979).
- Yeh, Wen-hsin. *Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Ye Mengkui. “Yipian you zhongyao lishi yiyi de wenxian” (A document of important historical significance). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 5 (1990).
- Ye Mingxun and Huang Xuecun. “Zhuiyi Chen Bosheng xiansheng” (Remembering Mr. Chen Bosheng). *Zhuanji wenxue* 39.1 (1981).
- Ye Yonglie. *Hongse de qidian* (Red starting point) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991).
- . *Ye Yonglie caifang shouji* (Notes gathered by Ye Yonglie). Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1993.
- Yicheng. “Yige gongren de baogao” (One worker’s report). *Laodong jie* 1 (August 15, 1920).
- Yichun. “Eguo guojipai shixing zhi zhenglue” (The political strategy implemented by the Bolsheviks in Russia). *Laodong* 2 (April 1918).
- Yida huiyilu* (Memoirs about the first national congress). Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1980.
- “*Yida*” *qianhou* (Around the time of the first national congress). Ed. Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi (Contemporary History Office, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and Zhongguo geming bowuguan dang shi yanjiushi (Research Section on Party History of the Museum of the Revolution). 2 vols. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Yige zisha de qingnian” (A young suicide). *Minsheng* 31 (April 1921).
- Yiqun, trans. “Zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui shang de baogao (1921 nian 6-yue 10-ri, Mosike)” (Report at the third congress of the Comintern, June 10, 1921, Moscow). *Zhongyang dang’anguan congkan* 5 (1987).
- Yoshino Sakuzō senshū* (Selected writings of Yoshino Sakuzō). 16 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1996.
- Youren. *Xin E huixianglu* (Memoirs of the new Russia). Beijing: Junxue bianjiju, 1925.
- “Yuanjiu beibu xuesheng baogaoshu” (Report on the coming to the aid of arrested students). *Minguo ribao*, January 26, 1921.
- Yuanquan [Chen Puxian]. “Dongyou suigan lu (shi)” (Impressions of travels to Japan, part 10). *Chenbao fukan*, October 29, 1919.
- . “Fangwen Jiye Zuozaoboshi ji” (Notes on a visit to Professor Yoshino Sakuzō). *Chenbao*, August 16, 1919.

- . “Shenme jiaozuo weixian sixiang” (What do we call dangerous thought). *Chenbao*, June 29, 1919.
- Yuan Shidu. “Shanghai migui bagong de qingxing” (The situation at the strike in Shanghai over the rise in the price of rice). *Laodong jie* 1 (August 15, 1920); 2 (August 22, 1920); 3 (August 29, 1920); 4 (September 5, 1920).
- Yuan Wenzhang. “Fu-E shibai de huiyi” (Memoirs of failing to travel to Russia). *Minguo ribao (hangyu)*, July 30, 1924.
- “Yuan Zhenying de huiyi” (Memoirs of Yuan Zhenying). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- “Yuan Zhenying zhiwen Xia Zhongmin” (Yuan Zhenying questions Xia Zhongmin). *Guangdong qunbao*, March 3, 1921.
- Yu Chongsheng. “‘Nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiandang’ de shijian he didian” (Time and place in “Chen in the south and Li in the north jointly founded the party”). *Jiangnan luntan* 5 (1986).
- Yu Minling. “Sulian jingnei chuban de Zhongwen qikan, 1918–1937” (Chinese-language serials published on Soviet terrain, 1918–1937). In *Qianjinbao* (Progressive periodicals). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1996.
- Yumoto Kunio. “Goshi undō jōkyō ni okeru Tai Kitō, ‘jidai’ no hōkō to Chūgoku no susumu michi” (Dai Jitao amid the circumstances of the May Fourth Movement, trends of the “times” and the path to move China forward). *Chiba daigaku kyōyōbu kenkyū hōkoku B* 19 (1986).
- Yu Shicheng. “Canjia Gongchan guoji ‘Sanda’ de lingyiming Zhongguo Gongchandang ren shi Yang Mingzhai” (The one other Chinese Communist who attended the third congress of the Comintern was Yang Mingzhai). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 1 (1984).
- and Liu Mingyi. *Zhonggong Shandong difang zuzhi chuangjian shi* (History of the founding of the Shandong local CCP organization). Shandong: Shiyou daxue chubanshe, 1996.
- and Zhang Shengshan. *Yang Mingzhai*. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1988.
- Yu Wanmin. “Yi Wen yu Yi Fengge bian” (Distinguishing Yi Wen and Yi Fengge). *Zhonggong dang shi yanjiu* 5 (1993).
- “Yu Xiaosong gei Gongchan guoji Yuandong shujiju de shengming (1921 nian 9-yue 27-ri)” (Declaration of Yu Xiusong to the Far Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern, September 27, 1921). In *Zhongyang dang’anguan* (Central Archives), Beijing.
- “Yu Xiusong lieshi riji” (Diary of martyr Yu Xiusong). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- “Yu Xiusong zhi jiaren xin (1920 nian 3-yue 4-ri)” (Yu Xiuxin’s letter to his family members, March 4, 1920). *Hongqi piaopiao* 31 (1990).
- “Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 3-yue)” (Yu Xiusong’s letter to Luo Zhixiang, March 1920). *Hongqi piaopiao* 31 (1990).
- “Yu Xiusong zhi Luo Zhixiang xin (1920 nian 4-yue 4-ri)” (Yu Xiuxin’s letter to Luo Zhixiang, April 4, 1920). *Hongqi piaopiao* 31 (1990).

- “Zai Hu Qiaomu guanyu *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian yiwen zhong jichu tifa de qingshi xin shang de piyu* (1951 nian 6-yue 21-ri)” (Remarks, dated June 21, 1951, about how a number of things are articulated in Hu Qiaomu’s *Zhongguo Gongchandang de sanshi nian* [(Thirty years of the Chinese Communist Party)]. In *Jianguo yilai Mao Zedong wengao* (Works of Mao Zedong since the founding of the state), Vol. 2. Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1988.
- “Zai Shanhai Satō shōsa yori sōchō ate denpō (1920 nen 10-gatsu 7-ka)” (Telegram of Major Satō [Saburō] in Shanghai to Chief of the General Staff of the Army [Uehara Yūsaku], October 7, 1920), in “C.”
- Zeng Changqiu. “Dui Zhongguo Gongchandang chengli shiqi jige shishi de kaozheng” (Investigation of a number of historical facts concerning the formation of the Chinese Communist Party). *Shixue yuekan* 4 (1992).
- Zhai Zuojun and Jiang Zhiyan. *Zhongguo xuesheng yundong shi* (History of the Chinese student movement). Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1996.
- Zhai Zuojun et al. “Xin minzhuzhuyi geming shiqi Zhonghua quanguo xuesheng lianhehui lici daibiao dahui jieshao” (Introduction to the meetings of the representative congresses of the Chinese National Student Union during the era of the new democratic revolution). *Qingyun shi yanjiu* 1 (1984); 2 (1985).
- Zhang Guotao (Chang Kuo-t’ao). *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party: The Autobiography of Chang Kuo-t’ao*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971–1972.
- . *Wo de huiyi* (My memoirs). 2 vols. Hong Kong: Mingbao yuekan chubanshe, 1971–1974).
- . “Zhang Guotao guanyu Zhonggong chengli qianhou qingkuang de jianggao” (Draft speech of Zhang Guotao on circumstances prevailing around the time of the founding of the CCP). *Bainian chao* 2 (2002).
- Zhang Huizhi. “Wusi” *qianxi de Zhongguo xuesheng yundong* (The Chinese student movement on the eve of “May Fourth”). Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996.
- Zhang Jing. “Annaqizhuyi zai Zhongguo de chuanbo huodong duanpian” (Bits and pieces on the activities of the spread of anarchism in China). *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* 90 (1983).
- Zhang Jingru et al., eds. *Li Dazhao shengping shiliao biannian* (Chronology of materials on the life of Li Dazhao). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Zhang Pengyuan (Chang P’eng-yüan). *Liang Qichao yu Minguo zhengzhi* (Liang Qichao and politics in the Republic). Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, 1978.
- Zhang Shenfu. “Zhongguo Gongchandang jianli qianhou qingkuang de huiyi” (Memories of the circumstances around the time of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party). In “Yida” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Zhang Tailei wenji* (Writings of Zhang Tailei). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.
- Zhang Tailei wenji (xu)* (Writings of Zhang Tailei, continued). Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1992.
- “Zhang Tailei, Yu Xiaosong gei Jinuoweiyefu de xin (1921 nian 6-yue)” (Letter from Zhang Tailei and Yu Xiusong to Zinoviev, June 1921). In *Zhongyang dang’anguan* (Central Archives), Beijing.

- “Zhang Tailei zai Gongchan guoji disanci daibiao dahui de shumian baogao (1921 nian 6-yue 10-ri)” (Zhang Tailei’s written report at the third congress of the Comintern). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- “Zhang Wenliang riji” (Diary of Zhang Wenliang). In *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups), Vol. 2, ed. Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- Zhang Xiaoman. “Xunzhao Zhang Ximan yi *Eguo Gongchandang danggang* zaoqi Zhongyiben” (Searching for the early Chinese translation by Zhang Ximan, *Eguo Gongchandang danggang* [Party platform of the Russian Communist Party]). *Dang de wenxian* 3 (2002).
- , ed. *Zhang Ximan jinian wenji* (Writings commemorating Zhang Ximan). Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi chubanshe, 1995.
- Zhang Ximan. *Lishi huiyi* (Historical memories). Shanghai: Jidong yinshushe, 1949.
- Zhang Zhaokui. *Zhongguo chuban shi gaiyao* (Outlines of the history of Chinese publishing). Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985.
- Zhang Zhi. “Guanyu Ma-Liezhuyi zai Tianjin chuanbo qingkuang” (On the spread of Marxism-Leninism in Tianjin). In *Li Dazhao shengping shiliao biannian* (Chronology of historical materials on the life of Li Dazhao), ed. Zhang Jinglu et al. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Zhang Zhong and Chen Zhiying. “Bao Huiseng chuxi Zhonggong Yida shenfen wenti kaozheng” (Investigation of the status Bao Huiseng had when attending the first congress of the CCP). *Jiangnan luntan* 3 (1982).
- “Zhejiang xuechao de dongji (?)” (The motive of the Zhejiang tide [?]). *Xingqi pinglun* 39 (February 1920).
- Zheng Hui and Zhang Jinglu, eds. *Zhonggong yida daibiao congshu* (Compendium of delegates to the first national congress of the CCP) (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe).
- Zheng Peigang. “Wuzhengfuzhuyi zai Zhongguo de ruogan shishi” (A number of historical facts about anarchism in China). *Guangzhou wenshi ziliao* 7 (1963).
- “Zheng Peigang de huiyi” (Zheng Peigang’s memoirs). In “*Yida*” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Zheng Xuejia. “Heshang Zhao yu Zhongguo Gongchanzhuyi yundong” (Kawakami Hajime and the Chinese Communist movement). In *Zhonggong xingwang shi* (History of the rise and fall of the CCP), Vol. 1B. Taipei rpt.: Pamier shudian, 1984.
- Zhenhuan, trans., “Gongchandang weilai de zeren” (The tasks awaiting the Communist Party [by Arthur McManus]). *Gongchandang* 1 (1920).
- “Zhi Gongqi Longzhu” (Letter [of Li Dazhao and others] to Miyazaki Ryūsuke). In *Li Dazhao wenji* (The writings of Li Dazhao), Vol. 5. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999.

- “Zhongda relie zhuidao nanbei lieshi” (Warmly mourning the Chinese martyrs, north and south). *Hankou minguo ribao* (May 24, 1927).
- “Zhong-E (Hua-E) tongxinshe xinwengao mulu” (Listing of news drafts of the Sino-Russian News Agency). In *Shanghai geming shi ziliao yu yanjiu* (Materials and studies in the history of the revolution in Shanghai), ed. Shanghai geming lishi bowuguan (chou) (Shanghai historical museum of the revolution, in preparation), Vol. 1. Shanghai: Kaiming chubanshe, 1992.
- Zhong Feng. “Jin Lüqin, zuizao Zhongyi Liening zhuzuo de ren” (Jin Lüqin, the man who first translated Lenin’s writings into Chinese). *Renwu* 6 (1984).
- Zhong Fuguang. “Zhong Fuguang tongzhi tan Shi Cuntong (1980 nian 2-yue 9-ri)” (Comrade Zhong Fuguang discusses Shi Cuntong, February 9, 1980), unpublished manuscript.
- Zhonggong Beijing shiwei dang shi yanjiushi (Research Department, History of the CCP Beijing Executive), ed. *Beijing qingnian yundong shiliao* (Materials on the youth movement in Beijing). Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1990.
- Zhonggong dang shi dashi nianbiao* (Chronological of major events in the history of the CCP). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1981.
- Zhonggong dang shi dashi nianbiao* (Chronological of major events in the history of the CCP). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987.
- Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei dang shi yanjiushi (Guangdong provincial research department on the history of the CCP), ed. *Zhongguo Gongchandang Guangdong difang shi* (History of the Guangdong region of the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1. Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei dang shi yanjiu weiyuanhui bangongshi (Office of the committee for Guangdong provincial research on the history of the CCP) and Guangdong sheng dang’anguan (Guangdong provincial archives), ed. “Yida” *qianhou de Guangdong dang zuzhi* (Guangdong Party organization around the time of the “first national congress”). Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng dang’anguan, 1981.
- “Zhonggong jiandang chuanqi” (Novels on the founding of the CCP). *Dang shi xinxi bao* 78 (March 1989).
- Zhonggong Shanghai shiwei dang shi yanjiushi (Research Department, History of the CCP Executive in Shanghai), comp. *Zhongguo Gongchandang Shanghai shi* (Shanghai history of the Chinese Communist Party). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999.
- Zhonggong Yida huizhi jinianguan (Commemorative committee for the site of the first national congress of the CCP), ed. *Shanghai diqu jiandang huodong yanjiu ziliao* (Research materials on party-founding activities in the Shanghai area). Shanghai: Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici quanguo daibiao dahui huizhi jinianguan, 1986.
- Zhonggong Zhejiang shengwei dang shi yanjiushi (Research department on the history of the Zhejiang party committee of the CCP), ed. *Yu Xiusong jinnian wenji* (Writings in commemoration of Xu Xiusong). Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1999.
- Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi (Research department on party history of the CCP Central Committee). *Guanghui licheng, cong Yida dao*

- shiwuda (A brilliant course, from the first party congress to the fifteenth party congress). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi chubanshe, 1998.
- . *Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi* (History of the Chinese Communist Party), Vol. 1. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1991.
- Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi diyiyanjiubu (Number one research section, Research department on the CCP Central Committee), trans. *Liangong (Bu)*, *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1920–1925)* (The Soviet Communist Party [Bolsheviks], the Comintern, and the national revolutionary movement in China, 1920–1925). Beijing: Beijing tushuguang chubanshe, 1997.
- . *Liangong (Bu)*, *Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo guomin geming yundong (1926–1927)* (The Soviet Communist Party [Bolsheviks], the Comintern, and the national revolutionary movement in China, 1926–1927). Beijing: Beijing tushuguang chubanshe, 1998.
- Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi yanjiushi yishi (Number one office, Research department on party history of the CCP Central Committee), ed. “*Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi (shangjuan)*” *ruogan wenti shuoming* (Explanation of a number of issues in volume one of *History of the Chinese Communist Party*). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi chubanshe, 1991.
- , ed. “*Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi (shangjuan)*” *zhushiji* (Notes and annotations on volume one of *History of the Chinese Communist Party*). Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi chubanshe, 1991.
- Zhonggong zhongyang dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui (Committee for the Collection of Documents in Party History, CCP Central Committee), ed. *Gongchanzhuyi xiaozu* (Communist groups). 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonggong dang shi ziliao chubanshe, 1987.
- Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao keyan bangongshi (Scientific research office of the Party School, CCP Central Committee), ed. *Shehuizhuyi sixiang zai Zhongguo de chuanbo (ziliao xuanji)* (The spread of socialist thought in China, a selection of materials). 6 vols. Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao keyan bangongshi, 1985–1987.
- Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju Ma-En shi (Marx-Engels Office, Editorial Department for the Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin of the CCP Central Committee), ed. *Makesi Engesi zhuzuo zai Zhongguo de chuanbo* (The spread of Marx’s and Engels’s writings in China). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1983.
- Zhonggong zhongyang Makesi Engesi Liening Sidalin zhuzuo bianyiju yanjiushi (Research Office, Editorial Department for the Writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin of the CCP Central Committee), ed. *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao* (Introduction of serial publications in the May Fourth era), Vols. 1–3. Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1979.
- Zhonggong zhongyang wenxian yanjiushi (Document research department, CCP Central Committee), ed. *Liu Shaoqi zhuan* (Biography of Liu Shaoqi). Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1998.
- . *Mao Zedong nianpu* (Chronological biography of Mao Zedong). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe and Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1993.

- , ed. *Ren Bishi zhuan (xiudingben)* (Biography of Ren Bishi, revised edition). Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 2000.
- “Zhonggong zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui shuji Chen Duxiu gei Gongchan guoji de baogao (1922 nian 6-yue 30-ri)” (Report of Chen Duxiu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, to the Comintern, June 30, 1922). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- “Zhonggong zhu-Gongchan guoji daibiaotuan dang’an” (Archives on CCP representatives at the Comintern), in *Zhongyang dang’an* (Central Archives, Beijing).
- Zhongguo dier lishi dang’anguan (Chinese Number Two Historical Archives), ed. *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi he Zhongguo shehuidang* (Chinese anarchism and the Chinese Socialist Party). Jiangsu: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1981.
- “Zhongguo Gongchandang de lishi yu celüe (taolun dagang)” (History and tactics of the Chinese Communist Party, outlines of discussion), ed. Shehui kexue yanjiuhui (Social science study group) (January 1927); rpt. in *Shanghai geming shi yanjiu ziliao* (Materials for the study of the history of the revolution in Shanghai), ed. Shanghai geming lishi bowuguan (chou) (Shanghai historical museum of the revolution, in preparation). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1991.
- “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui” (The first national congress of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige gangling” (The first program of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- “Zhongguo Gongchandang diyige jueyi” (The first decision of the Chinese Communist Party). In *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji* (Selected documents of the CCP Central Committee), Vol. 1, ed. Zhongyang dang’anguan (Central Archives). Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1989.
- Zhongguo Gongchandang lishi dashiji* (Major events in the history of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989.
- Zhongguo Renmin daxue tushuguan (Library of Chinese People’s University), ed. *Jiefangqu genjudi tushu mulu* (Book list from liberated bases). Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1989.
- Zhongguo Renmin daxue Zhonggong dangshixi Zhongguo jinxindai zhengzhi sixiang shi jiaoyanshi (Department of modern-contemporary history of political thought, CCP history section, People’s University, China), ed. *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi ziliao xuanbian* (Selection of materials on

- Chinese anarchism). Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue Zhonggong dang-shixi Zhongguo jinxiandai zhengzhi sixiang shi jiaoyanshi, 1982.
- “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan daibiao de baogao” (Report of the delegate of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps). In *Qingnian Gongchan guoji yu Zhongguo qingnian yundong* (The Communist International of Youth and the Chinese youth movement), ed. Gongqingtuan zhongyang qingyun shi yanjiushi and Zhongguo Shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi (Central research department on the history of the youth movement of the Communist Youth League of China) and Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Xiandai shi yanjiushi (Contemporary history institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences). Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1985.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Jindai shi yanjiusuo (Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) and Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan shiliao bianjibu (Materials Editorial Department, Chinese Number Two Historical Archives), ed. *Wusi aiguo yundong dang'an ziliao* (Archival materials on the patriotic May Fourth Movement). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1980.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, fanyishi (Translation Department, Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), trans. and ed. *Gongchan guoji youguan Zhongguo geming de wenxian ziliao (1919–1929)* (Comintern documents concerning the Chinese revolution, 1919–1929), Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1981.
- Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan wenxian qingbao zhongxin (Documentation Information Center, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), ed. *E-Su Zhongguoxue shouce (shang)* (Manual for Soviet China studies), Vol. 1. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1986.
- “Zhongguo Shehuizhuyi qingniantuan diyici quanguo dahui” (First national congress of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps). *Xianqu* 8 (May 1922).
- Zhonghua minguo liu-E tongxuehui (Organization of fellow Chinese students in Russia), ed. *Liushinian lai Zhongguo liu-E xuesheng zhi fengshuang chuoli* (Hardships endured by Chinese students in Russia over the past sixty years). Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua jijinhui, 1988.
- Zhongyang dang'anguan (Central Archives), ed. *Zhongguo Gongchandang diyici daibiao dahui dang'an ziliao* (Archival materials on the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1982.
- Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo (Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), ed. *Zhong-E guanxi shiliao, yiban jiaoshe, Minguo jiu-nian* (Materials on Sino-Russian relations, general relations, 1920). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan, Jindai shi yanjiusuo, 1968.
- Zhou Enlai. “Gongchan guoji he Zhongguo Gongchandang (1960 nian 7-yue)” (The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party, July 1960). In *Zhou Enlai xuanji* (Selected writings of Zhou Enlai), Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984.
- Zhou Fohai. “Fusang jiyiing su dangnian” (Looking back over those years in Japan). In *Chen Gongbo Zhou Fohai huiyilu hebian* (Joint memoirs of Chen Gongbo and Zhou Fohai). Hong Kong: Chunqiu chubanshe, 1967.

- . “Shixing shehuizhuyi yu fazhan shiye” (Implementing socialism and developing industry). *Xin qingnian* 8.5 (January 1921).
- . “Taochu le chidu Wuhan” (Escape from the red capital of Wuhan). In *Beifa shiqi de zhengzhi shiliao, 1927 nian de Zhongguo* (Political documents from the era of the Northern Expedition, China in 1927), ed. Jiang Yongjing. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1981.
- . “Wo de fendou” (My struggles). *Gujin yuekan* 2 (1942).
- Zhou Wenqi and Chu Liangru. *Teshu er fuza de keti: Gongchan guoji, Sulian he Zhongguo Gongchandang guanxi biannian shi* (A special though complex task, chronological history of relations among the Comintern, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Communist Party). Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1993.
- Zhou Yongxiang. *Qu Qiubai nianpu xinbian* (Chronological biography of Qu Qiubai, new edition). Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1992.
- Zhou Zixin. “Dang de ‘Yida’ bimu riqi shi bayue erri” (The first congress of the party adjourned on August 2). *Geming shi ziliao* 2 (1986).
- . “‘Yida’ shi Zhang Tailei bushi Malin de fanyi” (Zhang Tailei was not Maring’s interpreter at the time of the “first national congress”). *Dang shi yanjiu ziliao* 12 (1981).
- Zhuang Fuling, ed. *Zhongguo Makesizhuyi zhexue chuanbo shi* (History of the spread of Marxist philosophy in China). Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1988.
- Zhuang Youwei. “Shishu ‘Nan Chen bei Li, xiangyue jiandang’” (Discussion of “Chen in the south and Li in the north jointly founded the party”). In *Zhonggong dang shi luncong* (Essays on the history of the CCP). Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaotong daxue chubanshe, 1988.
- Zhu Wentong. “Ye tan dui ‘Yuanquan’ bushi Li Dazhao biming wenti de kaozheng” (Another investigation of the question concerning the fact that “Yuanquan” was not a penname of Li Dazhao’s). *Guangming ribao*, August 28, 2006.
- Zhu Wushan. “Huiyi Beida Makesi xueshuo yanjiuhui” (Memories of the Marxist study group at Beijing University). In “Yida” *qianhou*, Vol. 2. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1980.
- Zhu Zheng and Ren Rui. “Zhonggong ‘Yida’ qian dangyuan jianjie” (Brief introduction to party members before the “first congress” of the CCP). In *Shanghai geming shi yanjiu ziliao* (Materials for the study of the history of the revolution in Shanghai), ed. Shanghai geming lishi bowuguan (chou) (Shanghai historical museum of the revolution, in preparation). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1991.
- Zhu Zhenxin. “Zhongguo Gongchandang yundong zhi shimo” (The details of the Chinese Communist movement). *Xin guojia zazhi* 1.8 (August 1927).
- Zhu Zhixin. *Zhu Zhixin ji* (Writings of Zhu Zhixin). Shanghai: Minzhi shuju, 1921.
- . *Zhu Zhixin ji* (Writings of Zhu Zhixin), ed. Guangdong sheng zhexue shehui kexue yanjiusuo lishi yanjiushi (History department, philosophy and social sciences academy, Guangdong Province). 2 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.

“Zuori guomin dahui zhi shengkuang” (Grand event of the national assembly yesterday). *Minguo ribao*, February 2, 1920.

“Zuzhi shijieyu xuehui” (Organizing the Esperanto Association). *Mingguo ribao*, March 27, 1920.

Der zweite Kongreß der Kommunistischen Internationale: protokoll der Verhandlungen von 19. Juli in Petrograd und vom 23. Juli bis 7. August 1920 in Moskau (Hamburg, 1921).

Index

Italic page numbers indicate material in tables or figures.

- Abramson, M. M., 93
Agaryov, A. F., 88–89, 92, 108
Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, 1–5
anarchist(s): anarchist–Bolshevik rivalry, 165, 173–178, 180–182, 184–186; in Beijing, 174–175; at Foreign Language Institute, 169–170; in Guangzhou, 153, 175, 178–186, 213; and “March meeting,” 195, 207–209, 216, 222; and May 1920 Shanghai congress, 126; and Polevoy, 153, 163–164, 177, 215; Shi Cuntong as, 267–268, 273–274, 278, 283–284, 291; and Socialist League, 153, 163–168; and Voitinsky, 153–154, 162
An Kong-gūn, 378n99
An Pyŏng-ch’an, 378n99
“Archive of Chinese Communist Delegates to the Comintern,” 11
Association of Chinese Communist Comrades (Beijing), 125
Awakening Society of Tianjin, 118, 166
Bao Huiseng (Qiwu Laoren): on comrades’ knowledge of Marxism–Leninism, 260; delegate status of, 245–246, 248–250, 413n64; on factory experiences, 399n119; at first national congress, 239, 241, 245; as “Guomindang stooge,” 414n86; on Li Hanjun, 56; memoirs of, 97–99, 375n66; as Qiwu Laoren, 375n66; and Socialist Youth Corps of Wuhan, 187–190; on “twelve men thesis,” 413n68; on Voitinsky’s departure, 124
Bao Pu (Qin Diqing), 126, 169–170, 384n169
Bebel, August, 75
Beijing: August 1920 meetings in, 118–119, 166; Beijing Communist group, 38, 164, 172–178, 181, 222; Beijing University, 23, 30, 36, 54, 99–100, 205; invitation to Communist International of Youth, 175–177; Liu Renjing as delegate to first national congress, 234–236,

Beijing (*continued*)

- 239, 249, 259; meeting of Russian Communists in, 112–113, 117; *Pekin shūhō*, 36; Revolutionary Bureau in, 113–114, 117; Socialist Youth Corps, 177, 214; Student Union strike in, 145–146; Voitinsky's activities in, 101–105, 112; work-study groups in, 43–45, 159, 270; Zhang Guotao as delegate to first national congress, 241, 248–249. *See also* Chenbao and *Chenbao fukan*; Li Dazhao; May Fourth Movement (1919)
- “Bogus” Communist Party, 13, 123–129, 135, 219, 226
- Bo Liewei/Buluwei. *See* Polevoy, S. A. (Bo Liewei, Buluwei)
- “The Bolshevik Movement in China” (Takatsu), 275
- Bolshevist texts: Chen Duxiu and, 74–76; difficulty of getting news from Russia, 59–60, 73–74; getting from United States, 65–68; Li Dazhao and, 76–79; Western socialist texts in *Gongchandang*, 68–74; *Xin qingnian* “Russian studies” column, 60–62
- book distributors, 20–21
- Borg, Viktor Aleksandrovich. *See* Neiman-Nikolsky, Vladimir Abramovich
- British Communist Party, 68–69, 262
- Bronshtein, M. N., 93
- Burtman, N. G., 85–87, 92–93
- Bu Shiqi, 168
- Cai Hesén, 41, 191–192
- Carr, E. H., 18, 84
- “Chang” and Manifesto, 202–203
- Changsha, 168, 190–194, 234
- Chang Tōk-su, 131
- Chapman, H. Owen, 88
- Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 65–67, 116, 368n140
- Chenbao* and *Chenbao fukan*, 21–26; and Chen Puxian, 22–29, 40; effect of Japanese translations in, 30, 33–34; format of, 24; Li Dazhao and, 359–360n28; “Marxist Study” column in, 23; May Day issue (1919), 29; Shi's arrest in, 291; “Yuanquan” in, 24–27, 29, 34, 294–295, 359n25, 360n29
- Chen Duxiu: and anarchist–Bolshevik split, 154, 163, 186, 284; and Beijing work-study group, 43–45; and Bolshevism, 74–76; buying texts from Kerr Publishing, 67; “Chen in the south and Li in the north” thesis, 101–103, 155, 172, 300, 377n94; “Critique of Socialism” talk, 184; “Discussing Politics,” 59, 74–75, 163, 184; and financial help from Comintern, 391n262; “Genuine Labor Groups,” 163; on German Social-Democratic Party, 75; and *Gongchandang*, 68, 124–125; in Guangzhou, 123, 179–180, 183–186; and He Minfan, 169; letter to Zhou Fohai, 275–276; and Li Dazhao, 38, 101–103, 177–178, 184, 193, 360n31; and Mao Zedong, 190–192; and Maring, 287; and *Meizhou pinglun*, 29; and New Culture Movement, 12, 269; and New Youth Agency, 193; not at first national congress, 234, 248; prominence of, 238; pseudonym of, 333; and Qu Shengbai, 175, 182, 184–185; revising Chinese translation of *Communist Manifesto*, 51, 114; and Revolutionary Bureau, 113; in Shanghai, 40, 43, 102–103; and Shanghai Communist group, 49, 54–58, 140, 152–156, 193, 206; and Shanghai Mechanics' Union, 171; and Shi Cuntong, 158, 267–268, 271, 275, 277; and Socialist-Communist Party, 160–163; and Socialist League, 153, 164; and Socialist Study Society, 167; and Socialist University, 158, 350; style name of, 393n20; and unions, 117,

- 171–172; and United Publications Bureau, 111–112; and Voitinsky, 103, 109–116, 120, 124, 155, 162; *What Socialism Is*, 65–66; and *Xin qingnian*, 59, 62, 116, 123–124, 168; and Yu Xiusong, 220
- Chen Gongbo: at first national congress, 241, 245, 248–253; and Guangzhou Communist group, 178–186; as moderate voice, 259; on number of national congress attendees, 239; on police intrusion and search, 252–253, 256; route to first national congress, 234–236
- Chen Gongpei (Wu Ming), 158–161, 350, 378n99
- Chen Jiongmeng, 90, 129–130, 183–184, 270
- Chen Puxian (Bosheng), 26–29, x–xi; and *Chenbao fukan*, 22–29; and *Chenzhong bao*, 25–26; as correspondent to Europe, 33, 40; as correspondent to Japan, 27–29; early life and career, 26–27; interest in Bolshevism, 29; interest in labor movement, 28–29; introducing Marxism to Li Dazhao, 33–35; and radical movement in Japan, 29–33; translations by, 43, 359n25; trip to Britain, 363n71; as “Yuanquan,” 24–27, 29, 294–295, 359n25, 360n29
- Chen Qixiu, 30
- Chen Qiyu, 131
- Chen Tanqiu (“Tian Cheng”), 190, 239–242, 245–246, 333, 415n94
- Chen Wangdao (Fotu): *Communist Manifesto* translation by, 49–54, 114, 159, 164; and Japan Socialist League, 394n43; on Marxist Study Group in Shanghai, 152, 156–157; as one of “four great diamonds,” 266, 270; problem with Mao’s listing of, 54; and Shi Cuntong, 50; study group in Japan, 54–55, 57–58; and *Xin qingnian*, 62
- Chen Weiren (Chen Vun In’), 220–221, 224, 226
- Chen Xiaocen, 213–214
- Chenzhong bao*, 25–27, 36
- Chiang Kai-shek, 405n195
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP): activities of founders, 167–172; age of founders, 264; and Beijing Communist group, 172–178; catalysts for, 5–15; Comintern funding of, 237; embrace of versus embrace of Marxism, 9; existing scholarship on, 6, 10; formal existence of prior to national congress, 402n162, 411n49; founding date, 205–206, 227, 238, 302; and Guangzhou Communist group, 178–186; and labor unions, 172; membership size in 1921, 14; official view of founding, 6–7; role of Comintern in founding, 10; views on party members in government, 258; and Zhang’s report to Comintern third congress, 206–209, 215–217, 220–222
- “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto”: description of document, 201–206; discovery of, 201; as earliest public document of CCP, 194; in *Gongchandang*, 227, 402n162; November 1920 acceptance of, 203, 205–206, 238; Shumyatsky on, 228–229; Voitinsky as possible author of, 401n151; and Zhang Tailei, 209
- “The Chinese Communist Party Program” at first national congress, 257
- Chinese Department of Russian Communists in the Far East, 93
- Chinese Eastern Railway issue, 60
- Chinese press, 23–29, 32
- The Chinese Revolution* (Chapman), 88
- Chinese Socialist Labour Party, 82–83
- Chita: Far Eastern Bureau in, 92, 94, 122, 231; friction with Irkutsk, 136, 232–233; Smurgis in, 122, 253, 255

- Chongqing, 125
 Cho So-ang (Cho Yong-ŭn), 386–387n195
Chūgai (Home and Abroad), 42
Chūō kōron (Central Public Opinion), 42
 Comintern. *See* Third International/Comintern
 commercial publishing, growth of, 20
The Communist (British Communist Party), 68–69
 “Communist group” terminology, 391n1
 “Communist International in the Far East” (Shumyatsky), 228
 Communist International of Youth: invitation to Socialist Youth Corps, 175–177, 214; report to, 159, 166, 221–222, 226, 407n222; S. A. Dalin and, 396n77, 407n221; Yu Xiusong and He Mengxiong as delegates to, 215, 220–224, 226, 405n191, 407n221; Zhang Tailei’s attendance at, 213–214, 224, 226
Communist Manifesto (Marx): censorship of in Japan, 51–52; Chen Duxiu revising Chinese translation of, 51, 114; Chen Wangdao first full translation of, 49–54, 114, 159, 164; Dai Jitao and Japanese copy of, 49, 51–53; Li Hanjun (Li Shushi/Li Renjie) revising translation of, 43, 51, 114; Sakai and Kōtoku Japanese translation of, 51; Zhu Zhixin quotes from, 50. *See also* “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto”
 “The Communist Movement in China” (Chen), 239
 “Communist party” of Huang and Yao, 126–129. *See also* Datongdang (Great Unity Party)
 “Conditions for Joining the Third International” (Lenin), 72
 Confucianism, 17, 59, 265–268, 273, 351
 “Congress of the Chinese Communist Party,” 235–236, 239, 242, 245, 251, 258
 Congress of the Toilers of the East, 9, 384n171; attendees, 127, 129, 203, 286–287; Japanese participation at, 288; and Nikolsky, 229; planning for, 285–286
 “Cosmo Club,” 131, 189, 421nn183
 Culture Books (Wenhua shushe), 21
 Cunningham, Edwin S., 90
 Dai Jitao: anti-Communism of, 49; and copy of Japanese *Communist Manifesto*, 49, 51–53; on difficulties getting Bolshevik materials, 60; and Japanese socialist movement, 45–49; letter to Sakai from, 45, 58; on Marxism, 40, 42–45, 49; nervous breakdown, 161; retranslation of Kautsky by, 45; and Shi Cuntong, 161, 271–273, 277, 278; on Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, 271; and *Xingqi pinglun*, 270. *See also* Datongdang
 Dalin, Sergei A., 98, 404n179
 Delta News Agency, 105, 115
Dalu bao (Mainland News)/*China Press*, 105–105
 Datongdang (Great Unity Party), 90, 129; connection with (National) Student Union, 130–131; creation of, 132–133; encouragement from Russia toward, 134–142; Huang Jiemin and, 129–134, 139–140; number of members of, 133–134; Shi Cuntong’s mention of, 290; Yao Zuobin and, 142–148
 Dawn Society (Reimeikai), 26, 27, 29–30
 Debs, Eugene V., 62
 Deng Enming, 192–194, 240, 249
 Deng Wenguang, 250, 375n66
 Deng Zhongxia, 87, 118, 178
 Dewey, John, 44
 Dirlik, Arif, 369n165

- Dong Biwu: on deciding among new ideas, 58, 188; at first national congress, 239, 241, 250; leadership positions of, 414n85; memoirs and statements of, 239, 241–246, 301; and Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps, 187–188
- Dongfang zazhi* (Eastern Miscellany), 42
- Duan Xipeng, 143
- The East Asian Library (Yadong tushuguan), 20
- Eastern Peoples' Section of the Siberian Bureau (Irkutsk), 93–94, 113, 121–122; and Burton, 87; Chinese publications received by, 197, 203; disputes with Far Eastern Bureau, 136; establishment of, 84–85; hardships in, 212; and Khokhlovkin, 122; and Liu Shaozhou, 139; and Pak Chin-sun, 135–136, 141; report on Khodorov, 106; report on Stoyanovich, 104–105; and Voitinsky, 95, 122, 221
- “Economics of a Transition Period” (Lenin), 60
- “envoys” from Russia to China, 85–92
- era of ideology, 14
- “Escape from the Red Capital of Wuhan” (Zhou), 239
- Esperanto movement, 169–170
- Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (Shanghai), 83, 92, 134
- Far Eastern Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (Vladivostok), 95–96
- Far Eastern Republic, 94
- Far Eastern Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (Irkutsk): decision to convene CCP congress, 228; delegates of, 94, xii–xiii; establishment of, 94, 109; and formation of CCP, 194–201; as information source, 10; Korean Communist Party in, 10; and Maring, 230, 232–233; and Nikolsky, 228–229; replacing Eastern Peoples' Section, 94; Shumyatsky at, 211; Yu Xiusong complaint to regarding Yao Zuobin, 128, 141, 146; Zhang Tailei as secretary of, 217, 220–221, 223–224; Zhang Tailei trip to, 212–215, xiii
- Federov, S. (Liu Qian), 137–139
- Feng Ziyou, 31
- “First Karakhan Manifesto,” 60
- first national congress of CCP (July 1921): Bao Huiseng at, 239, 241, 245; CCP membership at time of, 14; Chen Gongbo at, 241, 245, 248–253; Chen Tanqiu at, 190, 239–242, 245–246, 333, 415n94; Deng Enming at, 192–194, 240, 249; discrepancies around scheduled starting date, 236–237; Dong Biwu at, 239, 241, 250; fates of participants of, 12; He Shuheng at, 192, 234–235, 239, 241, 248–250; infiltration and police raid, 251–252, 255–257; items discussed at, 257–263; Li Da at, 235–237, 239, 241, 250; Li Hanjun as delegate at, 4, 235–239, 241, 250, 259–260; Li Hanjun as host of, 1, 251, 255; Liu Renjing at, 234–236, 239, 249, 259; Mao Zedong at, 239, 250; Maring at, 230–231, 250–251, 257–258; most probable dates and itinerary, 250–255; most probable participants, 247–250; Nanhu boat meeting, 252–254, 263; Nikolsky at, 229, 250–251, 253, 255, 263; not attended by Chen Duxiu, 234; not attended by Li Dazhao, 234; number of participants, 238–247; organizing of, 4–5; requested by Maring and Nikolsky, 233–234; routes of participants to, 229–230,

- first national congress (*continued*)
 234–235; rules discussed, 257–258;
 Russian central archives on, 242–
 245; Russian report on convening
 and timing of, 235–236; site of,
 1–3, 2; traveling expenses for, 237;
 Wang Jinmei at, 192–193, 240–
 241, 249, 399n130; Zhang Guotao
 at, 241, 248–249; Zhou Fohai at,
 250, 278
- Foreign Language Institute (Wai-
 guoyu xueshe), 168–171, 227,
 396n80
- Fotu. *See* Chen Wangdao (Fotu)
- French Concession in Shanghai, 256–
 257, 390n246
- French Revolution, 369n165
- Fromberg, M., 121–123, 231, 253,
 383n157
- Fu Binran, 266, 268
- Fujian, 129
- Fukuda Tokuzō, 34
- Gao Yihan, 101–102
- Gapon, F. I., 84
- Garushiants, Yuri, 86
- German Social Democratic Party, 258
- Goncharov, N. K., 93
- Gongchandang*, 68–74, 123–124, 227
- “Gongchandang” (“Chinese Commu-
 nist Party,” Chongqing group), 125
- Goorman, M. L., 106, 290
- Gray, Boris P./“Gray Incident,”
 288–291
- The Great Eastern Library (Taidong
 tushuguan), 20
- Great Treason case, 31, 32, 51
- Great Unity Party. *See* Datongdang
 (Great Unity Party)
- Green (Gelin, Grin) in Tianjin,
 175–177
- Guangdong qunbao*, 179
- Guangzhou: anarchists in, 153, 175,
 178–186, 213; Chen Duxiu in, 123,
 179–180, 183–186; *Guangzhou*
chenbao, 182; propaganda work in,
 178–179, 183, 186; Revolutionary
 Bureau in, 120, 165, 180–181; So-
 cialist Youth Corps in, 181–183, 213
- Guan Qian, 174–177
- Guomindang, 40–42, 258–259
- Gyōmin Communist Party Incident,
 157
- Hachiya Ryōko, 247
- Haiyu Guke/Liang Bingxian, 153,
 163–166, 180, 270, 392n7
- Hankou, 113
- Harbin, 104–105
- He Mengxiong, 176–177, 215
- He Shuheng, 192, 234–235, 239, 241,
 248–250
- “Hua-E tongxinshe” (Sino-Russian
 News Agency), 115, 119, 166
- Huang Bihun, 351
- Huang Jiemin: “Communist Party”
 of, 125, 126–129, 142; and Datong-
 dang, 129–134, 139–140; later
 years of, 387n199; Shi Cuntong
 and, 290–291, 350
- Huang Lingshuang, 153, 164–166, 180
- Hu Hanmin, 40; and “Minyi” pen
 name, 364n79; publicizing of so-
 cialist theory, 43, 49; in Shanghai
 Mechanics’ Union, 171; and “well-
 field system,” 41
- Humanitarian Society (Rendaoshe),
 118
- Hu Qiaomu, 412–413n64
- Hu Shi: on availability of Western
 writings, 47; and Chen Duxiu,
 102–103, 377n90; and New Culture
 Movement, 269; “reactionary es-
 sence” of, 300; in Shi Cuntong’s
 deposition, 277; and Work-Study
 Mutual Aid Corps, 269; on *Xin*
qingnian, 62
- Ii Kei. *See* Kondō Eizō
- Indonesia, 257–258
- intellectuals as revolutionary leaders,
 358n6

“internationalized Bolshevism,” 73
Irkutsk. *See* Eastern Peoples’ Section
of the Siberian Bureau (Irkutsk)
Ivanov, A. A. (Yi Wen), 98–99

Japan: Chinese student groups in,
54–58; Great Treason case, 31, 32,
51; intelligence reports on Shang-
hai, 88–91; introduction of Marx-
ism to, 23, 32; Japan Communist
Party (JCP), 7–10, 124; Japan So-
cialist League, 35, 37, 167; reaction
to Meiji Restoration in China, 31;
rise from “winter of socialism” in,
8, 32, 51–52; socialist movement
tied to that of China, 45–47

Jiang Kanghu: Comintern credentials
rescinded, name struck, 218–219,
226; as “Hai Tongjun,” 406n200;
introducing Marxism to China, 39;
Liu Qian and, 137–138; “Notes on
Five Communist Parties in China,”
126–127; “Travel Narrative,” 140–
141; and Xie Yingbo, 363n75; and
Youth Communist Party, 405n193
Jianshe (Construction) magazine, 40,
42–43

Jinan, 192–194

Jingbao (Capital News), 22

Jing Meijiu, 88, 273

Jing Xiangyi, 266

Jin Liren, 153–155, 160, 162, 164

Jinri Zhongguo laogong wenti (Luo
Chuanhua), 88

Juewu (Awareness), 22, 40–41, 43

“Jugend,” 217, 219–220

Kaihō (Liberation) magazine, 32, 58

Kaizō (Construction) magazine, 32, 58

Kang Bainian, 143

Kang Baiqing, 133–134

Kang Youwei, 132

Karakhan, Lev, 60, 104

Katayama Sen, 80, 231, 409n25

Kautsky, Karl: cited by Mao, 190;
translated works of, 23–25, 32, 45,

67, 282; Yamakawa’s attack on,
282–283

Kawakami Hajime: baby chick
metaphor of, 39; doubts about
Marxism, 361n53; *Shakai mondai*
kenkyū, 28, 32; and Shi Cun-
tong, 280; translations of, 42, 53,
306–308

Kayahara Kazan, 42

Ke Bainian (Li Chunfan), 67

Kerr Publishing Co., 65–67, 116,
368n140

Khodorov, A. Ye., 106

Khokhlovkin (Hehenuofujin), V., 93,
121–122

Kim Ha-ku, 125

Kim Ip, 125, 126

Kim Man-gyōm, 96, 375n63

Kita Reikichi, 42

“knowledge revolution,” 17–18

Kobetsky, Mikhail (“Kabasky”), 218

Kondō Eizō (Ii Kei): as Congress of
the Toilers representative, 286; and
Far Eastern Bureau of the Comin-
tern meeting, 148; and Goorman,
290; and Gray Incident, 288–290,
384n166; meetings with Zhang and
Sakai, 285, 288; and Shanghai visit
to “other” CCP, 124–125, 129, 133,
140, 290; in Shi Cuntong’s deposi-
tion, 351–352; trial of, 291

Korean Communists: in Chita, 136;
discord among, 135–137, 232–233;
in Irkutsk, 10, 93, 136; in Japan,
131–133; Korean Communist Party
(KCP), 7–9; in Shanghai, 113–114,
125–127, 135, 140

Kōtoku Denjirō. *See* Kōtoku Shūsui

Kōtoku Shūsui, 31, 51–53, 346

Kovalev, E. F., 235

Krasnoshchekov, A. M., 135–136, 232

Kwōn Hūi-guk, 275, 351, 421n183

labor movement: Chinese, 5–10, 18,
133, 168, 171–172, 186; Japanese,
28–29

- Laodong* (Labor), 89
- Laodong yin* (Voices of Labor), 38, 164
- Laodongzhe* (Laborers), 89, 179–181, 183
- Lenin, Vladimir, 284; “Economics of a Transition Period,” 60; “National and Colonial Questions,” 9; “The Right of Nations to Self-Determination,” 62; *State and Revolution*, 72–73
- Liang Bingxian (Haiyu Guke), 153, 163–166, 180, 270, 392n7
- Liang Qichao, 40–41, 357n10, 359n19
- Liao Huaping, 169–170
- Liao Zhongkai, 40–41
- Li Chunfan/Ke Bainian, 67
- Li Da (Li Hongming/Li Heming): and Cultural Revolution, 414n86; at first national congress, 235–237, 239, 241, 250; at Foreign Language Institute, 168; and Maring, 277–278; memoirs of, 393n30; and National Student Union, 146–147; and Shanghai Communist Group, 125, 193, 233–234; as “Shanghai man named He,” 274–275; in Shi Cuntong’s deposition, 158, 350–351; and study group in Japan, 54–58; and “twelve men thesis,” 245–247, 412n63, 413n64; and Zhang Guotao, 287
- Li Dazhao: “Analyzing the Reasons for the Changes” essay, 35; and Bai Jianwu, 381–382n141; and Beijing Communist organization, 38, 177–178; Beijing Marxist study group under, 38; and Bolshevik texts, 76–79; and Burtman, 86–87; capture and execution of, 360n31; and Chen Duxiu, 38, 101–103, 177–178, 184, 193, 360n31; and Chen Puxian, 30, 33–35; and *Chenzhong bao/Chenbao fukan*, 23, 25–27, 34, 36, 359–360n28; and Dawn Society, 30; effect of Marxism on writing style of, 17–18; as “Father of Chinese Marxism,” 8, 87; and He Mengxiong, 177; and initial acceptance of Marxism, 361n52; and internationalism, 37; and Japanese Socialist movement, 35–39; as leader in Beijing (“Li in the north”), 172; Maruyama on, 36–37; “My Marxist Views” essay, 23, 34, 35; and N. G. Burtman, 86–87; nonattendance at first national congress, 234; and Polevoy, 165; as possibly “Yuanquan,” 294–295; and Reform Alliance, 104–105, 166, 174; and Socialist League, 153, 164–167; on understanding Marx, 8; and Voitinsky, 97–101, 104; on women, 38; and work-study group in Beijing, 43–45, 269; and Young China Association, 118; Zhu on speaking style of, 39
- Liebknecht, Wilhelm, 52, 76
- Li Hanjun (Li Renjie/Li Shushi), 1, 2; and Agaryov, 89; and Akutagawa, 1–5; and Dong Biwu, 187; execution of, 1; as first national congress delegate, 4, 235–239, 241, 250, 259–260; at Foreign Language Institute, 168; and formation of Socialist-Communist Party, 160–161, 167; hosting of first CCP congress, 1, 251, 255, 277–278; and Maring, 277–278; Marxist guidebooks/essays by, 57–58, 114; as member of Shanghai Communist Group, 113–114, 125, 160–161, 167; pen names used by, 55; position in CCP, 56; revising translation of *Communist Manifesto*, 43, 51, 114; and Shi Cuntong, 158, 275; and Socialist Study Society, 159; for social not political revolution, 4–5; studying Marxism in Japan, 54–58; supporting unions, 172; theoretical discipline of, 4; translations by, 8, 91, 159; at *Xingqi pinglun* offices, 270

- Li Hongming/Li Heming. *See* Li Da (Li Hongming/Li Heming)
- Li Jizhen, 62
- “Linke Sozialistische Partei,” 217–219
- Li Renjie/Li Shushi. *See* Li Hanjun (Li Renjie/Li Shushi)
- Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism* (Meisner), 86
- Liu Bochui, 187–188, 190
- Liu Dabai, 266, 270
- Liu Qian (S. Federov), 137–139
- Liu Qingyang, 118
- Liu Renjing: on “dictatorship of the proletariat” concept, 261; in first Beijing Communist organization, 178, 396n75; at first national congress, 234–236, 239, 249, 259; labeled a “Trotskyist,” 414n86; on Marxist Study Group, 260; on reason for selection as delegate, 260
- Liu Shaoqi, 168
- Liu Shifu, 59, 178, 185, 270
- Liu Zerong (Liu Shaozhou), 82, 83, 93, 139, 230, 389n222
- Li Zhong (Li Shengxie), 171
- Li Zijiu, 266
- logo issue, 62, 65–67
- “Looking Back at Myself” (Shi Cuntong), 265
- Lü-E Huagong lianhehui, 83
- Luo Chuanhua (C. H. Lowe), 88
- Luo Jialun, 19
- Luo Yinong, 168
- Luo Zhanglong, 54, 178, 397–398n96
- Mamaev, I. K., 97–98
- “Manifesto of the American Communist Party,” 262
- Mao Dun (Shen Dehong), 57, 62
- Mao Dun (Shen Yanbing), 72–73, 156, 162
- Mao Zedong (Runzhi): and Changsha Group, 168, 190, 192, 234; and Chen Duxiu, 190–192; Dong Biwu’s statements regarding, 243–244, 246; Edgar Snow interview of, 240; on effect of October Revolution, 7–8; at first national congress, 234–236, 239, 250; lending retroactive importance to first congress, 238; Marxist works read by, 54, 190–191; opening of Wenhua shushe (Culture Books), 21; and Socialist Youth Corps, 191, 213; and timing of selection to Central Committee, 243–244; and “twelve men thesis,” 64, 240–241, 246, 249, 412nn61; writings of, 240
- Mao Zedong tongzhi de shaonian shidai* (The Youth of Comrade Mao Zedong), 240
- Maring (Hendricus J. F. M. Sneevliet), 10; after first national congress, 286; as “Andresen,” reporter for *Oriental Economist*, 231; antagonism with Chen Duxiu, 286–287; and arrival in Shanghai, 228, 231, 233–234, 278; background and career, 229–230; change in status and appointment to Shanghai, 232–233; at first national congress, 230–233, 250–251, 255–258; and Fromberg, 383n156; and “Gray Incident,” 289; issues with Far Eastern Secretariat in Irkutsk, 134, 232–233; on Korean groups discord, 136; meeting with Liu Zerong, 83, 93–94; as replacement for Voitinsky, 94, 227–233; requesting party congress, 237; route to first national congress, 235–236; scholarship on, 10; on Shanghai Communist group, 123–124; surveillance of, 255–256; and Zhang Tailei, 286
- Maruyama Kōichirō (Maruyama Konmei), 35–37, 362n62
- Marx, Karl: articles on in *Chenbao fukan*, 24–25; *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, 282–284; pre-October Revolution ignorance of, 7–9

- Marxism: to China from Japan, not Russia, 8; as “fundamental guide,” 17; importance of in birth of party, 7–8; importance of study and planning in, 18; introduction to by Chen Puxian, 22–29; Marxist study groups, 38, 54–58, 152–157, 174, 260; study of post-May Fourth, 16–17
- May Fourth Movement (1919), 5, 16; effect on Dai Jitao, 43; effect on Japanese liberals and socialists, 31; leadership of Shi Cuntong in, 264; leaders of, 12; new ideas during, 16–22; possible participation of Zhang Tailei in, 210; print media during, 19–22; propaganda work during, 20–21; Shao Piao-ping and, 363n70; subsequent years, 142–150
- McManus, Arthur, 368n147
- Meisner, Maurice, 86
- memoir literature, 11, 239
- Mencius, 41, 189
- Minguo ribao* (Republican Daily), 22, 40
- Minor: assignments of, 104–105, 113, 120; and Beijing meeting of Russian Communists, 112–113; and Guangzhou Revolutionary Bureau, 180–181; interviewing Sun Yat-Sen, 379n104; and Russian press agency, 165
- Minyi* (Fixed Path Protecting Mankind), 27
- “Minyi” pen name, 364n79
- Miura Tetsutarō, 231–232
- Miyazaki Ryūsuke: and Beijing University student group, 30; and “Byakuren Incident,” 291; and Dai Jitao, 272; and Shi Cuntong, 161, 271–272, 277, 291–292, 352; and Shinjinkai (New Man Society), 48–49, 272
- Miyazaki Torazō (Miyazaki Tōten): Dai Jitao and, 272; Shi Cuntong and, 161, 271–273, 277, 291–292, 352
- Mori Tokihiko, 11
- Morning Light Society (Shuguangshe), 118
- Mozi, 41
- Murata Shirō, 3
- “My Marxist Views” (Li Dazhao), 23
- Myuller, A. A., 86–87
- Nam Man-ch’un, 141
- Nationalist-Communist United Front, 229
- National Student Union, 130–131, 138, 142–149, 386n182
- Neiman-Nikolsky, Vladimir Abramovich: background of, 229; and Congress of the Toilers of the East, 229; at first national congress, 229, 250–251, 253, 255, 263; preparing for national congress, 229, 233, 236–237; as Profintern representative, 6, 253, 408n5; as replacement for Voitinsky, 227–228; supplying funds to Chinese Communists, 229
- “New Age Series,” 62
- New Asia Alliance Party (“Xin Ya tongmengdang”), 131
- New Culture Movement, 16–17, 19–20, 22, 264, 266, 269
- “New Ideas,” 19–22
- Nikiforov, Pyotr M., 96
- “north China,” meaning of, 112
- “Notes on Five Communist Parties in China” (Jiang), 126–127
- “Open Forum” (“Ziyou luntan”) column, 24
- Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, 30
- Ōsugi Sakae, 35, 120, 291
- Pak Chin-sun (Ba-ke-jing-chun): arrested, 140–141; forming of Far Eastern Bureau, 83, 134–140, 230; and Kondō Eizō, 124–125; meet-

- ing with Liu Zerong, 83, 93–94;
replaced at Comintern session,
141–142; and Shumyatsky, 223
- Pankratov, B. I., 379–380n118
- Pekin Shūhō*, 36–37
- Peng Shuzhi, 121–122
- Perlin, L. A., 165, 179–181
- Polevoy, S. A. (Bo Liewei, Buluwei),
215; aiding anarchists, 153, 163–
164, 177, 215; attending Russian
Communist meeting in China, 112;
background of, 99; as a “degenerate,”
100; and Huang Lingshuang,
163–167; and Li Dazhao, 98–100,
111, 165; and Revolutionary Bu-
reau in Beijing, 174; and Socialist
League, 153, 163–167; and Voitin-
sky, 99–100, 113, 120–121, 177, 215;
and Zhang Tailei, 213, 215
- Popov, M., 88, 90, 92, 108
- Potapov, A. S., 88, 90–92, 108, 130–
132, 135
- Profintern (Red International of La-
bor Unions), 229, 382n155
- propaganda work: Dai Jitao on,
46; and “Gray Incident,” 289; in
Guangzhou, 178–179, 183, 186; Li
Da on, 55; Li Hanjun on, 4–5; Li
Qian’s plans for, 138; post-May
Fourth, 20–21; of Russian Com-
munist Party regarding Far East,
84; by Shi Cuntong, 274–275, 288–
291; Shumyatsky on, 203–204; by
Socialist University, 158–159, 350;
Voitinsky and, 105–106, 116–117,
167–168
- Protect the Emperor Clique, 40
- Qin Diqing/Bao Pu, 126, 169–170,
384n169
- Qiwu Laoren. *See* Bao Huiseng (Qiwu
Laoren)
- Qu Qiubai (Tsiui Tsube): as corre-
spondent to Russia, 361n50; and
Humanitarian Society, 118; letter
from, 198–199; and March meet-
ing, 208–209; at third Comintern
congress, 220; on Zhang Tailei,
406n209
- Qu Shengbai, 134, 175, 180, 182,
184–185
- Ransome, Arthur, 165
- Red International of Labor Unions
(Profintern), 229, 382n155
- Red Star Over China* (Snow), 240
- Reform Alliance, 118–119, 166–167,
174, 199
- Ren Bishi, 169
- Rendao* (Humanitarian), 118
- Research Clique, 25, 109, 359n19
- Revolutionary Bureaus: activities of,
117–119, 151, 155, 167–168; in Bei-
jing, 174; in Guangzhou, 120, 165,
180–181; in Shanghai, 113–114, 116,
152–157; and “Socialist-Communist
Party,” 162, 167; Yang’s and Jin’s
views on, 164
- “Revolutionary Organizations in
China” (Vilensky-Sibiryakov), 129
- “The Right of Nations to Self-Deter-
mination” (Lenin), 62
- Rōdō* (Labor), 59
- Rosta News Agency, 106, 115, 180,
378n104
- Roy, Manabendra Nath, 9
- “Rules of the Japan Communist
Party,” 262
- Runzhi. *See* Mao Zedong (Runzhi)
- Russia: Chinese residents of, 83–84;
Revolution as first planned
revolution, 18; Russian Social
Democratic Labor Party, 162;
“Russo-Chinese Information Bu-
reau,” 115
- Sakai Toshihiko: CCP pamphlet on,
366n123; and Cosmo Club, 131;
and Dai Jitao, 45–48, 58, 272; as
“hack writer,” 32; and Japan So-
cialist League, 35; on Kawakami
Hajime, 361n53; and Li Dazhao,

- Sakai Toshihiko (*continued*)
 37, 63, 362nn55; on Second and Third Internationals, 76; and Shanghai socialists, 57–58; and Shi Cuntong, 274–275, 277, 285–286, 288, 291–292, 351–352; and *Shin shakai*, 32; translations by, 51–53, 308–311, 341, 422n203; on women's issues, 341, 422n217; and Zhang Tailei, 286, 288
- Sawamura Yukio, 5
- scientific socialism, 39
- Second International, 74
- Serebryakov, B. I. (Kim Man-gyŏm), 96, 375n63
- Shakai mondai kenkyū*, 32
- Shakaishugi kenkyū*, 32, 37, 51–52, 58
- Shandong, 27–28, 144, 193–194, 241
- Shanghai: Agaryov in, 89–90; Chen Duxiu in, 40, 43, 74–75, 102–103, 109; Dai Jitao's research on Marxism, 42–45, 49; East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern in, 108–109; *Gongchandang*, 68–71; Korean Communists in, 113–114, 125–127, 135, 140; Marxist study among Chinese student groups, 54–58; Marxist study among Guomindang, 40–42; Popapov in, 90–91; Popov in, 88–89; Russian residents in, 108; strikes in, 43; study in Japan by students from, 54–58; unavailability of Western socialists books in, 47–48; Voitinsky's activities in, 108–121
- Shanghai Communist Group: called “Shanghai gongchanzhuyi xiaozu” or “Zhonggong faqi xiaozu,” 152; connection to Revolutionary Bureau, 152–156; connection to Socialist-Communist Party (Shehuigongchandang), 152; Dai Jitao and, 49; loss of funds on Voitinsky's departure, 123–124; Yu Xiusong's diary on, 152–156
- Shanghai Mechanics' Union, 117, 171–172
- Shanghai Printers' Union, 172
- “Shanghai style,” 423n225
- Shankhaiskaia zhizn'* (Shanghai Life), 106–107
- Shao Lizi, 40; and Guomindang, 109; on Marxist Study Group, 55, 152, 156; and Shanghai Communist Group, 162; in Shi Cuntong's deposition, 351; and *Xingpi pinglun*, 270
- Shao Piaoping (Shao Zhenqing), 39, 323, 325, 329, 363n70
- Shao Weizheng, 248, 250, 301–302
- Shehuizhuyi yu jinhualun* (Takabatake Motoyuki), 62
- Shen Dehong, 57, 62
- Shen Dehong/Mao Dun, 57, 62
- Shen Xuanlu, 40, 49, 159, 162, 270, 350
- Shen Yanbing/Mao Dun, 72–73, 156, 162
- Shen Zemin, 57
- Shen Zhongjiu, 270
- Shi Cuntong: arrested and interrogated, 285, 290–291; autobiography of early life, 265–266; background, 13–14, 264–266; and Chen Duxiu, 45, 158, 267–268, 271, 275, 277; deported, 285, 291–293; deposition of, 157–158, 275, 277, 286, 349–352; Feixiao “Anti-Filiality” essay, 266–269, 273; and Goorman and Huang, 290–291; and “Gray Incident,” 288–290; Japanese reading recommendations of, 58; on Lenin, 284; as May Fourth youth, 268; memoirs on formation of party, 160–161; move to Beijing, 268–269; move to Japan, 54, 271–276; move to Shanghai, *Xingqi pinglun* offices, 269–271; news coverage of, 291; police surveillance of, 273–274, 276–277; position in CCP, 264–

- 265; rejecting anarchism, 278; rejecting of vices, 268; resignation from party, 264–265; studying Marxism, 278–285; and Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, 269–271
- Shigeta Yōichi, 289–290
- Shimizu Yasuzō, 19, 36
- Shin Ik-hŭi, 131
- Shinjinkai (New Man Society), 48–49
- Shin shakai*, 32, 42
- Shishi xinbao* (News of the Times), 21–23, 25, 56, 109, 198
- Shuguang* (Morning Light), 118
- Shumyatsky, Boris Z.: and “Chinese Communist Party Manifesto,” 203, 209, 228; “The Communist International in the Far East,” 203–204; condescension of, 189; and eulogy for Zhang Tailei, 206–207, 210–211, 218–219; and Irkutsk branch, 141, 195, 200; and Korean Communist Party rift, 223, 232; and Krasnoshchekov, 136; report on plans for CCP congress, 228, 230; “The Revolutionary Movement of Youth,” 183, 187, 199–200
- Siberia: Burtman’s role in, 85–87; ethnic Chinese in, 83; operational units in, 92–94; Voitinsky’s actions in, 95–96; Voitinsky’s role in, 84–85. *See also* Eastern Peoples’ Section of the Siberian Bureau (Irkutsk)
- Siu Sun. *See* Yu Xiusong (Siu Sun)
- Six Weeks in Russia in 1919* (Ransome), 165
- Smurgis, Yu. D., 122–123, 253, 255, 263, 383n155
- Sneevliet, Hendricus J. F. M. *See* Mar-
ing (Hendricus J. F. M. Sneevliet)
- Snow, Edgar, 240
- The Social*, 179, 397n87
- Socialist-Communist Party (Shehui-gongchandang), 167; and Chen Gongpei, 160–161; Jin Liren on, 154–155, 162; as party organization activities of Shanghai Communist Group, 159, 161–162; as Revolutionary Bureau, 162; and Shi Cuntong, 160–161, 271; and Socialist League, 167; Yang Kuisong on, 153, 154–155; Yu Xiusong diary entries on, 152–153, 159–161
- Socialist League (Shehuizhuyizhe tongmeng), 153–155, 163–167, 168
- Socialist Party of America, 62–66
- Socialist University, 157–159, 350
- “Socialist Writings in China,” 200, 400–401n148
- Socialist Youth Corps: in Beijing, 214; in Changsha, 190–194; and Chen Weiren, 221; at Communist International of Youth congress, 226; and Foreign Language Institute, 168–169, 171; as foundation of party activities, 204; groups attending third Comintern congress, 127; in Guangzhou, 181–183, 213; invitations from Mr. Green to Beijing, Shanghai, 175–177; lack of mention in Chinese memoirs, 152, 155; letter of protest against Yao Zuobin, 126, 128, 384n169, 386n182, 390n248; minutes of, 199–200, 211–213; other names used, 199, 394n41, 396n75; relations with Party, 187; report to Comintern, 224; report to second congress of Communist International of Youth, 159, 166; Shi as manager of, 293; in Shi’s deposition, 157–158, 350, 352; and Socialist Youth League, 166–168; temporary disbanding of, 226, 227–228; in Tianjin, 211–214, 223; union investigations by, 172; in Wuhan, 187–190; and Yu Xiusong, 220–224, 405n193; and Zhang Tailei, 212–215, 222–224, 405n193
- Socialist Youth League, 117–119, 166–167, 214
- social revolution, need for, 4–5

- Sokolov-Strakhov, K. N., 382n151
 Sokolsky, George, 90
 Song Jie, 118
Soviet Russia: and Gongchandang, 68–71; and *Xin qingnian*, 60–64, 61, 115–116
State and Revolution (Lenin), 72–73
 Stopani, V., 169–170
 Stoyanovich, K. A. (“Minor”): assignments of, 104–105, 113, 120; and Beijing meeting of Russian Communists, 112–113; and Guangzhou Revolutionary Bureau, 180–181; interviewing Sun Yat-sen, 379n104; and Russian press agency, 165
 “The Strike Movement in China” (Vlasovskii), 197, 211
 study groups, Marxist, 38, 54–58, 152–157, 174, 260
 Sun Yat-sen: anti-communism of, 49; “Areksēefu” meeting, 378–379n104; and Guomindang, 145, 258, 363n73, 390n248; and Popov, 88; and Potapov, 91; and socialism, 40; speech at Shanghai Mechanics’ Union, 120; Three Principles of the People by, 40–41, 46, 49; and Voitinsky, 120
 supplements, newspaper, 21–22
 Suzuki Chōjirō, 36
 Taira Teizō, 49
 Takabatake Motoyuki, 25, 32, 42, 311–312, 330–331, 338
 Takatsu Masamichi, 274–276, 290, 351–352
 Tang Bokun, 352
 Tan Pingshan, 172, 179–181, 183, 186
 Tan Zhitang, 179–180, 186
 Tan Zuyin, 180, 394n39
 “Theses on the National and Colonial Question,” 257–258
 Third International/Comintern: CCP as branch of, 228–229, 257; conditions for joining, 72; creation of, 82; Executive Committee and CCP first congress, 228, 230; and Far Eastern Bureau, 93–94; Liu and An at second congress, 83; Liu and Zhang at third congress, 82–83; and Maring’s original date for CCP meeting, 236; “National and Colonial Questions” in Far East, 9; Sakai on, 76; second congress of, 83; third congress of, 82, 126–127, xii–xiii; Yao Zuobin’s attempt to attend congress, 126–129
 “thirteen men thesis,” 241–242
 Three Principles of the People, 40–41, 46, 49
 “Tian Cheng”/Chen Tanqiu, 190, 239–242, 245–246, 333, 415n94
 Tian Han, 292
 Tianjin socialist youth group, xiii
 Tokuda Kyūichi, 287–288
 Trachtenberg, Alexander, 370n169
 “Translations” (“Yicong”) column, 24
 Trotsky, Leon, 60
 Truth Society (Zhenlishe), 129
 Tsiui Tsube. *See* Qu Qiubai (Tsiui Tsube)
 “twelve men thesis”: and Bao Hui-seng (Qiwu Laoren), 413n68; and Chen Gongbo, 415n95; and Li Da (Li Hongming/Li Heming), 245–247, 412n63, 413n64; and Mao Zedong (Runzhi), 64, 240–241, 246, 249, 412nn61
 Union of Chinese Laborers in Russia, 83
 vernacular writing style, 17, 19
 Vilensky-Sibiryakov, V. D.: on Beijing and Shanghai Student Unions, 390n248; as chief representative for Far Eastern Affairs, 84–85; on Comintern agency in Shanghai, 108; Potapov reports to, 91, 132; report on Student Union strike, 146; visit to China by, 112–113,

129–131; and Voitinsky, 95, 105, 110; and Yao Zuobin, 129–134
 Vladivostok, 95–96
 Vlasovskii, V., 197, 211
 Voitinsky, Grigorii Naumovich, 95, xiii–xiv; activities in Beijing, 101–105; activities in Shanghai, 105, 108–110; arrival in China, 95–101; arrival in Shanghai, 378n99; and Chen Duxiu, 103, 109, 162–163; contacts with Chinese political world, 120–121; contacts with Korea and Japan, 120, 381n138; early life in America, 96, 116; East Asian Secretariat of the Comintern established, 108–109; and Li Dazhao, 98, 103–104; mission to China, 82, 94; on organization section, 116–119; position and base of action, 105–108; and Potapov, 91; reports on Communist Party formation, 111–119; return to Russia, 123, 383n159; scholarship on, 10; and “unified socialist youth league,” 166–167. *See also* Revolutionary Bureaus
 Wang Dexi, 133–134
 Wang Guanqi, 43
 Wang Jinmei, 192–193, 240–241, 249, 399n130
 Wang Leping, 193
 Wang Ruofei, 134
 Wang Xitian, 131
 well-field system, 41
 Wen Li, 133–134
 “What Should We Begin With?” (Trotsky), 60
What Socialism Is ([Chen] Duxiu), 65–66
 women, Li Dazhao on, 38
 work-study movement, 168–169
 Work-Study Mutual Aid Corps, 149, 159, 269–271, 349, 351, 419n144
 Wuhan Socialist Youth Corps, 187–190

Wu Ming (Chen Gongpei, Wuwu), 158–159, 350, 378n99
 Wu Nanru (“U”), 214, 404n183
 Wu Peifu, 36, 120
 Xia Gaizun, 266
 Xia Mianzun, 62
Xiao jingbao (Little Capital News), 22
 Xiao Jingguang, 169
 Xiao San, 240
 Xie Jinqing, 275, 351, 420n182
 Xie Juezai, 234
 Xie Yingbo, 363n75
Xingqi pinglun (Weekly Critique), 40, 43, 48–49, 55
Xin qingnian (New Youth): ceasing publication, 123, 227; circulation of, 21; “Discussing Politics” article, 59, 74–76; effect on Shi Cuntong, 267; as organ of Shanghai Communist group, 59–68, 168; “Russian studies” column, 60–62; as “translation vehicle for *Soviet Russia*,” 62–64, 115–116; using Socialist Party of America logo, 62, 65–67
Xin shehui (New Society), 118
Xixing manji/Travels in the West (Snow), 240
Xuedeng (Lamp of Learning supplement), 21
 Xu Xiangwen, 383n159
 Yamabe Kentarō, 66–67
 Yamaga Taiji, 131–132
 Yamakawa Hitoshi: CCP pamphlet on, 366n123; drafting of “Rules of the Japan Communist Party,” 262; editorial comments by, 42; “From Scientific Socialism to Activist Socialism,” 58, 282; and “Gray Incident,” 289; on Kautsky, 282–283; original work of, 331, 333, 337, 340, 344; on role of intellectuals, 280; *Shakaishugi kenkyū*, 28–29, 58; and Shi Cuntong, 57, 274, 279,

- Yamakawa Hitoshi (*continued*)
 282–285, 352; *Shin shakai*, 28–29, 42; switching to Bolshevism, 283–284; and ties to Chinese communists, 57–58; translation work of, 314–316, 334
- Yamakawa Kikue, 38, 312–314, 333–334, 340
- Yamanouchi Akito, 73
- Yamazaki Kesaya, 274
- “Yang” at third Comintern congress, xii–xiii
- Yang Haode (“Yan-Khau-De,” “Yan-Hao-De,” “Yang Ho-te”), 219–220, xii
- Yang Kuisong, 153, 164
- Yang Mingzhai: and Shanghai Mechanics’ Union, 171; unable to attend third Comintern congress, 219–220, xii–xiii; and Voitinsky, 97, 103, 109, 115
- Yan-Sion’, 198–199
- Yanson, Ya. D., 85
- Yao Zuobin: accusations against, 128, 141, 146, 390n248; arrested, 126; attempting to attend Comintern congress, 126–129; Comintern and, 126, 134–142; “Communist Party” of, 219, 226; and Datong-dang (Great Unity Party), 129–134, 137–142; as “Jao-Tso-sin,” 385n179; later life of, 391n264; and Li Da, 391n256; and National Student Union, 142–149, 386n182; at Vladivostok, 130
- Yi Ch’üŋ-nim, 124
- Yi Qunxian, 269
- Yi Tong-hwi, 120, 124–125, 134, 140–141, 148
- Yi Wen/Ivanov, A. A., 98–99
- Yoshino Sakuzō: and Chen Puxian, 361n42; and Cosmo Club, 131; and Dawn Society (Reimeikai), 26, 27, 29–30; and Li Dazhao, 29–30, 33
- “Young China,” 1, 3
- Young China Association, 118–119, 166, 235
- Yō Un-hyōng (Yuh Woon-Hyung), 89–90
- Youth Mutual Aid Corps (Qingnian huzhutuan), 118
- Youxin Printers, 164
- Yuan Dushi, 168
- “Yuanquan.” *See* Chen Puxian (Bo-sheng)
- Yuan Shikai, 27
- Yurin, M. I., 94, 100, 121
- Yu Songhua, 198–199
- Yu Xiusong (Siu Sun): and Communist International of Youth, 215, 223–227; diary of, 152–155, 159; entering Russia, 215, 223–226; and first national congress, 241; letter of protest regarding Yao Zuobin, 128, 141, 146; at Shanghai, 220; and Shi Cuntong, 266, 268, 269–270, 350–351; in Shi’s deposition, 351; and Socialist-Communist Party, 159–161, 167, 170; and Socialist Study Society, 159; and Socialist University, 158; at third Comintern congress, 127–129, 141, 220–222, xii; working at Housheng Steel Plant, 271; on *Xingqi pinglun* atmosphere, 270; as “Yang Ho-te”/“Yan-Khou-De,” 219–220
- Zhang Dongsun, 109
- Zhang Guoen, 188, 190
- Zhang Guotao (Zhang Kongming, Zhang Teli), 249; on anarchists, 173; as “Chang,” 202–203, 401n154; on date of Manifesto decision, 205; as delegate to first national congress, 241, 248–249; on drafting of congress documents, 261; on financial support for local organizations, 399n119; in first Beijing Communist organization, 178; on Huang Jiemin, 135; in Irkutsk, 203, 204, 401–402n155;

- on Li Hanjun, 260; on Maring/Chen dispute, 286–287; on reaction to “Karakhan Declaration,” 104; on Russians in China, 99–100; in Shi Cuntong’s deposition, 351; and “twelve man thesis,” 248–249; on Voitinsky, 100, 103, 374n63; as Zhang Kongming, Zhang Teli, 335
- Zhang Minquan (Zhang Meizhen), 126–128, 384–385n174
- Zhang Shenfu, 118
- Zhang’s report to Comintern third congress, 206–209, 215–217, 220–222; “March meeting,” 195, 207–209, 216, 222; seven local CCP organizations, 215
- Zhang Tailei (Zhang Fu): as “Chzhan,” 214; at Communist International of Youth, 226; at Congress of the Toilers of the East, 285–286, 401n154; and early ties to CCP, 403n174, 404n183; at Irkutsk, 200, 209, 212–217, 221, 404n179; and Jiang Khanghu’s credentials, 218–219; on March meeting, 195; and Maring, 407n219; and Qu Qiubai, 406n209; report to third Comintern congress, 206–209, 215–217, 220–225; and Russia, 222–224; as secretary of Chinese section of Far Eastern Secretariat, 217, 220–221, 223–224; secret trip to Japan, 285, 290, 407n217; and Shi Cuntong, 286–287, 290, 352, 407n217; Shumyatsky’s eulogy for, 217, 219, 300, 423n219; status as envoy, 209–215; at third Comintern congress, 128, 141, 157, 220, 402n162, xii–xiii; and Yu Xiusong, 407n217
- Zhang Wenliang, 191
- Zhang Wentian, 57
- Zhang Ximan, 100
- Zhang Yongkui, 82–83
- Zhangzhou, 130
- Zhao Shilong, 182
- Zhejiang Number One School, 265–268, 270
- Zhejiang xinchao*, 266
- Zheng Kaiqing, 188, 190
- Zheng Peigang, 153, 163–164, 167, 180, 185
- Zheng Zhenduo, 118
- Zhong-E tongxinshe, 115
- Zhonghua lü-E lianhehui, 83
- Zhou Baidi, 266, 268
- Zhou Enlai, 118, 135
- Zhou Fohai: as Japan representative to first national congress, 250, 278; memoir of, 239–241, 245; on rise of “socialist” tide, 16; and Shi Cuntong, 287, 352; study in Japan, 54–55, 275–276, 285, 350
- Zhu Wushan, 39
- Zhu Zhenxin, 345, 347, 412n55
- Zhu Zhixin, 40, 43; and *Communist Manifesto*, 50; as “Minyi,” 42, 364n79

"This volume conducts a pathbreaking new analysis of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Crossing the Chinese border, Ishikawa Yoshihiro not only considers the relations between the CCP and the Comintern (as well as the Soviet Union) but also closely scrutinizes its relations with Japan and Western countries."

NAOKI HAZAMA, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF MODERN CHINESE HISTORY, KYOTO UNIVERSITY

"Joshua Fogel has rendered Ishikawa Yoshihiro's Japanese study into a lucid and scrupulously prepared English edition. This account of the international aspects of the founding of the CCP is built on vivid detail and impeccable archival research. It is an important new contribution to English-language scholarship and an invitation to comparative scholars of modern Chinese history, Sino-Japanese relations, and world Marxism."

TIMOTHY CHEEK, INSTITUTE OF ASIAN RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS
NEW YORK
CUP.COLUMBIA.EDU

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

ISBN: 978-0-231-15808-4



9 780231 158084